NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Kansas City
Public Library

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

This Volume is for

REFERENCE USE ONLY

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

From the collection of the

Prelinger Library

San Francisco, California
2007

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

PUBLIC LIBRARY
KANSAS CITY
MO

National Municipal Review

INDEX 1952

FEB 18 1953
KANSAS CITY, MO.
PUBLIC LIBRARY

VOLUME XLI

January	1-68	July	329-380
February	69-124	No August Issue	
March	125-176	September	381-432
April	177-228	October	433-484
May	229-276	November	485-532
June	277-328	December	533-598

Supplement to the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW
February 1953, Vol. XLII, No. 2

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
299 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 7

Index

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, 1952

AUTHORS

Abernathy, Glenn 263
Abraham, Henry J. 346
Achorn, Robert C. 104
Atkins, Richard A. 288
Bebout, John E. 57, 115, 165, 219, 250, 267, 320, 371, 422, 476, 523, 586
Birkhead, Guthrie S. 115, 523, 586
Braden, George D. 136
Burford, Bernard B. 214
Carpenter, William Seal 339
Childs, Richard S. ... 44, 98, 201, 304, 509, 511
Citizens Research Council of Michigan 18
Cline, Denzel C. 87
Connor, Henry W. 365
Cookingham, L. P. 74
Dolbey, Dorothy Nichols 107
Dow, Edward F. 152
Edison, Charles 489, 540
Ehrlichman, Ben B. 187
Frank, Forest 565
Hallett, George H., Jr. 47, 104, 209, 257, 309, 363, 415, 467, 514, 578
Hardy, Eric 219
Heady, Ferrel 334
Hecock, Donald S. 449
Holland, Lynwood M. 182
Jones, O. Garfield 234
Kelso, Paul 305, 401, 566
Kerney, James, Jr. 14
Larsen, Roy E. 238
Lindegren, Martha Murphy 490
Lynagh, Paula 149
Mauck, Elwyn A. 44, 100, 154, 205, 254, 307, 358, 409, 461, 511, 571
Morstein Marx, Fritz 438
Neuberger, Richard L. 501
Ogden, George 48
Olmsted, H. M. 38, 93, 146, 198, 246, 300, 351, 400, 455, 504, 561
Osborn, James M. 128
Parker, Elsie S. 53, 106, 112, 159, 214, 263, 316, 365, 417, 471, 516, 581
Pate, James E. 387
Press, William H. 426
Reardon, Paul C. 49
Reed, Thomas H. 8, 554
Reeves, J. E. 417, 455
Reid, Thomas R. 546
Schubert, Glendon A., Jr. 294
Schwartz, Arthur A. 142
Smith, Wade S. 50, 109, 157, 211, 260, 312, 361, 412, 463, 513, 575
Snider, Clyde F. 390
Solomon, Samuel R. 190
Spencer, Richard C. 242, 397
Stene, Edwin O. 408, 496
Stewart, Paul D. 305
Warp, George A. 443
Weeks, O. Douglas 80
Winter, William O. 130
Woelper, Willard G. 283
Woodward, Wm. Redin 47, 104, 209, 257, 309, 363, 415, 467, 514, 578

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

UARY 1952 V. 41; Jan - Dec. 52 VOLUME XLI, NO.

News for League Members 1

Why They Liked Cincinnati ....Editorial

Tomorrow's Citizens ....*Thomas H. Reed*

Price of a New Constitution ....*James Kerney, Jr.*

Tax Rates of American Cities
Citizens Research Council of Michigan

Governments Seek Better Personnel 38

Alameda County Moves to Void Coroner Setup 44

Revere Voters Rebuke Councilmen 47

Bankers Rap Local Industry-aid Bonds 50

NACS Holds Annual Sessions 53

State Needs Real Chief Executive 57

Index for 1951 Will Be Distributed with February Issue

JAN 1952

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

All-American Jury: Top row—John Bauer, director, American Public Utilities Bureau; Henry Bruère, president, National Municipal League; Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey; George H. Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion, foreman; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, former president, League of Women Voters of Grand Rapids; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor, "The American City"; bottom row—Mark S. Matthews, former president, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; John W. Agnew, vice president, First National Bank, Boston; Richard S. Childs, chairman, Executive Committee, National Municipal League; Harry Toy, Jr., director, National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant; Roy V. Peel, director, U. S. Bureau of the Census. Alex R. Thomas, president, San Antonio Citizens Committee for Council-manager Government, standing at left, is presenting his city's case.

Jury Picks 'All-American Cities 1951'

A highlight of the 1951 National Conference on Government in Cincinnati was the public hearing before the jury to select eleven "All-American Cities of 1951." Spokesmen appeared for fifteen cities.

The jury met again December 13 at the League office in New York to review oral and documentary evidence from these and many other cities. The "team" of winners, announced December 30 by the Minneapolis *Tribune* in a story by Rolf Felstad, is listed on the following page with achievements which impressed the jury.

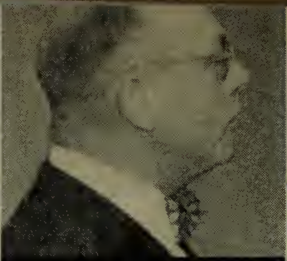
Dr. George H. Gallup, foreman of the jury, pointed out that selections are made "not for good government or efficient municipal administration or some specific improvement on its own account, but rather on the basis of energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen action." For example, the jury selected Pawtucket, Rhode Island, because, against great odds, the citizens had organized the Citizens' League and scored decisive preliminary victories. The high level of citizen understanding and citizen-government relations that have long prevailed in Dayton, dramatically evidenced in 1951 by the salvaging of municipal services through an income tax that the people had imposed upon themselves by a three-to-one vote, won for that city.

Certificates signed by each member of the jury will be presented to the citizens of the winning communities rather than to or for the city governments.

In announcing its selections, the jury pointed out that many more than eleven cases of meritorious citizen action had been brought to its attention. It expressed the hope that some of these communities would return another year.

RAPPAPORT
Boston

COOKINGHAM
Kansas City



GORDY
Atlanta

FORD
Kalamaz

O'HARE
Pawtucket

BATES
Columbia

WILSON
Mount Vernon

BUTCHER
Philadelphia

Photographs show spokesmen for winning cities addressing jury at the League's National Conference on Government at Cincinnati.

The All-American Communities

ASHEVILLE and BUNCOMBE COUNTY, N. C. United Negro, white, city, rural voters on unprecedented school bond issue and consolidation program.

ATLANTA. Revamped metropolitan area by tripling city's area and eliminating duplicating county services. Spokesman: J. Forsythe Gordy, Chamber of Commerce.

BOSTON. Knocked out Curley and elected good mayor and council under youthful leadership of New Boston Committee. Spokesman: Jerome Rappaport, New Boston Committee.

COLUMBIA, S. C. Replaced rickety commission government, wiped out deficit, started long range planning, improved race relations. Spokesman: Councilman Lester L. Bates.

DAYTON. Voters imposed local income tax on themselves to restore services crippled by constitutional tax limit. Spokesman: City Manager Russell McClure.

KALAMAZOO. Adopted pay-as-you-go school building program in face of previous defeat of bond issue. Spokesman: Former Mayor Henry Ford, Jr.

KANSAS CITY, MO. Defeated resurgent Pendergast machine and staged spectacular comeback after flood. Spokesman: City Manager L. P. Cookingham.

MOUNT VERNON, ILL. Led way for other Illinois cities by first adoption, five to one, of new council-manager act. Spokesman: Rev. Bayne Wilson, First Methodist Church.

PAWTUCKET. Repudiated vicious misrule by six to one vote for home rule and 20 per cent petition for charter commission. Spokesman: Robert J. O'Hare, Citizens League.

PHILADELPHIA. Staged model campaign for new charter, defeated old machine, voted to abolish useless county offices. Spokesman: Harry K. Butcher, Committee of Seventy.

SAN ANTONIO. In five major actions defeated entrenched machine, secured modern charter, elected nine "Citizens Candidates" to council. Spokesman: Alex R. Thomas, Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Government.

Charles Edison, speaking at the annual dinner of the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27. At head table, left to right, are: Richard S. Childs, National Municipal League; Mrs. Fred Lazarus, Jr., chairman, Cincinnati Conference Committee; L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri; John Nuveen, John Nuveen & Company, Chicago; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; Cecil Morgan, Esso Standard Oil Company, Baton Rouge; Mayor Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati.

BELOW: General view of dinner, Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati, and former president, National Municipal League, presiding.

Charles P. Taft, who may be the next governor of Ohio, presiding at the closing luncheon. James Kerney, Jr., editor, Trenton (N.J.) "Times", not in picture, spoke on "The Price and Value of a New Constitution."

BELOW, opening luncheon of the Conference, Mayor Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati, presiding. Henry Bruère, president of the NML, gave the keynote address, "Goals for the Modern City."

Gr 8860

50

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 1 **Total Number 417**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Courtland
7-0206

Contents for January 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 1

EDITORIAL COMMENT 6

TOMORROW'S CITIZENS .... *Thomas H. Reed* 8

PRICE OF A NEW CONSTITUTION .... *James Kerney, Jr.* 14

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES .... *Citizens Research Council of Michigan* 18

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 38

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 44

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 47

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 50

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 53

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 57

BOOKS IN REVIEW 61

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Why They Liked Cincinnati

JUDGED by any standard the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati was one of the best. So say many veteran Conference goers, as well as impressive statistics on attendance and participation in the Conference sessions.

Why was it? There are three principal reasons: The time, the place and the people—above all, the people.

The out-of-town, or national, attendance was better than at any previous Conference. This was true not only in absolute numbers but, as the notes in the pictorial story of the Conference in this REVIEW indicate, in terms of the cross-section of civically effective people who were there. Primarily, the Conference was a huge success because the people who attended found a lot of others with whom to engage in stimulating and helpful exchange of information and experience.

But many people like that don't come together at one time and place by sheer accident. Folks obviously like to go to Cincinnati. It's a good city and its quarter century demonstration of good local government sparked, as the Cincinnati *Enquirer* put it, by "the participation of many thousands of people—plain citizens —in the governmental process" naturally attracts citizens from other cities "whose vocation or avocation is building honest and effective government at the city and state level," to borrow the Cincinnati *Post's* description of those who attend a League Conference.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the exceptional national attendance at the Conference was matched by the exceptional quality and quantity of Cincinnatians who attended. The Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters and the Advertisers' Club each joined in sponsoring a luncheon or dinner and in seeing to it that it was crowded to capacity. Even more indicative of the genuineness of civic interest was the way in which local people divided themselves up among the five group sessions each morning and the two sessions each afternoon. They seemed determined to absorb and retain for the good of the community everything the visiting firemen might have to offer.

Not the least of the reasons for the glow that out-of-town visitors took away with them was the sincerity and warmth of the hospitality offered, formally and informally, by the local sponsoring committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Fred Lazarus, Jr., and by every other organization and individual with whom Conference members came in contact. Everyone who arrived in Cincinnati in time to attend the tea at the Taft Museum the Sunday before the Conference felt at home from that time on.

Incidentally, there were at least a hundred people taking part in preliminary Sunday sessions of a charter clinic, the National Association of Civic Secretaries and the civic education panel conducted in cooperation with the Samuel Ach Citizenship Fund. And a good many stayed after the closing luncheon to attend the post-conference session, "Facing Constitutional Revision," of the Citizens Committee on the Ohio Constitution.

Of course, the program had something to do with the success of the Conference; but that, as well as the obvious eagerness of everyone who could do so to accept the invitation to speak or simply to attend, is a reflection of the time through which we are living. One of the most hopeful, yet too little noticed, indications that the promise of the American future is yet more glorious than its past is the continuously increasing tempo of the postwar grass-roots civic revival which it is the special privilege of the National Municipal League to chronicle and to serve.

The program, as always, was built around the civic problems that current demands for League service show are of most concern to the functioning citizen. If the 1951 program as a whole seemed to have more bite than some others, it was due, in part at least, to the increased urgency that citizens today feel about their business. The fact that the civil defense session, featuring discussion by a particularly knowing and experienced panel, attracted about the poorest citizen attendance is, under the circumstances, a commentary that should not go unnoticed by policy makers and others primarily responsible for this phase of the nation's program for meeting the threat from without.

Similarly, the attendance at the session on crime and politics attracted fewer people than the concurrent hearings before the jury to select the "All-American Cities of 1951." Making allowances for the drama in the latter, it seemed clear that people were more interested in learning exactly how citizens in some cities had won battles against the basic governmental and political evils which have generated politico-criminal alliances than in what they thought might be another general deploring of an admittedly bad business. In like manner, the excellent attendance at sessions on strengthening state government, leadership in city government, sprawling cities (the metropolitan area problem), how city managers meet urgent problems and the like showed the appetite of today's citizen for specific information on how to deal with basic weaknesses in our system.

The National Conference on Government brought to Cincinnati a great number of hard-headed citizens, seasoned in the civic battles of the day. They displayed no illusions of an immediate millenium. They showed the clear knowledge that the life of freedom is a constant struggle, but there were no defeatists or long-range pessimists among them.

Tomorrow's Citizens

Reed challenges young men and women to be political and provide better example of citizenship than their elders.

By **THOMAS H. REED***

THE CITIZEN of today about as often as not fails to vote even in national elections, while in state and local elections only minor fractions of the voters drag themselves reluctantly to the polls. The disease from which our citizenship suffers goes much deeper, however, than casual neglect of its duties. It cannot be cured merely by getting more people to vote. Failure to vote is a mere symptom of a fundamental moral apathy towards public affairs.

It has been demonstrated frequently that people will vote when stirred by anger and indignation. The citizen of today is all too rarely stirred by anything relating to public affairs. This is due in part to the baffling complexity of the problems confronting our governments at all levels. But it is also due, in no small degree, to the failure of our indignation to catch fire from obvious instances of incompetence and corruption in government.

There is ample evidence of it. Mink coats and free suites in plush Miami hotels, connivance with gamblers to break the law, tax collectors who collect blackmail for themselves instead of taxes for the government, petty trafficking in jobs on the local level, stubborn refusal to heed the recommendations of big and little Hoover commissions for retrenchment in civilian expenditure while war expenditures climb to the moon, have been all over the front pages and are constant subjects of cynical conversation at dinner tables and in barber shops.

These evils can be charged to no one party and at no one level of government. They pervade the whole governmental structure. They are the stock material of television jokesters and stage comedians. They are for the great bulk of us just something like a bad spell of weather, to be endured, with a wry smile perhaps, but endured without action.

In short, we are almost incomprehensibly stupid. I heard Walter Lippmann once say at a National Municipal League meeting a quarter of a century ago that there was a great difference between the interests of the people and the things the people are interested in. We are, as a people, much more interested in sports than in politics. Our city may be strangling in the fumes of its own industry or paralyzed by traffic congestion, but it is the picture of Joe Louis limp on the canvas at Madison Square Garden or Joe DiMaggio making his last stand in big league baseball which arouses our sympathy, rather than the real woes of a whole urban population. We can even forget the slaughter of passengers by an ill-managed suburban railway while we gloat over the antics of movie stars or the performances of hired gladiators on the college football gridiron. We quickly turn from the news of important events to the mass of trivialities about inconsequential people with which our papers and magazines are mostly filled.

---

*Dr. Reed, noted municipal consultant, is a former city manager and professor of government. For the past year he has forsworn his familiar charter drafting and diagnosing of "sick" governments to make, with Mrs. Reed, a nation-wide study of what the universities and colleges are doing in education for citizenship. This article is Dr. Reed's address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

As citizens of a self-governing republic we are missing the boat by a mile. Perhaps the most incongruous aspect of the situation is that we so often, as a people, have to be kidded or cajoled into voting right. We give so little real thought to the problems of government that we can be aroused from our usual apathy only by some catch phrase or symbol or the person of a glittering leader. Unfortunately catch phrases and symbols are tools as ready to hand of charlatans and demagogues as of pure patriots. The most recent example is the potency of the word "communism." We have properly enough learned to detest communism as a scheme of government and way of life. The result, however, is that not only are we all against Stalin and his works but we have placed in the hands of irresponsible politicians a deadly weapon with which to assassinate their opponents, victory being to him who cries the charge first and loudest.

There are, of course, many good people who love their country and its plan of government and who abhor graft, corruption and official incompetence. They could do something about these things, in spite of the apathetic millions, if they would become active in politics. This means something more than voting for the least of the two evils the party nominating machinery has set up for us. It means participating in the grass-roots business of politics—taking a part in party organizations, in caucuses and primaries, getting good candidates to run and supporting them. Some do just those things but the great majority of our people who live in good homes in good neighborhoods and have had the advantages of good education do not. It is not fashionable to go into politics. Politics is regarded as a dirty business which besmirches whoever enters it. Politics is left mainly to the kind of people who have been running it for generations. It will be so in 1952. What about 1962 and 1972?

The Citizens of Tomorrow

What about the rising generation—the citizens of tomorrow? What will their attitude be toward the duties of citizenship? It must be admitted that they are undergoing a great deal of miseducation. Example is much more influential than precept and the example of the present generation of citizens is largely bad. As a matter of fact, the apathy and cynicism of the parents have largely infected the minds of the children.

There is a strong current of belief among American college men and women that politics is something in which improvement is impossible and connection with which means contamination. Big corporations, banks and other employers often urge and in some cases require their employees to stay out of politics. Parents shake their heads over son or daughter mixing in politics. Wives begrudge the time husbands devote to it. Some professors, to enliven their lectures, talk about the deeds of machines and bosses in a way to dampen the ardor of those who might think of entering politics. In fact, unless something drastic is done, tomorrow's citizens will be worse if anything than today's citizens, for there is a steadily corrupting effect in the neglect of civic duty.

Encouraging Citizen Activity

There are, however, some signs of hope. There are cases in which the idealism of youth fails to surrender to the cynicism of the "wise guys." There are cases in which the influence of college teachers, in fact of whole institutions, is employed to encourage young people to enter the field of politics, not for profit or office but as a service to their country.

A Citizenship Clearing House has been established at the New York University Law School and with the aid of a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation is studying, under the direction of Mrs. Reed and myself, the best methods by which colleges and universities may encourage such participation in politics. We have spent nearly a year now on this work and, while it is too early to report our findings, we can refer to some of the good omens we have seen.

At Ohio Wesleyan in Delaware, Ohio, you will find one of the grand old men of political science, Ben Arneson, who for more than 30 years has been cultivating an interest in politics among his students. Himself a Democrat, he has been as concerned with Republicans taking part in their party's affairs as he is in the activities of his Democratic students. One of his Republican students was Arthur Flemming, formerly chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, now president of Ohio Wesleyan. Together they have established on the campus an Institute of Practical Politics which brings the state and national political leaders of each party to Ohio Wesleyan annually to meet the student body. Credit is given for out-of-term work with a political party just as for an internship with an administrative agency. In 1950 there were 21 students who got credit for such political service.

Locally the faculty and students take an active part in political campaigns. The vice president of the university is Republican county chairman. Both professors of philosophy are Democrats which may or may not be surprising but, what is most unusual, both are precinct chairmen for their party. A political science professor is a Republican precinct chairman and a sociology "prof" was recently Democratic candidate for mayor. Under such circumstances it is only natural that the students are encouraged to learn about politics by practising it. They see, of course, some of the bad side of politics but they also see how it works and how good citizens can make themselves effective in it.

At the University of Toledo you will find that O. Garfield Jones has since 1919 been requiring large classes of students in his course in "Effective Citizenship" to follow a political campaign at the precinct level, each in his own precinct as far as possible. Judging by the interviews we have had with grey-haired Toledo graduates no one of them has forgotten the experience.

The emphasis at Ohio Wesleyan is on participation in the normal activities of the two great national parties. I make no bones of confessing, even in a National Municipal League meeting, that I am a believer in the two-party system. In the long run and on the state and national levels no satisfactory substitute for the party system has been found. On those levels most political decisions are going to continue to be made by party action. Since the parties are no better than the men and women who are active in their affairs, it behooves good men and true to help run them. We cannot leave the parties to be run by stupid hacks and slippery demagogues and expect to have good government in our state and national capitols.

On the local level, however, the situation is very different. The issues of local politics have nothing to do with national politics. Cities are service agencies and one's views on Korea, Formosa or Iran have nothing to do with them. There is no such thing as a Republican sewer pipe or a Democratic fire engine. The result has been that a majority of our cities elect their councils on a nonpartisan ballot and even where parties name the candidates independent voting is the rule.

In my opinion the great parties make a serious mistake in injecting themselves into local campaigns. They make enemies and suffer losses of prestige far out of proportion to the value of any small patronage they may pick up. Patronage, indeed, is greatly overrated as a stimulus to political loyalty. My old chief, Hiram Johnson, who was himself a great politician, estimated it properly when he said, "Every time I make an appointment I make one ingrate and a dozen to twenty enemies." The Republican party in Pennsylvania would at this moment be in a much better position for the 1952 election if it had not made a partisan issue of the Philadelphia mayoralty.

The Boston Campaign

The 1951 Philadelphia and New York City elections are good omens which indicate that, under sufficient pressure, the electorate can still think and act. I have no wish to disparage the significance of these achievements but it seems to me that even more significance attaches to what happened in Boston because of the part that organized young men and women played in it.

When the National Municipal League met in Boston three years ago Mayor Curley was still on the throne. I had at that time the temerity to suggest what that great patriot and arch-politician Samuel Adams would have been doing about it if he had still been alive. And that is exactly what has happened. The youth of Boston has been organized for good government. In the mayoralty campaign of 1949 there appeared the modern equivalent of Adams' famous "Caulkers' Club," a group of 200 students for Hynes. Significantly its originator was a young man from Brooklyn, then a student in the Harvard Law School, Jerome Rappaport. The students were drawn mostly from the Irish, Italian, Jewish and other relatively recently arrived racial elements of the city, not from the ranks of the "proper Bostonians." Harvard students were used in canvassing only on Beacon Hill. The vim and vigor of this group was credited with a large share of the responsibility for Hynes' election.

The movement has since been given permanent status as the New Boston Committee. My old Harvard classmate, Henry Shattuck, and some other hardy perennial supporters of good government came into the picture in an advisory capacity and with financial aid, but the active contingent continued to be young men and women, many of them college students from Northeastern, Boston College, Boston University and other institutions.

In the recent campaign the New Boston Committee supported Hynes for reelection, whipping Curley so soundly in the primary that he gave up. They also put in the field a full slate of council and school committee candidates and actually elected a majority of the city council and four out of five of the school committee. Sam Adams could have done no better.

I cannot conclude without a word concerning the inspiration and courage which lovers of good government everywhere have derived from the success with which Cincinnati has handled its municipal affairs for more than a quarter of a century. Many have forgotten what Cincinnati government was like in 1924 when, as a member of Dr. Upson's team of "surveyors," I first came to Cincinnati. My particular job was to report on the city council. It was a large body, most of its members purporting to represent wards and a few the city as a whole. In fact they all, with one exception, represented the dominant political machine rather than anything else. There never was a more thoroughly bossed council in the long and distressing history of municipal misrule in the United States. It was in fact so incompetent a body as to be good for nothing but to record the orders of the boss.

A Representative Council

In my portion of the Upson report I recommended a small council of nine elected at large and, to avoid domination by a single party or faction, elected by proportional representation. I have not ceased to be proud that my opinion was concurred in by the people of Cincinnati. I have never seen any reason to take back a word of what I said in 1924. In 1944, reviewing the progress of twenty years, for the Wilder Foundation, Mrs. Reed and I found that the difference in Cincinnati's government in 1944 from what it had been in 1924 was that as between light and darkness. Since that time the city has grappled successfully with many of its vexing physical problems.

At times Cincinnatians have

shown a tendency to take good government for granted—a phenomenon which has appeared in other cities which have achieved similar success. It is easy to forget the effort that was necessary to get good government and that is equally necessary to retain it. No city—or, for that matter, state or nation—can afford to become self-satisfied and complacent or to assume that freedom from graft and incompetency can be purchased except at the price of eternal vigilance.

Train for Democracy

It is my sincere conviction that tomorrow's citizens will not be worse but better than we have been —provided we redouble our efforts to train them in the task of making democracy work. We must convince ourselves and them that democracy in the future cannot be kept alive merely by shouting "down with communism." Democracy will survive only if it functions successfully to serve the interests of the people, and it can only do that if the people cause it to do so.

There is in all this a special obligation for those who have enjoyed the advantages of a good education and the opportunities of business and professional success. Of all definitions of democracy I like best that of the great Italian patriot Mazzini, "Government of all by all under the leadership of the best and wisest." The demos as a great disorganized mass of human beings has neither will nor intelligence. It can readily be victimized by a Napoleon or a Hitler, a Curley or a Hague.

The people, however, will as readily respond to the leadership of honest and patriotic men and the honest and patriotic must not leave them to the devices of the crook and the demagogue. The duty of sound leadership rests most heavily on young men and women. They and their children must see the fight through. I don't hold out any hopes of personal reward. It will require the sacrifice of time, strength and money, and endless courage, to put politics to rights throughout this land.

The dividends will come in two forms. First, there will be an America which lives up to its promises and professions—the best background for happy living that can be conceived. Second, there will be the satisfaction which comes from answering the call of duty. Many have answered it on the battlefield. They will not shirk from answering it in the arena of politics.

Price of a New Constitution

Years of effort, unselfish and continuing interest of many, financial support, all aids to securing revision.

By **JAMES KERNEY, JR.***

PRIOR to 1947 New Jersey had a constitution that had been hacked at a few times but remained as a century plant. The state elected a governor and saw to it that he was prohibited from governing and had a woeful judicial system which dimmed the great beacon of justice. Yet not everyone in New Jersey wanted constitutional revision. There are always vested interests, usually jobholders, who fear change or political leaders, so-called, who like things as they are.

Do not mistake me. There are several great American misconceptions, one of which is that every man in public life, politician that is, must be crooked and therefore no good can come of dealing with him. Contrary to its reputation, New Jersey has had some honest men in public life. Happily, some of our public figures heartily favored constitutional change. But there were others, too. We had, for instance, judges and lawyers who resisted what was new out of a lazy desire to sit, fat and content, rather than bestir their minds to the energy of progress. We had sectional prejudices, growing out of the rotten borough system which New Jersey has in its legislature. And also we had a completely uninformed public. So we set to work.

There had been some discussion in New Jersey of constitutional revision over the years. Every governor since the turn of the century had pleaded, at one time or another, for changes. But there was no unanimity as to what changes or how they were to be brought about. There was a considerable body of opinion favoring amendments, although there were those who felt this piecemeal approach was impractical.

It was against this background that a Constitutional Revision Commission was named in 1941. Two members each were named by the governor, the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. I was the seventh member, chosen by the other six because I was a political Huckleberry Finn, having less ambition than any one else in New Jersey. For several months the commission discussed the prospect of amending our antique. It looked at the changes necessary, the dead wood to be cleared, the new administrative procedures to be created so that the governor might hope to govern, the wealth of courts to be united and simplified into a cohesive system.

Then the commission got ready to report to the legislature which had

---

*Mr. Kerney, editor of the Trenton (New Jersey) *Times* and long active in local and state affairs, was a member of the 1941 Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution. In 1945 he became chairman of the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision, the citizens group which conducted the successful campaign for a new constitution. This article is Mr. Kerney's address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 28, 1951.

created it. Two things were apparent. Amendments were a grossly unsatisfactory process to do a real job of modernizing. Now, I don't say we couldn't have drafted necessary amendments. But if only half the amendments are adopted, the result is only half a constitution.

Basis of Government

To be worth its salt, a constitution is an integrated document. It is not a series of separate statutes. The creation of a basis for government is the task of a constitution; the adoption of necessary statutes is the job of a legislature. The one sets down a set of principles, a sort of ten commandments of the government; the other establishes from year to year the necessary rules to make that basic government fit current needs.

This is a point which cannot be stressed too much. I refuse to call what some states have "state constitutions." They are in reality bodies of statutes parading as constitutions. It is a transgression of sound constitutional principles to put so much statutory material into a basic document.

Of course, certain definitions must be made. Qualifications, terms and tenure must be established for governors, judges and legislators and these things are important. But they are only present to make the constitution self-effecting. They are safeguards against political intrusion.

In New Jersey the revision commission first enunciated and the constitutional convention later adopted certain principles. First, the governor was given authority. He was made responsible for the various state departments and given authority to name their administrators, who form his cabinet. To focus attention on his responsibilities as the general manager of the state government, he was the only state official elected. All other officials in the executive branch are his appointees. As a result of the new constitution we have for the first time cohesive, responsible administration of state government in New Jersey.

Given the responsibility, the governor must have the opportunity to exercise it. New Jersey extended the gubernatorial term from three to four years on the basis that it would take four years to accomplish a real program. It provided that the elections of governors and legislators would always occur in odd-numbered years, so there can be no direct confusion between state and national issues.

Even greater, however, are the changes in the courts. Within a few short years New Jersey has, by any criterion you choose, gone from the worst judicial system in the country to one of the best.

The state had so many courts even most of the lawyers didn't know them. There were courts of errors and appeals, chancery courts, supreme courts, courts of pardon, courts of special session, courts of quarter session, circuit courts, courts of oyer and terminer, orphans courts, matrimonial courts, courts of common pleas, and more. Now we have a Supreme Court, a Superior Court and county courts integrated into a well defined, simple system. There are no longer anachronisms in our courts, like the justices of the peace, who are as useful today as a crossbow in Korea.

More than this, for the first time in its history, New Jersey's judges have independence. Naturally they are appointed because we hope to keep our judges free from politics. No judge who must run for reelection can possibly be clear of politics, not if he wants to stay on the bench. But the constitution provided that, on reappointment, a judge would serve until death or retirement, subject only to the ordinary rules of good behavior. In other words, after serving a trial term, a judge in New Jersey has tenure. Furthermore, at 70 he retires on a pension. There are no doddering gentlemen impeding justice in New Jersey as there used to be.

In addition, New Jersey strengthened the civil rights section of its constitution by forbidding discrimination because of race, creed or color and by guaranteeing to labor the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Poor Legislative Section

In only one real respect did we fail to make as great a gain as possible. The new constitution did not strengthen the legislative section enough. Although legislators were given biennial terms, and although we provided for sufficient time to study legislation, removing the sudden bills which had caused so much bad law in the past, the record of legislatures under the new constitution is not as good as it should be. This lies in the fact that we failed to provide for petitioning any bill to the floor for a vote and left our Senate overweighted with rural representatives. New Jersey is hampered by the bottling of legislation in the majority caucus under a unit rule. Perhaps it is right to permit the legislature to design all its own rules. Public opinion is bringing weight to bear on this vicious practice, but a clause in the legislative section would have, as a sound constitutional principle, permitted any matter to come to a vote if sufficient numbers of legislators desired it. This fault may seem magnified because it is currently the greatest obstacle to progress in New Jersey.

The gist of obtaining the improvements I have listed was not simply filing a report with the legislature. Many such reports have been filed before and forgotten. The next step was the most important. The vast mass of public-spirited citizens who usually grunt approval and go back to sleep had to be awakened.

In the first place, the revision commission had the whole-hearted support of the press. It arranged a series of seminars for editorial writers and political correspondents to give them the greatest possible background on the proposed constitution. It was the commission's job to let the light of day into musty constitutional corners and, if our draft had any merits, the press and the public would respond. The press did respond immediately, in background news stories and in vigorous editorial support.

But newspaper support alone is not enough. Some of us got together to form a citizens' committee that could bring under one roof all the many groups who supported constitutional reform. We had in New Jersey a congeries of organizations interested in better government. There were the League of Women Voters, the state branch of the National Council of Jewish Women, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Association of University Women. There were, of course, the two great houses of labor. There were the State Chamber of Commerce and the State Taxpayers Association. There were citizen groups in every area of the state.

To be sure, not every organization approved of every principle in the proposed document. Labor, for instance, would have preferred elected judges and manufacturers would have preferred to keep collective bargaining out of the bill of rights. But, with the diplomatic services of many intermediaries, these difficulties were submerged in over-all approval of our major purposes.

One might expect such wide support to make the task of adoption easy. But don't forget that the proposal would cost one of our political organizations its virtual ownership of the court system—at that time we had in New Jersey a Hague. The fight was vindictive and the truth was not bandied about lightly in the campaign. And the proponents of improved government lost the first round as the proposed constitution went down the drain in a welter of last-minute lies. We had lost a battle, not the war. Governor Edison and Governor Edge, who had carried on the fight so well, turned the leadership over to Governor Driscoll. The concept of a constitution drafted by a commission and submitted by the legislature had failed.

The next step was a constitutional convention.[1] There were the customary objections to a convention from those who feared democracy. Radicals and pressure groups, we were told, would be in the convention. Well, it didn't work that way. And there's no reason why it should ever work that way. Both parties agreed that constitutional delegates were above the pale of politics. Party contests were ruled out and the delegates elected were a cross-section of able citizens. They included leading legislators from both parties, as well as lawyers, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, black and white, Protestant, Jew and Catholic. Of course, some had pet notions, but even these were not pressing with their ideas. There was unanimous accord on the general principles, as there will usually be when good citizens get together to do a civic task.

With considerable difficulty a number of judges were persuaded not to run as delegates since they would be a strong pressure group, having formed themselves into what might loosely but accurately be termed an anti-labor union. I do not want to appear opposed to lawyers, but it was the laymen at our convention who did the yeomen's work. If our judicial system has great merit, the reason is that the judicial committee was composed mostly of laymen. With minds uncluttered by hal-

(Continued on page 63)

---

[1] See "Convention or Commission," by Bennett M. Rich, the REVIEW, March 1948, page 133.

Tax Rates of American Cities

Assessed valuations and property tax rates for 1951 show increase over 1950; adjusted tax rates decrease.

By CITIZENS RESEARCH COUNCIL OF MICHIGAN*
(Formerly Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research)

Copyright, 1951, Citizens Research Council of Michigan

INCREASES in both assessed valuations and property tax rates in 1951 reversed the 1950 leveling of the upward trend of the postwar years. Thus, it seems that 1950 was not the start of a downward trend but only a temporary break in the general upward trend.

Table I, which covers the five-year period from 1947 through 1951, shows the annual change in total assessed valuations, average unadjusted tax rates and average adjusted tax rates for the 212 cities that reported full information for the five years. Total assessed valuation in 1951 increased 8.2 per cent over that of 1950 and 23.1 per cent over 1947. A further rise may be anticipated if the general inflationary pattern continues.

The average unadjusted tax rate for 1951 increased 2.5 per cent over 1950—a larger rise than the .7 per cent increase of 1950 over 1949. Since additional revenue from property taxes may be secured either by raising total assessments or by increasing the rate, it may readily be seen that cities obtained more revenue from the property tax in 1951 than previously, as both total assessed valuation and average unadjusted rates increased.

The average adjusted rate decreased from $24.93 per thousand in 1950 to $23.65 in 1951—a drop of 5.1 per cent. Since the adjusted rate is computed by multiplying the unadjusted or actual rate by the ratio of assessed value to current market value, the 1951 decrease indicates that assessed valuations have failed to increase along with the current upward trend of market values.

Table II shows per capita assessed valuations for 1950 and 1951. Since the 1950 population figures apply to both years and since in 1951 assessed values increased in each group, the 1951 per capita assessed valuation likewise increased over that of 1950. Cities in Population Group II[1] showed the largest increase, from $16.77 per thousand in 1950 to $18.12 in 1951—8.1 per cent. Group I increased the least, 2.9 per cent. The remainder of the groups showed increases of from 5.1 per cent to 6.3 per cent. The over-all increase was $.85 or 5 per cent.

The 1951 average assessed valuation per city of the 295 cities included in Table III increased 4.8

---

*The following Lent D. Upson Fellows in public administration compiled and tabulated the data in this article as part of their field training with the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, under the supervision of the council staff: Charles F. Kurfess, Roland L. Peterson, Robert L. Queller and John J. Whiteman.

[1] In this article and accompanying tables cities are classified in six population groups. See Table II, footnote a.

per cent over 1950. Group I increased the least, 3 per cent and Group II the most, 8 per cent. Groups V and VI showed identical increases of 6.3 per cent.

Tax Rate Changes

In 1951, as in 1950, the average unadjusted rates per thousand dollar valuation rose by less than 2 per cent for the 256 cities reporting in both years. The average increase in 1951 was only $.65—$.02 less than the 1950 increase over 1949. Groups I and II showed slight decreases from 1950, $.82 and $.48 respectively. Group VI had the largest increase, $1.08.

The average adjusted tax rate for 1951 was $1.56 less than that of 1950. Group II was the only group showing an increase, which was only $.36. All other groups of cities decreased, from $.03 in Group VI to $4.07 in Group IV. The average adjusted rate for 1951 is not comparable to any year prior to 1950, since the rates previous to that year were computed on a different basis.

In 1951 school rates in proportion to general city rates decreased slightly from 1950, even though school rates increased $.81—from $18.64 in 1950 to $19.45 in 1951. From the data submitted by 240 cities reporting separate city and school rates for 1950 and 1951, school rates in 1951 were 99.9 per cent of general city rates as compared to 101.6 per cent in 1950 (see Table V). This year Group V had the highest ratio, 109.8 per cent while Group II was low with 51.9 per cent. (Group II was also low in 1950, having a ratio of 66.1 per cent.) Group VI dropped 16.7 per cent in 1951, the largest decrease. Even though the average unadjusted school rate increased $.81 between 1950 and 1951, the average unadjusted general city

TABLE I

ANNUAL CHANGE IN ASSESSED VALUATION, UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES FOR 212 AMERICAN CITIES, 1947-1951[a]

(Indicating Per Cent Increase Over Preceding Year)

	1947	*1948*	*1949*	*1950*	*1951*	*Per cent Increase 1947-1951*
Total Assessed Valuation (In millions of dollars)	$60,883	$64,450 (5.9%)	$67,753 (5.1%)	$69,289 (2.3%)	$74,972 (8.2%)	23.1%
Average unadjusted tax rates	$39.43	$42.00 (6.5%)	$43.03 (2.5%)	$43.34 (.7%)	$44.42 (2.5%)	12.7%
Average adjusted tax rates[b]	$26.97	$28.09 (4.2%)	$28.09 (0)	$24.93 (—11.2%)[b]	$23.65 (—5.1%)[b]	—12.3%[b]

[a] Tax information was reported for 339 cities this year. The number of cities included in the five summary tables varies according to the number reporting, in the years covered, the particular data included.

[b] The figures for 1950 and 1951 are based on the ratio of the assessed valuation to current market value and not to true value which has been used in the preceding years.

rate increased $1.14. This explains the decreased ratio that school rates bear to city rates.

Tax collections for 1951 decreased slightly from the previous year's for the group of 297 cities reporting a percentage of taxes collected for both years. In 1950 these cities reported 96.57 per cent collected, while for 1951, 96.01 per cent of the taxes levied were collected. The small decrease is insignificant, since percentages of collections in recent years have fluctuated within narrow limits.

Current Market Value

Prior to 1950 the questionnaires sent to cities asked for the ratio of assessed valuation to "true value." In 1950 and 1951 the ratio of assessed valuation to "current market value" was requested. True value is too often determined on different standards to be accurate. The shortages and restrictions of the war years, the boom and inflation of the postwar period and the present military uncertainty have made it difficult to establish a standard for the determination of true value.

TABLE II

Per Capita Assessed Valuation in 1950 and 1951 for 295 American Cities

		1950		*1951*		*Per Cent Increase*
Population Group[a]	*Population (in thousands)*	*Assessed Valuation (in thousands)*	*Per Capita Assessed Valuation*	*Assessed Valuation (in thousands)*	*Per Capita Assessed Valuation*	*Assessed Valuation Per Capita 1950-51*
I	17,303	$36,434,422	$2,106	$37,510,977	$2,168	2.9
II	9,111	15,282,463	1,677	16,508,373	1,812	8.1
III	6,964	9,180,354	1,318	9,685,278	1,391	5.5
IV	9,425	13,728,694	1,457	14,425,670	1,531	5.1
V	6,870	10,832,352	1,577	11,521,382	1,677	6.3
VI	3,903	6,193,318	1,587	6,568,629	1,683	6
Total	53,576	$91,651,603	$1,711	$96,220,309	$1,796	5

[a] Census Bureau groupings are used in this and the following tables. Group I includes all cities of 1,000,000 and over; Group II, 500,000 to 1,000,000; Group III, 250,000 to 500,000; Group IV, 100,000 to 250,000; Group V, 50,000 to 100,000; Group VI is defined by the Census Bureau to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 are not included.

TABLE III

Comparison of Average Assessed Valuation for 295 American Cities in 1950 and 1951

Population Group	*Number and Percentage of Cities Included*		*Average Assessed Valuation (In Millions of Dollars) 1950*	*1951*	*Per Cent Change*
I	5	(100%)	$7,287	$7,502	3.0
II	13	(100%)	1,176	1,270	8.
III	19	(90%)	483	510	5.6
IV	63	(93%)	218	229	5.1
V	97	(77%)	112	119	6.3
VI	98	(56%)	63	67	6.3
Total	295	(72%)	311	326	4.8

In the replies of preceding years use of various bases for the determination of true value has been indicated. These different bases decrease the validity for comparative purposes for the translation of the reported rates into what they would be if the assessments were made at 100 per cent value. Use of current market value provides a common base for the estimates on which the adjusted tax rates are determined.

Tabulation Explained

The following comments should be considered by the reader when examining the tabulation and summary tables.

In the 1951 tabulation and summary tables preliminary census figures of 1950 are still used since the final figures were not complete for all cities when the tabulation was made.

The figure reported in the tabulation as the assessed valuation is the total amount of assessment rolls certified for city taxes and includes both realty and personalty. Assessment of those classes of personal property and utilities which are not taxed at the general city rate are not included. in the totals.

All rate figures reported are based on $1,000 of assessed valuation. Many cities reported rates levied by

TABLE IV

Comparison of Average Unadjusted and Adjusted Tax Rates for 256 Cities for 1950 and 1951

Population Group	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Valuation*		*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Valuation*	
	1950	*1951*	*1950*	*1951*
I	$41.62	$40.80	$27.16	$26.72
II	40.69	40.21	29.21	29.57
III	50.32	50.85	21.47	20.69
IV	45.96	46.90	27.54	23.47
V	43.71	43.99	23.11	21.43
VI	44.43	45.51	23.64	23.61
Total	44.78	45.43	24.48	22.92

TABLE V

Comparison of Average Actual City and School Rates of 240 Cities in 1950 and 1951

Population Group		*1950*			*1951*	
	Average City Rate	*Average School Rate*	*Per Cent School Rate of City Rate*	*Average City Rate*	*Average School Rate*	*Per Cent School Rate of City Rate*
I	$18.29	$15.92	87.0	$18.35	$14.81	80.7
II	28.87	19.09	66.1	28.29	14.67	51.9
III	20.38	14.77	72.5	19.17	17.06	89.0
IV	18.98	18.77	98.9	19.77	19.03	96.3
V	16.33	17.39	104.6	17.07	18.74	109.8
VI	17.66	21.78	123.3	20.97	22.35	106.6
Total	18.34	18.64	101.6	19.48	19.45	99.9

special taxing units such as park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts. These rates have been included under the four general headings with footnotes to give the necessary breakdown and explanation. In this manner the total tax borne by property in a given city is reflected.

The estimated ratio of assessed value to current market value includes both the city and county ratios. In most cases the city and county ratios are identical because either one unit or the other does the assessing. In those cases where the city and county, assessing separately, have differed, the percentage reported is the weighted average of the two.

The figure listed as the adjusted tax rate shows what the tax rate would be if the ratio of assessed value to current market value were 100 per cent. The adjusted figure is derived by multiplying the total unadjusted tax rate by the reported city and/or county ratio.

The reader is cautioned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to derive the total tax levy for a city because of the varied ratios of assessment, the varied tax rates applying to real and personal property and the fact that special district taxes may affect only part of a city.

The tax rates reported in this study cannot be used as an accurate basis for comparing the governmental cost of one city with another. Tax rates by themselves do not indicate a quantitative or qualitative measure of municipal services. Consideration should also be given to the fact that in recent years many cities have received other forms of substantial income such as income and sales taxes, state aid, etc.

Acknowledgment

This is the 30th annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. It has been made possible by the continued cooperation of city and county officials, bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce and other organizations in the cities to which questionnaires were sent.

Every attempt has been made to prevent omissions and eliminate errors. It is hoped that any discovered, and such other comments as may be thought helpful, will be sent to the Citizens Research Council of Michigan.

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1950

Compiled by the Citizens Research Council of Michigan from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	GROUP I											
	Population 1,000,000 or over											
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,835,099	18,776,760,946	N	30.80	—	—	—	30.80	100	30.80	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,606,436	8,109,151,017	22	17.52	11.76	3.60	—	32.88	—	—	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	2,064,794	3,776,117,135	17	17.00	12.75	N	N	29.75	62	18.45	3
4	Los Angeles, Calif.[4]	1,957,692	2,652,090,910	11	17.52	23.05	21.27	N	61.84	50	30.92	4
5	Detroit, Mich.[5]	1,838,517	4,196,857,170	32	21.35	11.68	6.11	N	39.14	—	—	5
	GROUP II											
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000											
6	Baltimore, Md.[6]	940,205	2,441,210,616	35	26.20	N	N	.60	26.80	100	26.80	6
7	Cleveland, Ohio[7]	905,636	1,766,087,739	27	17.70	13.50	4.20	—	35.40	70	24.78	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.	852,623	1,311,009,450	15	17.70	10.20	—	.60	28.50	100	28.50	8
9	Washington, D. C.[8]	797,670	2,076,488,986	17	—	—	N	N	21.50	70	15.05	9
10	Boston, Mass.	790,863	1,570,760,000	9	40.41	16.83	3.89	1.67	62.80	100	62.80	10
11	San Francisco, Calif.[9]	760,753	1,121,477,076	23	44.79	17.11	—	—	61.90	50	30.95	11
12	Pittsburgh, Pa.[10]	673,763	1,017,885,754	N	19.67	11.38	9.87	—	40.92	55	22.51	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.[11]	632,651	1,214,036,345	22	16.82	14.34	13.48	.30	44.94	69	31.01	13
14	Houston, Texas	594,321	921,590,480	37	20.00	12.70	12.90	4.20	49.80	60†	29.73	14
15	Buffalo, N. Y.[12]	577,393	994,927,080	N	23.63	6.87	13.11	N	43.61	95	41.43	15
16	New Orleans, La.[13]	567,257	689,669,347	34	27.00	10.00	—	5.75	42.75	—	—	16

N = None.

— = Figures or breakdown not available.

‡ = Data applies to 1950 tax year.

† = Different assessment ratios were reported for the city and the county. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

* = The reported estimate is on some base other than current market value.

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[1] **New York.** The equalization rates, as per the report of the New York State Tax Commission for 1951-1952, are as follows: Manhattan, 100%; The Bronx, 96%; Brooklyn, 98%; Queens, 93%; Richmond, 96%.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $3.12 park district, $3.06 sanitary district and $.44 forest preserve district rates.

[3] **Philadelphia.** City and county are consolidated.

[4] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $1.88 flood control and $3 metropolitan water district rates.

[5] **Detroit.** City rate includes $.66 library rate.

[6] **Baltimore.** There is no county government in Baltimore. No separate levy for schools. Budget appropriations for schools (exclusive of employees' pensions and debt service) are about 24% of total budget funds (exclusive of bond issue funds).

[7] **Cleveland.** City rate includes $.20 World War II compensation rate.

[8] **Washington, D. C.** Rate shown is for real estate. Adjusted personalty rate is $14 per thousand.

[9] **San Francisco.** Assessed value does not include solvent credits of $609,095,609 taxed at $1 per thousand. City and county are consolidated.

[10] **Pittsburgh.** City rate represents a weighted average of a $28 rate on land and a $14 rate on improvements.

[11] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $.33 metropolitan sewerage rate.

[12] **Buffalo.** City rate includes $1.07 Buffalo sewer authority rate.

[13] **New Orleans.** City rate includes $5.50 New Orleans levee board, $5.50 bond redemption (levied on 85% of assessed value), and $14.50 city rate (also levied on 85% of assessed value).

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
17	Minneapolis, Minn.[14]	517,277	307,917,580	27	71.77	37.39	23.85	7.99	141.00	—	—	17
18	Cincinnati, Ohio‡	500,510	1,075,312,430	23	11.72	11.09	3.29	—	26.10	45	11.75	18
	GROUP III											
	Population 250,000 to 500,000											
19	Seattle, Wash.[15]	462,440	428,557,582	29	21.10	12.00	13.63	2.07	48.80	47	22.94	19
20	Kansas City, Mo.[16]	453,290	678,530,790	31	14.80	16.80	6.90	.60	39.10	30	11.73	20
21	Newark, N. J.	437,857	682,567,322	18	34.97	24.88	9.34	N	69.19	60	41.51	21
22	Dallas, Texas	482,927	772,697,670	38	19.00	12.30	9.00	4.20	44.50	31†	13.89	22
23	Indianapolis, Ind.[17]	424,683	620,271,000	37	20.95	16.50	5.50	1.50	44.45	30	13.34	23
24	Denver, Colo.[18]‡	412,856	613,966,211	39	21.60	25.00	—	3.86	50.46	33	16.65	24
25	San Antonio, Texas[19]	406,811	446,935,030	27	20.20	12.00	11.80	4.20	48.20	40†	19.30	25
26	Memphis, Tenn.	394,012	511,200,194	17	11.50	6.50	10.50	—	28.50	52†	14.93	26
27	Oakland, Calif.[20]	380,576	391,568,665	7	25.70	24.69	23.51	—	73.90	50	36.95	27
28	Columbus, Ohio‡	374,770	572,681,510	22	6.10	12.50	3.60	.20	22.40	25	5.60	28
29	Portland, Ore.[21]	371,011	548,236,135	24	17.20	23.60	15.60	N	56.40	24	13.54	29
30	Louisville, Ky.	367,359	Not Reported									30
31	Rochester, N. Y.	331,252	590,531,172	N	19.52	11.68	14.20	N	45.40	96	43.58	31
32	Atlanta, Ga.	327,090	Not Reported									32
33	San Diego, Calif.[22]	321,485	339,519,585	14	19.50	23.60	23.00	N	66.10	39	25.78	33
34	St. Paul, Minn.[23]	309,474	173,899,042	29	52.76	35.47	31.18	7.99	127.40	15	19.11	34
35	Toledo, Ohio	301,358	619,857,848	24	3.45	12.28	4.07	—	19.80	33	6.53	35
36	Jersey City, N. Y.	300,447	477,198,646	13	15.94	23.33	34.00	N	73.27	60	43.96	36
37	Birmingham, Ala.	298,720	316,279,124	26	11.50	6.50	6.50	11.50	36.00	40	14.40	37
38	Fort Worth, Texas[24]	277,047	433,280,580	28	16.70	11.00	11.70	4.20	43.60	38†	16.44	38
39	Akron, Ohio	273,189	467,500,000	34	11.71	13.43	3.30	.20	28.64	45	12.89	39
	GROUP IV											
	Population 100,000 to 250,000											
40	Providence, R. I.	247,700	832,324,924	45	29.40	—	—	—	29.40	70	20.58	40

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[14] **Minneapolis.** City rate includes $.20 housing authority rate. County rate includes $.52 metropolitan airport bond rate. State rate of $7.99 is for non-homestead property; homestead rate is $4.12.

[15] **Seattle.** County rate includes $1.95 Port of Seattle rate.

[16] **Kansas City.** The city lies in two counties. School and county rates are for Jackson County.

[17] **Indianapolis.** City rate includes $1.44 township rate.

[18] **Denver.** City and county are consolidated. City rate includes $7.21 special levies for parks, mountain park, bond service, pensions and public welfare.

[19] **San Antonio.** County rate includes $.80 junior college district, $1.50 road district and $1.50 river, canal and conservancy district rates.

[20] **Oakland.** County rate includes $4 water and sewerage districts and $.71 park, mosquito abatement and flood control district rates.

[21] **Portland.** County rate includes $1.20 Port of Portland rate.

[22] **San Diego.** County rate includes $1 county water authority rate.

[23] **St. Paul.** City rate includes $.48 housing and redevelopment authority rate. County rate includes $.52 metropolitan airport bonds rate. State rate of $7.99 is for non-homestead property; homestead rate is $4.12.

[24] **Fort Worth.** County rate includes $3.20 water district rate.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
41	Omaha, Neb.[25]	247,408	348,734,533	39	14.35	18.50	4.14	8.20	45.19	25	11.30	41
42	Miami Fla.[26]	246,983	547,928,260	19	21.54	17.50	14.40	—	53.44	100	53.44	42
43	Long Beach, Calif.[27]	244,072	379,429,385	20	9.55	25.69	22.95	N	58.19	30	17.46	43
44	Dayton, Ohio	243,108	504,421,730	28	9.00	16.20	3.20	.40	28.80	50	14.40	44
45	Oklahoma City, Okla.	242,450	181,571,915	33	23.73	28.71	10.73	N	63.17	30	18.95	45
46	Richmond, Va.[28]	229,906	509,590,668	16	22.00	—	N	N	22.00	70	15.40	46
47	Syracuse, N. Y.[29]	220,067	362,586,925	N	29.46	—	16.92	—	46.38	75	34.79	47
48	Worcester, Mass.	201,885	319,472,700	7	46.57	—	1.73	.10	48.40	75	36.30	48
49	Jacksonville, Fla.[30]	198,880	190,860,200	27	12.30	18.50	13.78	N	44.58	75	33.43	49
50	Norfolk, Va.[31] ‡	188,601	258,818,590	16	27.00	—	N	N	27.00	67	18.09	50
51	Salt Lake City, Utah[32] ‡	181,718	193,201,303	26	19.50	17.85	10.40	8.05	55.80	22	12.28	51
52	Tulsa, Okla.	180,586	161,717,031	27	13.16	23.24	11.64	N	48.04	25	12.01	52
53	Honolulu, T. H.	179,358	253,785,190	N	31.52	—	—	—	31.52	30	9.46	53
54	Hartford, Conn.	177,073	464,091,676	28	23.73	13.57	.95	—	38.25	60	22.95	54
55	Des Moines, Iowa	176,954	174,695,039	20	27.69	37.40	14.52	N	79.61	30	23.89	55
56	Grand Rapids, Mich.	175,647	315,820,740	32	10.21	12.25	4.75	N	27.21	35	9.52	56
57	Nashville, Tenn.[33]	173,359	254,839,441	34	17.50	5.50	N	N	23.00	45	10.35	57
58	Youngstown, Ohio[34]	167,554	334,602,188	21	6.10	12.90	3.20	.20	22.40	—	—	58
59	Wichita, Kan.[35]	166,306	218,127,105	28	23.45	20.94	18.71	1.90	65.00	26	16.90	59
60	New Haven, Conn.[36]	163,344	376,797,137	27	21.00	12.12	.63	—	33.75	75‡	25.31	60
61	Flint, Mich.	162,800	329,506,850	22	10.55	11.50	6.00	N	28.05	60	16.83	61
62	Springfield, Mass.	162,601	300,531,665	10	28.93	15.86	2.07	.14	47.00	—	—	62
63	Spokane, Wash.	160,484	133,613,443	28	17.30	11.50	10.32	2.18	41.30	50	20.65	63
64	Bridgeport, Conn.[37]	159,352	348,824,290	37	24.65	9.42	.23	—	34.30	100	34.30	64
65	Yonkers, N. Y.[38]	152,533	326,321,590	N	17.68	11.42	7.68	.02	36.70	100	36.70	65
66	Tacoma, Wash.[39]	142,975	94,911,704	33	19.94	22.80	14.00	2.18	58.92	19	11.19	66
67	Paterson, N. J.	139,423	186,787,475	11	21.00	23.52	8.78	—	53.30	100	53.30	67

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[25] **Omaha.** City rate includes $1 municipal university and $.50 metopolitan utilities district rates.

[26] **Miami.** Rates vary from district to district; figures shown are averages. County rate includes $1.40 drainage district rate.

[27] **Long Beach.** City rate includes $3.36 special levy (library, band, recreation) rate.

[28] **Richmond.** City rate includes school rate.

[29] **Syracuse.** City rate includes school rate.

[30] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.29 air base authority and $.08 navigation district rates.

[31] **Norfolk.** City rate includes school rate. Personalty does not include $3,550,180 machinery assessed at $10 per thousand.

[32] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes $.30 mosquito abatement district and $1 metropolitan water district rates.

[33] **Nashville.** City rate includes $1 park commission and $1.15 pension fund rates.

[34] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $.10 township and $.90 Mahoning Valley sanitary district rates.

[35] **Wichita.** City rate includes $4.18 municipal university rate.

[36] **New Haven.** Estimated ratio is for 1950.

[37] **Bridgeport.** City rate includes $2.17 welfare and $2.78 debt (including school debt service) rates.

[38] **Yonkers.** City rate includes $7.05 debt service rate (other than water and education).

[39] **Tacoma.** County rate includes $3.25 Port of Tacoma and $.75 metropolitan park rates.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
68	Sacramento, Calif.[40]	135,761	195,721,530	23	20.40	20.50	25.70	—	66.60	53†	35.34	68
69	Albany, N. Y.	134,382	289,936,966	N	20.97	8.25	15.28	N	44.50	93	41.39	69
70	Charlotte, N. C.[41]	133,219	225,856,590	39	16.89	5.00	—	—	21.50	30	6.45	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[42]	132,840	223,104,810	44	17.95	13.25	6.90	1.50	39.60	27	10.69	71
72	Gary, Ind.[43]	132,496	172,139,535	53	26.09	23.72	7.09	1.50	58.40	30	17.52	72
73	Austin, Texas‡	131,964	161,127,060	22	16.00	11.50	9.00	7.20	43.70	34†	15.05	73
74	Chattanooga, Tenn.[44]‡	130,333	145,753,351	—	25.00	—	16.80	N	41.80	55	22.99	74
75	Erie, Pa.	130,125	157,827,980	9	16.00	17.50	10.00	N	43.50	40†	17.58	75
76	El Paso, Texas	130,003	177,692,050	30	17.50	13.20	9.90	4.20	44.80	43†*	19.45	76
77	Kansas City, Kan.	129,583	92,000,000	—	29.00	28.66	15.44	2.01	75.11	17	12.77	77
78	Trenton, N. J.	127,867	171,862,770	18	22.80	25.20	11.80	N	59.80	60	35.88	78
79	Mobile, Ala.	127,151	101,236,878	33	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	25	8.87	79
80	Shreveport, La.	125,506	176,000,000	20	18.50	12.00	2.00	5.75	38.25	50	19.13	80
81	Baton Rouge, La.	123,957	132,228,595	31	7.00	11.60	4.00	5.75	28.35	40	11.34	81
82	Scranton, Pa.[45]	124,747	98,030,997	N	21.98	22.50	14.00	—	58.48	41	23.98	82
83	Camden, N. J.	124,543	146,734,388	16	24.55	20.57	14.48	—	59.60	—	—	83
84	Knoxville, Tenn.	124,183	192,480,104	32	16.40	10.00	22.70	N	49.10	53†	26.24	84
85	Tampa, Fla.[46]	124,073	205,308,842	22	19.90	10.00	25.10	—	55.00	60	33.00	85
86	Cambridge, Mass.	120,676	213,664,450	9	—	—	—	—	42.90	100	42.90	86
87	Savannah, Ga.	119,639	84,352,964	28	26.00	15.00	15.00	5.00	61.00	45	27.45	87
88	Canton, Ohio[47]	116,312	243,453,470	23	3.90	12.80	2.60	.40	19.70	65	12.81	88
89	South Bend, Ind.[48]	115,698	183,448,810	43	15.40	16.45	5.65	1.50	39.00	31	12.09	89
90	Berkeley, Calif.[49]	113,217	133,310,720	11	17.20	26.59	23.51	N	67.30	51†	34.64	90
91	Elizabeth, N. J.	112,675	141,689,450	11	31.57	24.14	6.19	—	61.90	100	61.90	91
92	Fall River, Mass.	111,523	124,445,600	13	49.80	—	—	—	49.80	60	29.88	92
93	Peoria, Ill.[50]‡	111,523	366,118,460	32	9.50	9.72	1.28	N	20.50	23	4.72	93
94	Wilmington, Del.	109,907	187,948,750	N	17.62	4.38	6.50	—	28.50	50	14.25	94
95	Evansville, Ind.	109,869	Not Reported									95

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[40] **Sacramento.** County rate includes $.40 Sacto-Yolo mosquito abatement, $.60 Sacto-Yolo port district and $.40 American River flood control (on land only) rates.

[41] **Charlotte.** Figure on assessed valuation not final. City rate includes $.80 parks and recreation and $.04 Mecklenburg industrial home rates.

[42] **Fort Wayne.** City rate includes $1.70 township and $1.70 library rates.

[43] **Gary.** City rate includes $4.37 township, $1.34 public library and $1.68 sanitary district rates.

[44] **Chattanooga.** City rate includes school rate.

[45] **Scranton.** City rate represents a weighted average of $31.31 on land and $15.65 on improvements. County rate includes $5.50 institutional poor rate.

[46] **Tampa.** County rate includes $.50 port and $.20 West Coast navigation district rates.

[47] **Canton.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[48] **South Bend.** City rate includes $.62 township rate.

[49] **Berkeley.** County rate includes $4 utility district, $.50 regional parks and $.14 mosquito abatement rates.

[50] **Peoria.** City rate includes $1.14 township, $1.17 park, $.45 G. P. sanitary and $.25 airport rates.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
96	Reading, Pa.	109,062	142,862,110	N	14.00	20.00	6.50	—	40.50	54†	21.77	96
97	New Bedford, Mass.	109,033	126,707,600	15	35.45	13.15	3.10	.30	52.00	50	26.00	97
98	Corpus Christi, Texas	108,053	127,022,590	22	20.00	18.00	7.20	13.00	58.20	28†	16.12	98
99	Allentown, Pa.‡	106,233	118,250,300	N	15.00	18.00	7.00	—	40.00	32†	12.78	99
100	Phoenix, Ariz.	105,442	115,025,791	21	18.50	36.80	7.70	9.50	72.50	25	18.10	100
101	Montgomery, Ala.	105,098	66,292,291	31	12.50	7.00	7.50	6.50	33.50	33	11.06	101
102	Waterbury, Conn	104,242	258,371,270	33	22.03	10.37	.53	.07	33.00	63	20.79	102
103	Pasadena, Calif.[51]	104,087	237,445,085	10	11.00	25.30	19.67	N	55.96	55†	30.74	103
104	Duluth, Minn.‡	104,066	49,805,859	22	47.73	61.47	36.05	7.99	153.24	35	53.63	104
105	Somerville, Mass.	102,254	127,760,800	5	53.60	—	—	—	53.60	—	—	105
106	Utica, N. Y.	101,479	153,140,806	N	23.55	13.24	16.20	—	52.99	100	52.99	106
107	Little Rock, Ark.	101,387	63,292,230	28	11.80	29.00	5.20	N	46.00	12	5.52	107
	GROUP V **Population 50,000 to 100,000**											
108	Lynn, Mass.	99,521	139,252,035	11	56.80	—	N	N	56.80	75	42.60	108
109	Richmond, Calif.[52]	99,218	92,077,310	25	28.37	32.88	23.30	—	84.55	25	21.14	109
110	Jackson, Miss.	97,674	135,167,774	32	17.50	13.50	13.25	2.00	46.25	47†	21.60	110
111	Lincoln, Neb.[53]	97,423	144,297,610	34	13.80	27.88	4.85	8.06	54.59	50	27.30	111
112	Albuquerque, N. M.	97,012	63,918,468	—	13.79	6.92	11.16	5.71	37.59	60	22.55	112
113	Lowell, Mass.[54]	96,523	107,635,850	10	52.92	2.65	.23	—	55.80	100	55.80	113
114	St. Petersburg, Fla.[55]	95,712	258,419,803	8	20.12	12.60	8.31	—	41.03	65	26.67	114
115	Madison, Wis.[56]	95,594	244,098,015	17	9.81	13.27	6.69	.23	30.00	83	24.90	115
116	Glendale, Calif.[57]	95,398	133,677,035	16	10.30	26.34	18.27	N	54.91	50	27.45	116
117	San Jose, Calif.	95,044	130,176,450	23	17.74	29.60	18.70	N	66.04	39	25.76	117
118	Dearborn, Mich.	94,529	376,627,830	44	13.87	20.36	6.66	N	40.89	28	11.65	118
119	Beaumont, Texas[58]	93,715	119,630,400	25	16.40	15.00	24.80	—	56.20	31†	17.52	119
120	Rockford, Ill.[59]‡	92,503	305,026,908	23	8.23	10.48	1.22	—	19.93	50	9.97	120
121	Saginaw, Mich.	92,352	144,236,740	25	14.35	13.64	5.40	N	33.39	70	23.37	121
122	Schenectady, N. Y.	92,070	175,806,950	N	21.26	15.45	9.52	—	46.23	65	30.05	122
123	Lansing, Mich.[60]	91,694	174,848,760	33	18.70	13.15	6.85	—	38.70	30	11.61	123
124	Roanoke, Va.	91,089	136,466,109	22	26.60	—	—	—	26.60	60	15.96	124
125	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	90,875	173,148,255	N	19.96	17.36	11.33	N	48.65	33	16.05	125

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[51] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $1.88 flood control and $1.40 sanitation district rates.

[52] **Richmond.** City rate includes $3.15 water district and $2.18 hospital district rates.

[53] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $2 sanitary district rate.

[54] **Lowell.** City rate includes school rate.

[55] **St. Petersburg.** County rate includes $.15 special road district rate.

[56] **Madison.** City rate includes $.78 library and $.15 metropolitan sewer district rates.

[57] **Glendale.** County rate includes $1.88 Los Angeles County flood control rate.

[58] **Beaumont.** County rate includes state rate.

[59] **Rockford.** City rate includes $1.79 township, $.83 sanitary district, $.60 airport district and $.43 park district rates.

[60] **Lansing.** County and school rates are the preliminary rates set by the County Tax Allocation Board and, at the time of the city's reporting, were not the final or official rates.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
126	Fresno, Calif.[61]	90,618	108,970,495	19	16.43	30.20	15.87	—	62.51	44	27.50	126
127	Harrisburg, Pa.	89,091	102,536,665	N	15.00	17.50	8.00	N	40.50	56†	22.70	127
128	Hammond, Ind.[62]	87,423	117,560,375	23	19.57	29.64	7.09	1.50	60.20	29†	17.73	128
129	Winston-Salem, N. C.	86,816	178,522,336	50	19.50	3.50	6.00	N	29.00	30	8.70	129
130	Huntington, W. Va.[63]	86,160	178,806,130	43	6.20	13.76	4.94	.10	25.00	55	13.75	130
131	Columbia, S. C.	85,949	Not Reported									131
132	Waco, Texas	84,300	109,661,360	33	16.80	15.00	6.90	4.20	42.90	31†	13.35	132
133	Sioux City, Iowa	84,035	85,359,786	13	22.24	28.87	10.17	N	61.28	—	—	133
134	Quincy, Mass.	83,190	Not Reported									134
135	Manchester, N. H.[64]	82,581	121,851,507	25	36.07	—	4.83	.10	41.00	94†	38.58	135
136	East St. Louis, Ill.	81,950	Not Reported									136
137	Pawtucket, R. I.	81,180	Not Reported									137
138	Binghamton, N. Y.	81,132	120,357,547	N	27.56	11.08	7.08	—	45.72	100	45.72	138
139	Newton, Mass.	80,996	212,500,000	10	—	—	—	—	38.40	70	26.88	139
140	Springfield, Ill.[65]	80,832	214,720,038	16	9.02	10.91	2.47	N	22.40	80	17.92	140
141	Lawrence, Mass.[66]	80,427	90,260,100	10	33.31	19.50	4.79	—	47.60	—	—	141
142	Columbus, Ga.	79,510	80,000,000	25	16.50	19.50	12.50	5.00	53.50	30†	16.13	142
143	Burbank, Calif.	78,318	Not Reported									143
144	East Orange, N. J.	78,057	117,543,912	9	23.02	20.77	9.61	—	53.40	—	—	144
145	Springfield, Ohio[67] ‡	78,029	150,132,253	27	4.90	11.80	3.10	.20	20.00	—	—	145
146	Topeka, Kan.[68]	77,827	86,379,970	19	19.75	18.05	8.23	1.67	47.70	35	16.70	146
147	Portland, Me.[69]	76,936	100,251,575	30	35.75	15.45	1.59	5.61	58.40	60	35.04	147
148	Altoona, Pa.	76,844	Not Reported									148
149	Bayonne, N. J.	76,657	Not Reported									149
150	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[70]	76,638	83,110,693	7	17.66	21.00	11.20	—	49.86	—	—	150
151	St. Joseph, Mo.[71]	75,572	71,286,970	31	18.50	15.60	8.80	.70	43.60	75	32.70	151
152	Amarillo, Texas.[72]	73,737	122,391,376	33	14.40	13.80	8.00	4.20	40.40	33†	13.53	152
153	Greensboro, N. C.[73]	73,703	163,762,105	39	16.70	3.90	9.80	—	30.40	85	25.84	153
154	New Britain, Conn.	73,663	131,230,588	31	—	—	—	—	41.90	75	31.43	154
155	Davenport, Iowa	73,640	Not Reported									155

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[61] **Fresno.** County rate includes $.58 mosquito abatement district and $1 library rates.

[62] **Hammond.** City rate includes $2.47 township, $1.10 library and $2.73 sanitary district rates.

[63] **Huntington.** Rates shown are for Class IV property.

[64] **Manchester.** City rate includes school rate.

[65] **Springfield (Ill.).** City rate includes $1.30 township, $.49 sanitary district, $.58 park district and $.65 airport rates.

[66] **Lawrence.** City rate includes $.65 overlay and $18.75 unclassified rates.

[67] **Springfield (Ohio).** City rate includes $.03 township rate.

[68] **Topeka.** City rate includes $3.15 municipal university and $.90 library rates. County rate includes $1.80 county school rate.

[69] **Portland.** City rate includes $4.29 debt service (including school debt service) and $2.16 capital improvement rates.

[70] **Wilkes-Barre.** County rate includes $3 institution rate.

[71] **St. Joseph.** City rate includes $1.50 garbage disposal and $.50 municipal museum rates.

[72] **Amarillo.** City rate includes $1.40 junior college rate.

[73] **Greensboro.** City rate includes $4.60 debt service and $.70 parks and recreation rates.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
156	Stamford, Conn.[74]	73,584	205,544,791	25	26.90	14.60	—	—	41.50	50	20.75	156
157	Pontiac, Mich.	73,112	153,216,160	33	13.98	12.22	5.90	—	32.10	85	27.29	157
158	Evanston, Ill.[75] ‡	73,030	212,600,327	11	11.42	10.19	7.24	—	28.85	100	28.85	158
159	Charleston, W. Va.	72,818	169,436,010	44	5.00	10.87	4.29	.07	20.23	20	4.05	159
160	Cedar Rapids, Iowa[76]	72,149	87,390,248	31	22.05	32.21	7.73	N	64.99	40	26.00	160
161	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[77]	71,837	156,622,240	N	17.27	16.82	9.11	N	43.20	100	43.20	161
162	Stockton, Calif.	71,660	97,845,355	20	25.60	27.82	19.27	—	62.69	40	25.08	162
163	Troy, N. Y.	71,559	73,694,998	N	30.47	16.27	17.79	—	64.53	89	57.43	163
164	Augusta, Ga.	71,507	—	—	21.00	22.50	13.00	5.00	61.50	30†	18.62	164
165	Lubbock, Texas	71,390	Not Reported									165
166	Santa Monica, Calif.[78]	71,299	101,531,800	27	19.60	22.22	18.27	N	63.09	30	18.93	166
167	Portsmouth, Va.	71,294	60,673,572	10	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	50	12.50	167
168	Racine, Wis.	70,749	127,353,110	18	10.07	16.54	6.54	.37	33.52	50	16.76	168
169	Durham, N. C.	70,307	147,221,344	41	12.90	4.10	6.50	N	23.50	55	9.40	169
170	Macon, Ga.[79]	70,106	—	—	13.00	—	25.50	5.00	43.50	—	—	170
171	Charleston, S. C.	68,243	23,027,583	41	62.00	40.00	27.00	N	129.00	8	10.32	171
172	Lakewood, Ohio‡	67,878	114,320,311	9	10.60	16.80	4.20	.20	31.80	50	15.90	172
173	Decatur, Ill.	67,801	Not Reported									173
174	Wichita Falls, Texas[80]	67,709	—	—	16.50	16.90	—	—	33.40	50	16.70	174
175	Cicero, Ill.[81]	67,109	191,749,874	27	7.56	13.88	9.70	—	31.14	—	—	175
176	Springfield, Mo.[82]	66,302	56,349,400	33	16.00	26.50	7.80	.60	50.90	30	15.27	176
177	Medford, Mass.	66,109	Not Reported									177
178	Bethlehem, Pa.[83]	66,027	87,603,214	13	16.00	17.50	11.00	—	44.50	34†	15.03	178
179	Galveston, Texas	65,898	Not Reported									179
180	Chester, Pa.	65,824	66,244,228	N	17.70	19.00	6.00	—	42.70	49†	20.75	180
181	Raleigh, N. C.	65,123	105,823,213	29	13.80	6.50	3.50	—	23.80	53†	12.70	181
182	Clifton, N. J.	64,567	87,702,648	10	16.00	30.70	8.80	N	55.50	75	41.63	182
183	Waterloo, Ia.[84]	64,354	84,927,534	23	20.61	25.68	7.69	N	53.98	45	24.29	183

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[74] **Stamford.** Rate shown is for Taxing District "A". Adjusted rate for District "B" is $19; for District "C", $16.30.

[75] **Evanston.** City rate includes $.04 park district and $3.20 unclassified rates.

[76] **Cedar Rapids.** Assessed valuation does not include $33,197,730 of moneys and credits taxed at $5 per thousand.

[77] **Mt. Vernon.** City rate includes $1.43 library rate.

[78] **Santa Monica.** Total assessment rolls exclude $7,593,300 unsecured personal property to which last year's tax rate is applied and $29,103,430 solvent credits, taxed at $1 per thousand. County rate includes $3 metropolitan water district and $1.88 Los Angeles County flood control rates.

[79] **Macon.** County rate includes school rate.

[80] **Wichita Falls.** City rate includes $2.50 water improvement district rate. School rate includes $3.90 college rate.

[81] **Cicero.** County rate includes $.44 forest preserve district, $3.06 sanitary district, $.20 poor relief and $.78 T.B. sanitarium rates. Total rate shown is for Clyde Park District. Hawthorne Park District rate is $30.66.

[82] **Springfield (Mo.).** County rate includes $3.50 road rate.

[83] **Bethlehem.** City lies in two counties. County rate shown is for Northampton County. Lehigh County rate is $7.

[84] **Waterloo.** Total assessment rolls exclude $17,204,661 of moneys and credits assessed at 100% and taxed at $5 per thousand.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
184	Covington, Ky.	64,282	73,999,055	10	17.00	14.90	N	N	31.90	70	22.33	184
185	Terre Haute, Ind.[85]	64,047	70,630,640	30	21.70	19.90	11.70	1.50	54.80	30	16.44	185
186	Lancaster, Pa.[86]	63,601	101,280,650	N	9.50	14.00	5.00	—	28.50	55†	15.55	186
187	Pueblo, Colo.[87]	63,561	41,647,874	18	36.80‡	32.04‡	12.50‡	3.90‡	85.24‡	20	17.05	187
188	Alameda, Calif.	63,425	41,101,900	16	15.18	2.02	47.90	—	65.10	21†	13.88	188
189	Oak Park, Ill.‡[88]	63,175	163,039,455	11	13.26	14.80	3.60	—	31.66	79	25.01	189
190	Brockton, Mass.[89]	62,856	82,447,850	11	53.80	N	N	N	53.80	55	29.59	190
191	San Bernardino, Calif.	62,792	Not Reported									191
192	Johnstown, Pa.[90]	62,723	72,315,665	N	15.00	19.00	8.00	—	42.00	58†	24.16	192
193	Atlantic City, N. J.	61,642	95,521,833	9	42.80	20.20	15.70	N	78.70	—	—	193
194	Alexandria, Va.[91]	61,604	107,719,765	25	26.50	—	—	—	26.50	50	13.25	194
195	Malden, Mass.	59,779	Not Reported									195
196	York, Pa.	59,704	121,668,925	N	7.00	13.50	9.50	—	30.00	63†	18.78	196
197	New Rochelle, N. Y.	59,626	168,565,105	5	21.40	14.60	8.30	—	44.30	100	44.30	197
198	Irvington, N. J.	59,142	Not Reported									198
199	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	58,782	120,903,013	8	7.90	19.20	4.20	.20	31.50	60	18.90	199
200	Wheeling, W. Va.	58,447	161,496,375	54	4.71	7.95	3.66	.07	16.39	25	4.10	200
201	Muncie, Ind.[92]	58,364	66,560,565	49	20.40	28.10	4.60	1.50	54.60	33	18.02	201
202	Greenville, S. C.	57,932	22,048,755	45	60.00	42.00	37.00	—	139.00	5	6.95	202
203	Passaic, N. J.	57,851	95,857,267	22	25.82	24.30	8.78	—	58.90	60	35.34	203
204	Hamilton, Ohio	57,717	103,066,000	27	6.19	15.55	2.20	.20	24.14	50	12.07	204
205	Port Arthur, Texas	57,377	78,389,010	19	17.60	—	—	—	17.60	—	—	205
206	Kalamazoo, Mich.	57,326	120,642,443	36	10.56	14.98	5.22	—	30.76	—	—	206
207	Brookline, Mass.	56,952	Not Reported									207
208	Ogden, Utah[93]	56,910	51,433,767	25	18.50	34.48	9.85	—	62.83	26	16.34	208
209	Gadsden, Ala.	55,528	41,471,792	11	10.00	8.00	11.50	6.50	36.00	20	7.20	209
210	Union City, N. J.	55,322	Not Reported									210
211	Cranston, R. I.[94]	55,130	127,007,840	30	28.00	—	N	N	28.00	67	18.76	211
212	Lexington, Ky.‡	54,449	73,300,000	17	16.60	27.00	5.00	.50	49.10	56†	27.41	212
213	Holyoke, Mass.	54,441	82,040,710	7	37.42	—	2.37	.21	40.00	60	24.00	213

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[85] **Terre Haute.** City rate includes $1.64 township rate.

[86] **Lancaster.** County rate includes $2 institution district rate. County also has a $4 rate on intangible personal property.

[87] **Pueblo.** City rate includes $2.10 junior college rate. School rate shown is for School District #1. Rate for School District #20 is $30.91.

[88] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $6.36 of unclassified rates.

[89] **Brockton.** City rate includes the school rate, a share of county's rate and the rate for certain state rendered services.

[90] **Johnstown.** City rate includes $.50 library rate.

[91] **Alexandria.** Rate shown is for real estate. Personalty rate is $30 per thousand.

[92] **Muncie.** City rate includes $1.50 poor and $1.35 library rates.

[93] **Ogden.** County rate includes $.90 mosquito abatement and $.50 water conservancy district rates.

[94] **Cranston.** City rate includes school rate.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
214	Kenosha, Wis.[95]	54,360	87,655,420	13	11.06	21.56	10.00	.38	43.00	60	25.80	214
215	East Chicago, Ind.[96]	54,124	129,005,360	—	18.57	17.24	7.09	1.50	44.40	33	14.65	215
216	Pittsfield, Mass.	53,055	99,323,910	8	36.46	N	2.74	.40	39.60	50	19.80	216
217	Joliet, Ill.[97]	52,460	134,769,043	—	6.59	17.65	1.81	—	26.05	95	24.75	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.[98]	52,443	95,425,755	16	10.72	16.08	9.44	.34	36.58	56	20.48	218
219	Bay City, Mich.	52,372	68,084,545	28	19.98	12.78	6.33	—	39.09	33	12.90	219
220	Asheville, N. C.	52,203	74.111,297	30	15.30	10.20	9.30	N	34.80	40	13.92	220
221	Sioux Falls, S. D.	52,161	72,053,843	31	21.65	26.74	5.98	N	54.37	35	19.03	221
222	San Angelo, Texas	51,899	Not Reported									222
223	Orlando, Fla.[99]	51,826	117,813,025	15	16.00	—	33.00	—	49.00	48†	23.60	223
224	Laredo, Texas	51,694	Not Reported									224
225	Alhambra, Calif.[100]	51,284	74,638,400	13	11.10	25.40	19.67	—	56.17	40	22.47	225
226	McKeesport, Pa.	51,223	66,983,350	N	14.00	18.00	9.88	N	41.88	60	25.13	226
227	Berwyn, Ill.[100a]	51,176	97,014,216	9	12.06	15.58	3.60	—	31.24	100	31.24	227
228	Jackson, Mich.	50,904	102,810,825	31	10.00	13.40	6.10	—	29.50	50	14.75	228
229	Lorain, Ohio[101]	50,819	157,985,417	36	5.97‡	12.49‡	1.90‡	.20‡	20.56‡	50	10.28	229
230	South Gate, Calif.[102]	50,684	53,389,550	24	10.00	23.05	21.64	—	54.69	40	21.88	230
231	Hoboken, N. J.	50,510	Not Reported									231
232	Aurora, Ill.[108] ‡	50,508	116,150,469	20	10.42	13.99	1.19	N	25.60	62	15.87	232
233	Woonsocket, R. I.	50,186	87,678,850	31	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	70	17.50	233
	GROUP VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**											
234	Lima, Ohio‡	49,880	78,866,588	31	6.25	11.10	2.45	.20	20.00	47†	9.38	234
235	Elmira, N. Y.	49,690	55,191,822	N	27.44	14.13	14.34	N	55.91	75	41.93	235
236	Warren, Ohio[104] ‡	49,674	103,830,593	19	5.70	13.80	2.30	.20	22.00	55	12.10	236
237	Dubuque, Iowa	49,528	43,780,760	17	24.45	21.85	11.70	N	58.00	—	—	237
238	Norwalk, Conn.[105]	49,458	110,895,780	22	22.16	15.10	.24	—	37.50	40	15.00	238
239	Bloomfield, N. J.	49,313	86,858,543	14	17.60	26.50	9.80	—	53.90	40	21.56	239
240	Chicopee, Mass.	48,939	————	—	—	—	—	—	49.00	—	—	240

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[95] **Kenosha.** City rate includes $1.25 library rate.

[96] **East Chicago.** City rate includes $2.47 township, $.80 library and $1.80 sanitation district rates.

[97] **Joliet.** City rate includes $2.01 township and $1.18 unclassified rates.

[98] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $1.80 metropolitan sewerage district rate.

[99] **Orlando.** County rate includes school and special school rates.

[100] **Alhambra.** County rate includes $1.88 flood control and $1.40 sanitation district rates.

[101] **Lorain.** City rate includes $.12 township rate.

[102] **South Gate.** County rate includes $2.65 sanitation district, $.72 Los Angeles County library and $1.88 flood control rates.

[108] **Aurora.** City rate includes $1.68 township, $.83 town road and bridge, $1 park district, $.81 sanitary district and $.13 forest preserve rates. School rate shown is for School District ‡129. Rate for School District ‡131 is $12.56.

[104] **Warren.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[105] **Norwalk.** City rate includes $10.96 inner district rate.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
241	Rock Island, Ill.[106]	48,594	110,622,582	30	9.42	10.84	2.58	—	22.84	100	22.84	241
242	New Castle, Pa.	48,563	51,563,590	N	11.00	20.00	6.50	—	37.50	60	22.50	242
243	Battle Creek, Mich.	48,469	126,070,000	33	9.40	16.29	5.73	—	31.42	100*	31.42	243
244	Muskegon, Mich.	48,047	108,045,550	34	11.00	9.10	6.40	N	26.50	56	14.84	244
245	Compton, Calif.[107]	47,893	48,209,950	16	16.71	30.27	21.79	—	68.77	40	27.51	245
246	Fort Smith, Ark.	47,864	Not Reported									246
247	Lynchburg, Va.	47,639	75,755,396	17	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	247
248	La Crosse, Wis.[108]	47,396	78,313,885	22	9.14	16.36	12.19	.31	38.00	62	23.56	248
249	Ann Arbor, Mich.	47,279	63,318,730	20	12.50	17.98	6.00	N	36.48	29	10.58	249
250	Haverhill, Mass.	47,213	Not Reported									250
251	Waltham, Mass.	47,198	Not Reported									251
252	Abilene, Texas	47,102	85,461,030	27	13.10	8.40	5.00	4.20	30.70	45†	13.67	252
253	Royal Oak, Mich.[109]	46,817	58,103,430	10	22.41	30.40	8.04	N	60.85	30	18.26	253
254	Anderson, Ind.[110]	46,809	55,599,465	45	22.20	26.60	8.70	1.50	59.00	30	17.70	254
255	Riverside, Calif.	46,399	64,626,070	12	10.70	—	—	—	—	—	—	255
256	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	46,364	Not Reported									256
257	Highland Park, Mich.	46,155	137,725,400	40	15.00	12.50	6.11	—	33.61	—	—	257
258	Inglewood, Calif.[111]	46,046	71,471,400	27	17.50	32.96	21.36	—	71.72	50*	35.86	258
259	Everett, Mass.	45,789	100,481,025	20	26.34	11.46	1.68	2.12	41.60	50	20.80	259
260	Miami Beach, Fla.	45,541	309,636,950	13	16.00	16.60	—	—	32.60	100*	32.60	260
261	Santa Ana, Calif.[112]	45,534	59,282,500	14	18.74	22.36	17.17	—	58.27	50	29.14	261
262	Colorado Springs, Colo.‡	45,268	40,486,840	30	16.00	32.90	9.15	3.90	61.95	33	20.44	262
263	Council Bluffs, Iowa	45,184	31,794,058	8	26.04	35.76	11.30	.50	73.60	37	27.23	263
264	Tucson, Ariz.	45,064	36,931,230	13	39.85	54.46	9.16	9.50	112.97	55*	62.13	264
265	Wilmington, N. C.	44,975	Not Reported									265
266	Williamsport, Pa.[113]	44,964	32,576,190	N	14.75	22.00	8.00	—	44.75	30†	13.57	266
267	Santa Barbara, Calif.	44,764	Not Reported									267
268	West Hartford, Conn.	44,401	151,626,614	20	—	—	—	—	26.50	55	14.58	268
269	Arlington, Mass.	43,984	64,126,950	5	—	—	—	—	54.20	65	35.23	269
270	Montclair, N. J.	43,775	85,637,390	10	23.54	28.24	9.72	N	61.50	50	30.75	270

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[106] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $1.23 township, $.59 street and bridge and $.87 airport authority rates.

[107] **Compton.** City rate includes $2.25 metropolitan water district rate.

[108] **La Crosse.** City rate includes $1.17 recreation rate.

[109] **Royal Oak.** City rate includes $2.41 unclassified rate.

[110] **Anderson.** City rate includes $1.10 township and $.80 library rates.

[111] **Inglewood.** City rate includes $1.10 municipal improvement district and $3.70 metropolitan water district rates. County rate includes $2.98 sanitation district, $1.88 flood control and $.71 library rates.

[112] **Santa Ana.** County rate includes $1.57 flood control, $.28 harbor, $.14 mosquito abatement, $.07 cemetery and $3 metropolitan water district rates, plus an acquisition and improvement rate of $.60 on land only.

[113] **Williamsport.** City rate includes $.75 library rate. County rate includes $3 institutional rate.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
271	Meriden, Conn.	43,747	Not Reported									271
272	Elgin, Ill.[114]	43,534	112,820,447	22	7.28	13.60	1.19	—	22.07	75	16.55	272
273	White Plains, N. Y.	43,501	144,522,730	N	16.44	17.25	7.78	—	41.47	—	—	273
274	Mansfield, Ohio[115]	43,363	104,972,050	27	3.80	12.10	2.90	.20	19.00	—	—	274
275	Pensacola, Fla.	43,293	56,890,660	14	10.57	—	—	—	—	—	—	275
276	Jamestown, N. Y.	43,250	61,289,634	N	22.62	19.49	6.87	—	48.98	84	41.14	276
277	Hamtramck, Mich.	43,245	103,993,180	47	20.00	10.93	7.00	—	37.93	75	28.45	277
278	Salem, Ore.	43,064	Not Reported									278
279	West Palm Beach, Fla.[116]	43,053	83,225,200	13	28.50	—	35.00	—	63.50	50	31.75	279
280	Warwick, R. I.‡	43,027	70,827,755	21	27.50	N	N	N	27.50	50	13.75	280
281	West Allis, Wis.	42,945	106,281,362	34	15.52	11.80	17.45	.37	45.14	50	22.57	281
282	Fitchburg, Mass.	42,671	61,189,750	16	54.80	—	—	—	54.80	100	54.80	282
283	Sheboygan, Wis.	42,485	71,299,245	15	16.48	19.78	8.82	.33	45.41	50	22.71	283
284	Plainfield, N. J.	42,212	68,775,104	13	22.10	27.79	7.81	N	57.70	100*	57.70	284
285	North Little Rock, Ark.	42,142	Not Reported									285
286	Salem, Mass.[117]	41,842	59,736,540	11	30.96	19.07	4.26	.21	54.50	100	54.50	286
287	Meridian, Miss.	41,709	Not Reported									287
288	Newport News, Va.	41,571	60,320,856	24	17.31	15.19	—	—	32.50	54	17.55	288
289	San Mateo, Calif.	41,536	83,129,205	10	13.70	—	—	—	—	—	—	289
290	Euclid, Ohio	41,447	130,506,139	31	8.50	16.00	4.20	.20	28.90	60	17.34	290
291	Quincy, Ill.‡	41,402	115,270,975	49	7.65	9.91	2.53	—	20.09	100	20.09	291
292	Rome, N. Y.	41,379	36,260,097	N	28.47	22.71	20.39	—	71.57	79	56.54	292
293	Perth Amboy, N. J.	41,291	Not Reported									293
294	Lake Charles, La.	41,202	Not Reported									294
295	Lewiston, Me.[118]	41,142	37,986,789	22	40.32	—	1.34	5.34	47.00	30	14.10	295
296	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	40,975	60,193,066	N	28.68	16.49	—	—	45.17	73†*	33.07	296
297	Oshkosh, Wis.[119] ‡	40,934	66,405,775	21	13.03	17.51	6.26	.80	37.60	61	22.94	297
298	Greenwich, Conn.[120]	40,546	230,130,390	15	26.60	—	—	—	26.60	77	20.48	298
299	Zanesville, Ohio	40,424	Not Reported									299
300	Taunton, Mass.	40,056	39,245,680	6	—	—	—	—	49.20	70	34.44	300
301	High Point, N. C.	39,930	82,015,875	38	14.20	8.78	4.47	N	27.45	85*	23.33	301
302	East Cleveland, Ohio	39,875	65,188,591	10	8.90	16.10	4.20	.20	29.40	35	10.29	302
303	Kearny, N. J.	39,828	80,917,348	21	14.14	19.33	17.40	—	50.87	—	—	303

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[114] **Elgin.** City rate includes $1.04 township, $.13 forest preserve, $.44 library, $2.95 road and bridge and $.41 sanitation district rates.

[115] **Mansfield.** City rate includes $.13 township rate.

[116] **West Allis.** City rate includes $1.42 township rate.

[117] **Salem.** City rate includes $.68 South Essex sewerage district and $1.25 overlay rates.

[118] **Lewiston.** City rate includes school rate.

[119] **Oshkosh.** County rate includes $.57 county school rate.

[120] **Greenwich.** Rate given is consolidated town and borough rate, including city, school, town and county rates. Rate includes $1.70 sewer district rate which applies only to property connected

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
304	University City, Mo.[121]	39,595	55,506,580	18	10.70	23.40	10.90	.60	45.60	25	11.40	304
305	Richmond, Ind.[122]	39,504	53,877,979	45	17.40	20.70	7.20	1.50	46.80	33	15.44	305
306	Champaign, Ill.[123] ‡	39,397	92,033,564	21	8.14	10.86	1.50	N	20.50	55	11.28	306
307	Waukegan, Ill.	39,099	Not Reported									307
308	Chelsea, Mass.	39,038	44,727,200	8	46.85	14.78	N	2.57	64.20	60	38.52	308
309	Great Falls, Mont.	39,006	76,960,885	—	49.30	55.91	23.05	7.50	135.76	35	47.52	309
310	Tyler, Texas[124]	38,864	62,922,555	31	16.81	11.19	11.40	4.20	43.60	45	19.62	310
311	New Brunswick, N. J.	38,768	47,182,259	13	23.10	24.10	15.80	—	63.00	—	—	311
312	Kokomo, Ind.[125]	38,600	47,720,145	46	17.46	23.95	8.08	1.50	50.99	57	29.06	312
313	Joplin, Mo.[126]	38,515	29,640,569	38	19.00	26.80	7.50	.60	53.90	25	13.48	313
314	Orange, N. J.	38,413	Not Reported									314
315	Monroe, La.	38,375	33,699,460	37	18.50	14.00	—	—	32.50	40	13.00	315
316	Yakima, Wash.	38,375	Not Reported									316
317	Norristown, Pa.	38,193	Not Reported									317
318	Fargo, N. D.[127]	37,931	60,008,282	25	19.30	16.71	15.38	3.03	54.42	—	—	318
319	Danville, Ill.[128]	37,892	80,386,632	24	11.12	12.80	2.08	—	26.00	100	26.00	319
320	West New York, N. J.	37,754	47,151,040	11	31.99	29.65	17.21	N	78.85	60	47.31	320
321	Cumberland, Md.	37,632	66,484,734	28	13.10	7.96	10.24	.60	31.90	75	23.93	321
322	Watertown, Mass.	37,399	64,500,000	6	—	—	—	—	42.60	100	42.60	322
323	Moline, Ill.[129]	37,296	101,826,676	28	7.64	12.76	2.58	—	22.98	67	15.40	323
324	Muskogee, Okla.	37,225	21,341,826	40	10.21	23.72	14.16	N	48.09	50	24.05	324
325	Pine Bluff, Ark.	37,147	Not Reported									325
326	Biloxi, Miss.	37,034	Not Reported									326
327	Independence, Mo.[130]	36,832	29,737,150	29	14.00	23.50	7.90	.60	46.00	50	23.00	327
328	Spartanburg, S. C.[131]	36,674	14,537,370	53	60.00	31.00	31.00	—	122.00	10	12.20	328
329	Auburn, N. Y.	36,667	54,800,000	77	21.77	12.81	8.47	—	43.05	70	30.14	329
330	Wyandotte, Mich.	36,666	Not Reported									330
331	Portsmouth, Ohio‡	36,663	60,594,190	20	12.18	10.53	3.09	.20	26.00	25	6.50	331
332	Revere, Mass.	36,663	Not Reported									332
333	Hagerstown, Md.[132]	36,232	69,500,000	32	5.00	N	15.00	.60	20.60	50	10.30	333

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

to town sewer system.

[121] **University City.** County rate includes $7.40 unclassified rate.

[122] **Richmond.** City rate includes $1.55 township and $6.30 sanitary district rates.

[123] **Champaign.** City rate includes $1.67 township, $1.17 sanitary district and $.30 public health rates.

[124] **Tyler.** City rate includes $2 junior college district rate.

[125] **Kokomo.** City rate includes $.35 township rate. County rate includes $1.58 poor relief rate.

[126] **Joplin.** County rate includes $3.50 special road rate.

[127] **Fargo.** City rate includes $2.13 park rate.

[128] **Danville.** City rate includes $.80 sanitary district rate. County rate includes $.50 airport rate.

[129] **Moline.** City rate includes $.77 township and $.87 airport rates.

[130] **Independence.** County rate includes $1 library rate.

[131] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $5 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[132] **Hagerstown.** County rate includes school rate.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assess-ment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
334	Brownsville, Texas	36,176	18,045,575	19	19.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	334
335	Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	36,000	130,611,156	9	16.50	—	—	—	—	50	—	335
336	Enid, Okla.	35,976	29,910,722	24	16.09	31.00	7.64	—	54.73	25	13.68	336
337	Bristol, Conn.	35,873	Not Reported									337
338	Eau Claire, Wis.[133] ‡	35,862	65,962,670	12	11.00	14.60	10.90	.30	36.80	70	25.76	338
339	East Providence, R. I.	35,791	92,065,915	21	22.50	—	—	—	22.50	75	16.88	339
340	Steubenville, Ohio[134]	35,695	74,597,570	22	7.70	11.25	2.25	.40	21.60	40	8.64	340
341	Eugene, Ore.	35,672	32,322,668	19	20.10	47.50	7.60	—	75.20	23	17.30	341
342	Port Huron, Mich.	35,597	50,156,795	19	14.90	18.64	10.06	—	43.60	40	17.44	342
343	Elkhart, Ind.[135]	35,556	53,513,060	36	19.40	21.20	5.00	1.50	47.10	25	11.78	343
344	Lafayette, Ind.[136]	35,508	44,513,775	—	14.40	21.40	4.70	1.50	42.00	35	14.70	344
345	Hazleton, Pa.[137]	35,486	28,210,214	3	21.50	27.00	8.20	4.00	60.70	60	36.42	345
346	Pomona, Calif.[138]	35,157	38,639,950	14	24.78	31.14	16.39	N	72.31	40	28.93	346
347	Superior, Wis.	35,091	Not Reported									347
348	Petersburg, Va.[139]	34,948	39,340,935	19	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	50	12.50	348
349	Alexandria, La.‡	34,685	18,938,879	33	19.00	—	—	—	—	25	—	349
350	Nashua, N. H.	34,666	49,868,733	36	41.45	.13	5.12	N	46.70	—	—	350
351	Norwood, Ohio	34,626	Not Reported									351
352	Fayetteville, N. C.	34,605	Not Reported									352
353	Bakersfield, Calif.	34,540	Not Reported									353
354	Danville, Va.	34,537	Not Reported									354
355	Lawton, Okla.	34,527	Not Reported									355
356	Easton, Pa.	34,410	41,618,624	N	12.00	18.50	11.00	N	41.50	45†	18.55	356
357	Watertown, N. Y.	34,280	51,096,741	N	16.50	17.30	18.50	—	52.30	90	47.07	357
358	Newark, Ohio	34,178	Not Reported									358
359	Boise, Idaho[140]	34,152	29,240,038	16	41.50	35.00	16.00	3.65	96.15	20	19.23	359
360	Bloomington, Ill.[141]	34,048	90,798,616	—	7.36	11.78	1.83	—	20.97	—	—	360
361	Irondequoit, N. Y.	34,045	45,840,971	—	15.06	—	—	—	—	—	—	361
362	Owensboro, Ky.	33,983	Not Reported									362
363	Bellingham, Wash.[142]	33,934	21,712,124	37	21.28	15.49	10.33	2.32	49.42	19	9.39	363
364	Manchester, Conn.	33,906	Not Reported									364
365	Appleton, Wis.	33,892	69,000,375	16	9.60	13.30	6.74	.36	30.00	66†	19.83	365

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[133] **Eau Claire.** City rate includes $1.10 library rate. County rate includes $.50 city-county health department rate.

[134] **Steubenville.** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[135] **Elkhart.** City rate includes $1.30 township, $1 library and $.40 hospital aid rates.

[136] **Lafayette.** City rate includes $.50 township rate.

[137] **Hazleton.** City rate includes $3 institutional rate.

[138] **Pomona.** City rate includes $6.10 metropolitan water district and $1.88 flood control rates.

[139] **Petersburg.** City rate includes school rate.

[140] **Boise.** City rate includes $5 junior college district rate.

[141] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $1.37 township and $.90 sanitary district rates.

[142] **Bellingham.** County rate includes $2.64 port district rate.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
366	Everett, Wash.[143]	33,807	21,944,643	29	17.25	13.50	14.10	2.50	47.35	50*	23.68	366
367	Marion, Ohio[144]	33,786	55,551,460	30	5.06	12.12	3.10	.20	20.48	50	10.24	367
368	Ottumwa, Iowa	33,640	Not Reported									368
369	Middletown, Ohio	33,640	Not Reported									369
370	Stratford, Conn.‡	33,620	58,006,020	24	14.94	23.26	N	N	38.20	52	19.86	370
371	Hutchinson, Kans.	33,524	54,691,986	21	19.95	20.71	10.29	1.67	52.62	33	17.36	371
372	Lafayette, La.‡	33,465	13,132,932	32	23.00	18.00	9.00	5.75	55.75	30	16.73	372
373	Wauwatosa, Wis.[145] ‡	33,300	62,197,755	3	10.76	17.20	17.60	.38	45.94	53	24.35	373
374	Burlington, Vt.	33,039	Not Reported									374
375	Butte, Mont.	32,904	16,440,770	14	40.68	44.63	35.46	7.50	128.27	50	64.14	375
376	Mishawaka, Ind.	32,878	Not Reported									376
377	Belleville, Ill.	32,701	Not Reported									377
378	Weymouth, Mass.	32,695	Not Reported									378
379	Paducah, Ky.[146]	32,430	27,518,990	33	18.50	15.00	5.00	1.00	39.50	22†	8.50	379
380	Amsterdam, N. Y.	32,269	27,451,602	N	34.43	33.85	22.69	—	90.97	65	59.13	380
381	Reno Nev.	32,225	58,284,467	16	11.70	12.10	19.30	6.90	50.00	—	—	381
382	Alton, Ill.[147] ‡	32,176	90,517,463	20	4.70	11.04	1.78	.28	17.80	100*	17.80	382
383	Newport, R. I.	32,090	85,673,900	37	28.50	N	N	N	28.50	50	14.25	383
384	Belleville, N. J.	32,059	42,122,828	11	29.00	27.70	9.10	—	65.80	—	—	384
385	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,924	41,832,408	N	20.90	17.10	6.33	.12	44.45	60	26.67	385
386	West Haven, Conn.	31,876	Not Reported									386
387	Clarksburg, W. Va.	31,817	75,783,710	46	3.26	6.48	3.53	.07	13.34	35	4.67	387
388	Cheyenne, Wyo.	31,807	32,278,976	16	10.50	25.89	9.48	1.50	47.37	25	11.84	388
389	Columbia, Mo.	31,731	Not Reported									389
390	Billings, Mont.	31,725	78,617,436	—	38.90	38.30	19.50	7.50	104.20	50	52.10	390
391	Bangor, Me.	31,473	37,555,470	24	56.00	—	—	—	56.00	30*	16.80	391
392	Galesburg, Ill.	31,357	Not Reported									392
393	Wilkinsburg, Pa.	31,281	Not Reported									393
394	Ashland, Ky.	31,228	Not Reported									394
395	Anniston, Ala.	31,150	———	—	15.00	8.00	11.50	6.50	41.00	30	12.30	395
396	Newport, Ky.	31,015	25,681,000	6	18.60	15.40	7.60	.60	42.20	60†	25.38	396
397	Albany, Ga.[148]	30,987	37,704,122	32	10.50	15.00	12.10	5.00	42.60	40	17.04	397
398	Lakeland, Fla.	30,846	47,707,770	10	16.00	20.50	14.50	N	51.00	60	30.60	398
399	Danbury, Conn.	30,713	Not Reported									399
400	Burlington, Iowa	30,639	23,319,468	23	24.01	31.17	12.93	—	68.11	60	40.87	400

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[143] **Everett.** County rate includes $3.50 port district rate.

[144] **Marion (Ohio).** City rate includes $.10 township rate.

[145] **Wauwatosa.** City rate includes $1.42 metropolitan sewerage district rate.

[146] **Paducah.** City rate includes $.50 fire and police pension, $.30 appointive employees pension, $.55 library and $.60 junior college rates.

[147] **Alton.** City rate includes $1.28 township rate.

[148] **Albany.** Personalty includes $1,334,587 of public utilities.

	City	Preliminary Census 1950	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Est. Ratio of Assessed Value to Current Market Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
401	Linden, N. J.	30,434	86,954,947	23	18.80	18.40	7.90	N	45.10	—	—	401
402	Wausau, Wis.	30,386	Not Reported									402
403	Fairfield, Conn.	30,370	76,815,305	22	32.40	—	—	—	—	40	12.96	403
404	New London, Conn.	30,367	57,999,000	22	38.50	—	—	—	38.50	75	28.88	404
405	Elyria, Ohio[149]	30,197	70,411,130	32	8.18	11.22	1.90	.20	21.50	100	21.50	405
406	Clinton, Iowa	30,151	Not Reported									406
407	Jackson, Tenn.	30,093	Not Reported									407
408	Marion, Ind.[150]	30,059	29,901,220	44	21.60	26.90	6.70	1.50	56.70	20	11.34	408

See also state notes at end of tabulation.

[149] **Elyria.** City rate includes $.07 township rate.

[150] **Marion (Ind.).** City rate includes $.30 township, $2.40 welfare and $1 township poor rates.

STATE NOTES

Alabama. Homestead exemption: first $2,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state tax only.

Arkansas. Homestead exemption: first $2,500 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state tax only.

Florida. Homestead exemption: First $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

Georgia. Homestead exemption: $2,000 general exemption on owner-occupied property.

Illinois. Assessments of railroad, telephone and telegraph properties are made by the State Department of Revenue.

Iowa. Iowa property is assessed at 60% of actual value. Homestead exemption: credit of 25 mills (per dollar) is allowed on the first $2,500 of assessed valuation. Funds for such credit are supplied from state general funds.

Louisiana. Homestead exemption: $2,000 general exemption on owner-occupied residential property in Orleans Parish. A similar exemption from state, parish and special taxes, not including municipal or city taxes, in the rest of the state.

Minnesota. There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40%, except for first $4,000 of homesteads assessed at 25%; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3%, except for first $4,000 of homesteads at 20%; iron ore at 50%; and personalty in six classes at 10%, 20%, 25%, 33 1/3%, and 40%. The first $4,000 is further exempt from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to enactment of the law.

Mississippi. Exemption from state taxes, school, district and county maintenance taxes may be claimed by the head of the family up to a maximum of $5,000 assessed value.

New York. Where state rate is not shown, it is included in the county rate.

Oklahoma. Homestead exemption: first $1,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from tax rates of all units.

Rhode Island. There is no county government in Rhode Island. There is a $4 per thousand tax rate on intangible property which is not included in the survey since there appears to be little attempt either to assess or collect this tax in most cities and towns outside of Providence and Woonsocket.

Texas. Homestead exemption: first $3,000 of assessed value of homestead is exempt from state property tax.

West Virginia. Property is divided into four classes: Class I, all intangible personalty; Class II, owner-occupied residences; Class III, all other property outside municipalities; and Class IV, all other property within municipalities. No municipal rates may be laid against Class III property. Each class has a maximum tax rate for all purposes. The maximum rates on $1,000 assessed valuation are: Class I, $5; Class II, $10; Class III, $15; and Class IV, $20.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Governments Strive for Better Personnel

Recruitment Methods Improved and Speeded

DIFFICULTIES in obtaining and retaining competent administrators and other employees are causing governments, from the federal to the local level, to devise new and improved methods of recruitment. Competition with private business and industry, as to salaries, prospects and prestige, is spurring public agencies to renewed efforts.

In the federal government the Civil Service Commission, with a Joint Committee of Expert Examiners, has asked placement and guidance officers of 60 representative colleges and universities for their view on the commission's methods, especially the junior management examination devised some time ago to select young people of ability as future executives.

The junior management examination is designed for outstanding young persons trained in management, the social sciences and public affairs. Successful candidates hold positions such as administrative analyst, budget analyst, foreign affairs analyst, information specialist, etc., in a number of federal departments and agencies.

The survey elicited helpful suggestions for the current examination and brought out that 75 per cent of the institutions found interest in federal administrative work increasing on their campuses. These ranged, geographically, from Dartmouth College and Harvard and Boston Universities in New England to the University of Southern California.

Various cities and states are speeding recruitment methods in an effort to offset their personnel losses to higher paying industry, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

In Kansas City, Missouri, under a streamlined procedure, examinations are given at the time an application is made for certain types of city employment. The test is graded immediately and the applicant is informed of the result rather than having to wait for the mails to bring the message. If successful, he is sent directly to the department head most in need of that type of worker. Despite the new procedure many Kansas City jobs are reported still unfilled. In the fire department alone, where examinations are given four days a week for fire fighters, there is a shortage of some 75 men.

In California three cities—Glendale, Pasadena and Santa Monica—in an effort to reduce costs and speed the hiring of badly needed personnel, are cooperating in giving examinations for prospective employees.

Several personnel agencies in the San Francisco area some time ago held a joint clerical examination simultaneously in five cities. Participating agencies were the California State Personnel Board, the Civil Service Commissions of both the city and county of San Francisco, San Mateo County, Contra Costa County and the Berkeley Personnel Board.

In several states continuous recruitment and examination programs are being carried on. Louisiana issued a booklet late in 1950 listing all examinations to be given during 1951. Monthly examinations were scheduled in 124 classes of jobs in the state service in an effort to build up eligible lists. Other states using variations of this recruiting scheme include California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Texas.

In New York the personnel officers of each state department meet with representatives of the Civil Service Department's examination, classification and administrative divisions. These meetings, which are similar to annual budget conferences, enable the state to anticipate and plan for vacancies by obtaining advance knowledge of retirements, promotions, new jobs to be created during the year, etc.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

In an election on December 4, 1951, **Gloucester, Massachusetts,** (1950 population 25,167) voted 4,423 to 3,056 to adopt the council-manager plan (Plan E), with a council to be elected at large. The total vote at the election was 9,382.

Kingsville, Texas, (16,898) voted December 15 to adopt the council-manager plan. It went into effect immediately.

At a special election on November 27 the voters of **Port Angeles, Washington,** (11,233) adopted the state's optional council-manager plan by a vote of 2,073 to 652. The plan will go into effect in June 1952.

Voters of **Marine City, Michigan,** (4,270) adopted a council-manager charter on December 10. It became effective a week later.

Other cities which adopted the council-manager plan in 1951 but have not been reported here include **Santa Ana, California,** (45,533) and **Beeville** (9,345), **Childress** (7,619) and **Andrew** (3,294), all of **Texas. Ukiah, California,** (6,120) adopted the plan previous to 1951.

The question of adoption of the manager plan will be on the ballot at the annual town election in **Holden, Massachusetts,** on March 3.

A recount of ballots cast in **Lynn, Massachusetts,** on adoption of the council-manager plan, gave a total of 18,799 against to 18,651 for. This was a somewhat smaller margin of defeat than the original count showed.

In the town of **Shrewsbury, Massachusetts,** a committee of citizens has been appointed to look into the town manager plan and other forms of government and report to the next town meeting.

The Citizens League of **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** has collected 10,566 signatures to a petition seeking a special election to choose a charter commission. Only 5,800 names were needed.

The board of **La Grange, Illinois,** reported last month as an additional council-manager community, adopted an ordinance last May creating the office of village superintendent. According to Robert A. Finley, former assistant director of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Municipal Affairs, who was appointed superintendent, the duties and authority of the office are practically the same as those of city managers generally, except for lack of complete jurisdiction over police and fire departments.

An election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan is scheduled for January 22 in **Peoria, Illinois.** The Junior Chamber of Commerce is active in the movement.

In **Springfield, Illinois,** the Manufacturers' and Employers' Association is working for a referendum on the manager plan at the April primary election. The plan is also under consideration for **Des Plaines, Illinois.**

Citizens of **Moberly, Missouri,** voted 2,769 to 1,172 at a special election December 11 to retain their council-manager government. This was the third time since 1944 that the voters have approved the plan.

The 1951 **Kansas** legislature has revised the state laws so as to make clear that a city manager, and not the mayor, "shall appoint and remove all non-elective heads of departments, officers and employees of the city" and shall be responsible for law enforcement and administration. Commission-manager cities are also enabled to adopt the council-manager plan.

The city commission of **Cisco, Texas,** has before it a proposition to call an election to determine the attitude of the citizens of the city toward the council-manager form of government.

Voters of **Kirkland, Washington,** turned down a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, 770 to 438, on November 20.

Jersey City Retains Commission Plan

A referendum on December 11, on a proposed change in the form of government in Jersey City, New Jersey, from the commission to mayor and council, resulted in retention of the existing form by a vote of nearly 46,000 to 20,000. Less than half the eligible voters participated.

The change was sought by a group of followers of former Mayor Frank Hague, calling itself the Regular Democrats for Clean Government, but without a vigorous campaign.

Grand Rapids and Suburbs Agree on Land Use Plan

Neighboring townships are joining with Grand Rapids, Michigan, in an effort to control land use so as to provide a sound development plan for the area.

Grand Rapids currently supplies the four townships adjacent to its boundaries with basic services such as water and sewerage and, to a limited extent, fire protection. Rates for these services, which are set by the city council, are somewhat higher than those charged within the city limits. The city requires that zoning restrictions in the areas thus served must conform to those of Grand Rapids.

Michigan Cities Cooperate in Refuse Disposal

Unable to find suitable nearby dumping grounds for their rubbish, nine council-manager cities and one township in the heavily populated southeastern section of Michigan north of Detroit, have banded together to form the Southeastern Oakland County Garbage and Rubbish Authority, to build a central incinerator for the group. Legislative authority for such a venture was given in 1947. Hauling trash to distant dumping sites was resulting in high disposal expense and the cost of individual installation of incinerators was prohibitive.

A pattern of cooperation for the communities was first established several years ago when a joint agreement was made to build an interceptor sewer to carry sewage from these cities to Detroit's disposal system.

In setting up the new disposal authority the councils of the ten communities adopted identical 30-year contracts, which provide that each city will collect its own refuse and deliver it over an acceptable route to the incinerator. Installation of the latter is being financed by the authority through a revenue bond issue. Disposal costs will be divided among the communities on the basis of tonnage of refuse delivered. Other cities in the area may contract with the authority for disposal service. The authority may ultimately collect the rubbish.

The governing body of the authority

consists of the city managers of the nine cities and the supervisor of the township. Donald M. Oakes, city manager of Berkley, is chairman.

West Coast Leagues Hold Big Conferences

The League of California Cities' 53d annual conference broke attendance records with a total registration of 2,163; delegates numbered 1,356 and guests 807. It was held in San Francisco October 15-17, with two hotels as headquarters. Special attention was given by three speakers to the integrity of the public service. Another outstanding problem considered was that of city-county relations.[1]

A committee of representatives of mayors, councilmen, city managers and finance officers was created to study budgeting, uniform accounting, selection of post-auditors, conduct of audits and the organization of municipal finance administration.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles was elected president.

The League of Oregon Cities and the Oregon Finance Officers Association held a joint convention in Portland in October, with an attendance of 570. It was decided that committees representing the league and local finance groups would be formed to work with state officials and interim legislative committees to seek a coordinated approach to financial and other common problems. State officials warned that the state must obtain additional revenue or shift much of the cost of various services to the localities. Commissioner William A. Bowes of Portland was elected president.

The Nevada Municipal Association held its annual conference in Reno, October 26-27. By resolution it requested the governor to call a meeting of representatives of all state agencies to work out an agreement for a more equitable distribution of the *ad valorem* tax; and it instructed its own legislative committees to study methods for securing increased revenues for cities and report to the spring meeting of the association. The conference was presided over by President William Peccole, Las Vegas councilman.

The Association of Washington Cities sponsored 22 regional meetings in September and October, which were attended by 1,127 persons. Leading topics dealt with were home rule and protection of local revenues.

Permanent Registration Law Enacted in Rhode Island

The legislature of Rhode Island, pursuant to a constitutional amendment adopted by the people last spring, has enacted a bill setting up the mechanics of a permanent personal registration system. The bill (S 7) was approved on September 21. Under its provisions each registrant signs a registration book, after giving the necessary information for entry therein, and also signs an original registration card carrying the same information. A duplicate is not signed. Voting records are kept on the cards. If a registered voter fails to vote at least once in five years he must register again in order to vote.

The local canvassing boards prepare preliminary lists of registered voters, to be publicly posted, and later prepare a final corrected list for election purposes.

New Congress Districts for New York Stir Controversy

A special session of the New York legislature on December 5 and 6 adopted two measures in quick succession for reapportionment of New

---

[1] See page 46, this issue.

York's congressional districts. They were signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Both bills—especially the second—were vigorously opposed by the Democrats, the minority party in both legislative houses. The special session was necessary inasmuch as the 1950 census results call for a reduction of New York's congressional delegation from 45 to 43; and if redistricting is not accomplished all 43 would have to be elected at large, by statewide plurality vote.

The first bill was sponsored by the Joint Legislative Reapportionment Committee, headed by State Senator Pliny W. Williamson of Westchester County. The number of districts in New York City (predominantly Democratic) is reduced from 24 to 22; the number outside remains 21, but fast-growing Nassau County, just east of New York City, gains a seat and the area around Binghamton loses one. Both these areas are Republican.

Senator Williamson praised the committee bill as fair, equitable and in keeping with principles set forth by President Truman, in a message to Congress last January, as to compactness of districts and reasonable equality as to population.[1] The latter ranges from 297,131 for the 43rd district to 393,130 for the 27th, both of them up-state. The New York City average is given as 358,000; the up-state average, 330,000.

After the committee bill had been passed and signed the second bill was dealt with. It was sponsored by John R. Crews, Republican leader of the New York City borough of Brooklyn (constituting Kings County) and was introduced by Senator Arthur H. Wicks, majority leader of the Senate. The sole change was a redrawing of the twelfth district, in Brooklyn, to extend it across the borough in a long thin irregular line from Brooklyn Heights on the East River opposite Manhattan to Marine Park in the south part of the borough. It is expected to be safely Republican.

Senator Wicks stated that he introduced the bill "to give fair representation to the people—to the Republicans of Kings" and added "reapportionment has been used traditionally to the advantage of the party in power." In reply to Democratic charges of gerrymandering it was asserted that the Democrats had gerrymandered the city council districts in Brooklyn, and it was pointed out that the nine Brooklyn congressmen at present are all Democrats.

Two Republicans voted against the Crews measure—Senator Williamson in the Senate and Assemblyman John R. Brook, of Manhattan, in the lower house.

Democratic leaders have announced that they will ask the courts to invalidate the Crews bill; the committee bill may also be litigated. If the Crews bill is outlawed it was thought that the first bill would be effective as adopted. The new districts are not expected to be utilized for the April election of delegates to the presidential conventions.

Reapportionment of State Senate districts awaits the regular 1952 session, beginning January 3, and may be delayed another year to avoid internal party disputes. Assembly districts are yet to be revamped, by the council in New York City and by the Board of Supervisors in up-state counties.

Montana Sets Up Little Hoover Committee

The state of Montana has recently established a Committee on Reorganization of State Government, which has appointed an executive director. A subcommittee is studying state purchases and construction contracts.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 92.

Election Law Reform Sought in New York State

A seven-point election law reform program will be introduced in the New York legislature in January, according to Assemblyman John R. Brook, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Revision of the Election Law. He asserts that the present election law enables some political bosses to be well-nigh impregnable and makes possible underworld control of political leaders and organizations. Objectives of the program are reported to be:

1. Fix the date for primary elections in September instead of in mid-summer, when few besides disciplined party members participate;

2. Repeal the Travia act of 1951, which "stifles all challenge to leadership" by requiring that those who obtain signatures to designating petitions must be members of the same party and residents of the district of the candidate they represent;

3. Provide for election of Assembly district leaders and county chairmen by direct vote in party primaries instead of having county committeemen pick district leaders and the latter elect county chieftains;

4. Repeal the Wilson-Pakula act which prohibits a candidate of one political party from entering the primary of another party without obtaining permission of the ruling committee of the other party;

5. Reduce the size of county committees and give greater authority and responsibility to the executive committees;

6. Adopt a system of permanent personal registration;

7. Provide for a statewide educational campaign to obtain greater public participation in party organization and party primaries.

Alabama Provides for Interns in State Service

The Alabama Department of Personnel has announced an internship program in public administration for qualified college graduates who are interested in entering the field. Various Alabama colleges and universities give examinations to graduating seniors who are prospective candidates for state jobs. Those finishing within the top dozen are selected for a three-months training program at a state agency.

If the interns successfully complete this probationary period their assignment is extended for another three months at an increased salary; after this appointments as full-fledged junior management assistants are made. Interns with special aptitudes for specialized fields, such as accounting, statistics or research, are encouraged to enter these fields instead of the broader fields of administration and management.

The municipal internship program of Pasadena, California, is now in its fourth year, according to the International City Managers' Association. Out of the top twelve students passing a competitive examination, four are selected each year to start work with the city during the school term, working twenty hours a week for 40 weeks. During this time they are given actual work assignments in about twelve different city departments learning about operations as well as contributing toward the accomplishment of city functions.

Several city managers in Maine have recently employed interns who are graduates of the University of Maine's public management training course.[1] The cities include Portland, Bangor, Ellsworth, Houlton, Old Town and Rockland.

---

[1] See "Maine Has a New Export," by T. E. Murphy. The REVIEW, March 1950, page 121.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Alameda County Seeks to Void Coroner System

Takes Steps to Install New Medico-legal System

THE REPORT of a committee appointed two years ago by the Board of Supervisors of Alameda County, California, to study the need for establishing a medical-examiner system to replace the coroner setup, has been presented to the board, which has already taken steps to put its recommendations into effect.

The committee, consisting of a member of the board of supervisors, the sheriff, the district attorney, county medical director, county hospital pathologist, and one representative each of the Alameda County Taxpayers' Association, Morticians' Association and Medical Association, conducted a continuous independent study of both the Alameda County coroner's office and the medical examiner system used elsewhere and endorsed by the National Municipal League. At the same time Dr. Alan Moritz, of the Western Reserve University Medical School, made a survey of the work of the coroner's office.

An analysis and comparison of the findings of Dr. Moritz' study and that of the committee was made and summarized in the report by the committee, which was presented to the board of supervisors on June 8, 1951. While the committee did not agree with Dr. Moritz' study in certain details as to the functioning of agencies involved in the investigation, as well as in certain of his conclusions, both studies did agree on the desirability of the eventual establishment of a modern medical-examiner system.

The committee's report recommended that consideration be given to the ultimate enactment of enabling legislation on state and county levels to permit any county which so desired to establish the medical-examiner system. This would involve amending the constitution and general laws of California.

In Alameda County it would also involve amending the county charter so that, by a majority vote of the electorate, the word "coroner" could be deleted from Section 15 and inserted in section 17, thereby making the office of coroner a civil service appointive office rather than elective. The board of supervisors would have the power of appointment. Legislation could then be enacted enabling counties to prescribe by ordinance that the coroner be a qualified, certified pathologist with medico-legal experience. A completely equipped and staffed scientific laboratory would also have to be provided for.

The committee recommended that, as soon as possible, the necessary charter amendments be submitted to the voters, making the office of coroner appointive, with provision for prescribing professional qualifications for the office. Realizing that this would take time, the committee set forth two alternatives which could be adopted in successive stages until such time as the necessary amendments and legislation could be enacted.

The first alternative included the following three recommendations:

(1) Legislative action by the board of supervisors abolishing the present positions of autopsy surgeon and creating in the coroner's office the civil service positions of deputy-coroner-pathologist (two), chemist-toxi-

cologist and laboratory technician. The position of the deputy-coroner-pathologist should be a full-time one and must be held by a fully qualified pathologist with special medico-legal training and experience.

(2) Construction and equipment of a complete scientific laboratory.

(3) Discontinuance of the routine coroner's inquest. The coroner should have (as he already does) the power to hold an inquest at his own discretion in special cases.

The second alternative was suggested as an interim measure until the first could be put into effect. By its terms the services and facilities of a competent and fully qualified pathologist and laboratory should be obtained, so that all autopsies performed under the coroner's jurisdiction would be under the supervision of such a pathologist and with all the necessary facilities.

For the fiscal year 1951-1952 the board of supervisors of Alameda County appropriated the necessary funds for putting the second alternative into immediate effect. Thus, Alameda County has made arrangements for securing the services and facilities of a competent and qualified pathologist and laboratory, keeping in mind, however, that this is only a stop-gap measure and looking forward to the day when it will be able to set up a regular medical-examiner system.

R. S. C.

Philadelphia City-County Home Rule Faces Opposition

After overwhelming popular approval of a constitutional amendment permitting complete consolidation of city and county offices was given last November,[1] there are indications that an element in the state legislature may attempt to thwart public will to protect the jobs of some county office-holders in the Philadelphia area.

The Greater Philadelphia Movement, one of the sponsors of the consolidation plan, insists that the legislature should merely amend the home rule act in order to permit Philadelphia to make the merger fully effective. Warning that any dictation by the legislature would "serve as evidence of political hyprocrisy of the rankest sort and an outright sabotaging of a clear and firm mandate of the people," the organization, in a letter to the state senators from Philadelphia, continued:

"The directors of the Greater Philadelphia Movement strongly urge that you fulfill your responsibility as deans of the respective (Philadelphia) delegations to the State Senate by carrying to completion the twice-repeated and overwhelming sentiment of the people of this city for the rights and benefits of home rule.

"Since November 6, the voters of this city have felt secure in the belief that the legislature, in view of the election results and Governor Fine's oft-repeated support of home rule for Philadelphia, would keep its share of the bargain by simply extending the home rule powers of the city government to cover the now evaporated county.

"To accomplish this, the Assembly need only amend Section 17 of the home rule act by granting Philadelphia local self-government of the functions of county government in its area. Having done this, the provisions of the home rule act will apply.

"However, in recent days, we have received disquieting reports of plans under way both in Harrisburg and here at home to run out on this solemn commitment. If there is substance to these reports, the only result will be a synthetic and insincere consolidation.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1951, page 591.

"An act of the legislature, with its multitude of statewide problems, attempting to dictate from Harrisburg the details of how the erstwhile county offices are fitted into the city government, would be to withhold home rule from Philadelphia. . . .

"There is no Republican or Democratic form of home rule. Thus we are certain that you will let nothing stand in your way in assuming and fulfilling this cardinal responsibility to the citizens of Philadelphia."

California Seeks Solution to City-County Problems

The recent annual conference of the League of California Cities adopted two resolutions relating to city-county relations. In these resolutions the cities first pledged to cooperate with the Senate Committee on State and Local Taxation and the Assembly Committee on Municipal and County Government, both of which are studying the problem of financing urban services in the unincorporated areas adjacent to large cities[1] and, secondly, they urged that the counties, during the time of the legislative surveys, refrain from granting new or additional services to unincorporated areas and, if possible, that they correct some of the more obvious inequities.

Immediately after the conference, a meeting was held by the boards of directors of the league and the County Supervisors Association at which it was agreed that in all counties where intergovernmental problems exist, especially in urban counties, quasi-official committees of city and county officials should be appointed to meet regularly and endeavor to work out solutions to such problems.

Early last year the two organizations were in sharp, and at times bitter, disagreement over the question of payment for municipal-type services in unincorporated urban areas. The cities introduced legislation to exempt their taxpayers from contributing to the support of such services. The counties opposed the proposal claiming that the position of the cities was not supported by any impartial factual study.

The two boards of directors pledged the full cooperation of their organizations to the interim studies in order that a solution to the problem might be proposed when the legislature reconvenes in regular session January 1, 1953. It was proposed that Sacramento County be designated for a pilot study. The problem areas to be investigated are: (1) Sheriff service to unincorporated urban areas and prisoner classification; (2) roads, especially subdivision streets, curbs, gutters and lighting; (3) fire service for structures in the unincorporated areas; (4) health; (5) library; (6) neighborhood recreation and park service; and (7) planning and zoning.

Maryland Counties Engage in Planning

The chairman of the Talbot County, Maryland, Planning and Zoning Commission, created recently, has announced his plan to initiate immediately a study of the area leading to a master plan of development. He believes it is urgent because he expects the opening of the huge Chesapeake Bay bridge next year to effect drastic changes in the economy of Maryland's Eastern Shore.

Anne Arundel County, Maryland, embracing the state capital at Annapolis, has just announced appointment of a planning commission. Its planning and zoning problems are most urgent around Annapolis and in the area adjacent to Baltimore.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1951, page 44; March 1951, page 155.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Revere Voters Rebuke Councillors

Turn Down Candidates Who Tried to Oust City Manager

IN THE second P. R. election under the Plan E charter of Revere, Massachusetts, November 6, voters of that city dealt a sharp rebuff to three councillors running for reelection who had attempted a surprise removal of the city manager a year ago. Two of them, including one who had originally supported the Plan E government and the city manager but later joined the opposition ouster move, were defeated, and the third, possibly by virtue of an intensive campaign using radio and television, managed to get elected but only after his much lower first-choice poll had indicated a distinct drop in popularity since the 1949 election.

The Revere *Journal,* which during the campaign sought to maintain neutrality, reported the election in full detail. It hailed the result as a vote of confidence for City Manager Edward C. Monahan and for the Plan E charter. About 76.6 per cent of the registered voters cast ballots, this relatively good turnout perhaps reflecting the fact that the P. R. form of election makes every vote important, regardless of the district the voter finds himself in.

The three councillors who upheld the manager last January, including one who did so at the last minute on second thought, and one who voted "present," claiming insufficient information on the issue, were reelected. Thus the only changes on the seven-man council were the defeat of two of the three opponents of the manager.

One of the two new members of the council, Frederick H. Reinstein, a lawyer, former state representative, former city solicitor and a former member of the council, led the poll on first choices, winning about two-thirds of them in the district he represented as a ward councilman under the city's old charter.

The other new member, Carmine DiPietro, an executive at the Lynn plant of the General Electric Company, was one of the original proponents of the Plan E charter. The reelected members of the council are local business men.

A characteristic difference between this election and the city's first P. R. election was the reduced number of candidates. Twenty-six contested the recent election as compared with 58 two years before. It does not require much experience with the Hare system of election to demonstrate that the ease of getting on the ballot under Plan E rules does not correspond to a facility for unknown or unqualified candidates to get elected.

About 3 per cent of the ballots cast were invalid because of improper markings, a somewhat greater proportion than two years ago. The *Journal* complained that the count was protracted by the counters, who had been chosen by candidates, observing: "It is understandable that the counters and representatives of the candidates display zeal in looking after the interests of those who placed them on the jobs, and it was because of this zeal that the job was slowed." The count of ballots in the election of the school committee, cast at the same election, which followed the council count, seemed not to suffer from such complications and proceeded with more dispatch.

The election of the six-member school committee was featured by the success of three women, one of whom, Mrs. Ida Webber, led the poll in first choices. Mrs. Webber and Mrs. Grace Rizzo were reelected after serving one term and Mrs. Katherine Collins was elected as a new member. Vice Chairman Paul Buonfiglio was first to reach the quota of votes necessary for election. Two attorneys were among the successful candidates, Francis H. Farrell, a new member, and John J. Riley, a reelected member.

Sixth P. R. Election in Cambridge

Nearly 70 per cent of the registered voters of Cambridge, Massachusetts, turned out for their sixth P. R. election this year. Such a large vote shows that P. R. does not induce apathy among the electorate, as has been charged by its opponents. The campaign and election were quiet and orderly, as is generally the case with P. R., but there was certainly no lack of interest.

The charter adopted by Cambridge in 1941 provides for the election of nine city councillors at large and six school committeemen every two years by P. R. In all previous elections since the adoption of this charter, candidates endorsed by the Cambridge Civic Association have won five seats on the council and three on the school committee. In this year's election, however, candidates endorsed by this association barely managed to retain their five-to-four majority on the city council, and were able to win only two of the six positions on the school committee.

Two incumbents, the mayor and a member of the school committee, received record-breaking first-choice votes, each getting almost 50 per cent more than were needed for a quota. Both of these candidates were endorsed by the Civic Association. All the incumbent councilmen were reelected except one who finished in tenth place. His successor is a former councilman who was defeated by a narrow margin in 1949.

Only four of the six present school committeemen ran for reelection. All were elected, with the two newcomers finishing fourth and sixth. The last candidate to be counted out, trailing by only 200 votes, had been endorsed by the Civic Association.

The loss of strength exhibited by the candidates endorsed by the Cambridge Civic Association in this election has been the subject of a great deal of concern among the proponents of P. R. in this city. For ten years P. R. has been vigorously opposed by the so-called "independents." The increasing strength shown by its opponents could well mean the end of P. R. in a few years and a return to the old, discredited forms of municipal administration.

This condition presents a challenge not only to the Cambridge Civic Association but to other civic associations in other cities. If these organizations permit themselves to become static in their personnel, fail to sponsor and press to completion genuinely progressive policies, and content themselves with credit for past performances, all the things they have worked so hard to gain can be lost. They must realize that having won once is not enough. The struggle for clean, truly representative city government is a continuing struggle, presenting new problems requiring new solutions from year to year.

George Ogden
Cambridge Civic Association

A Battle Brewing in Quincy

Quincy's second proportional representation election was held November 6 following an exceedingly quiet campaign. Against a total of 59 candidates running for city council in 1949, but 31 offered themselves this year. Also against a vote of approximately 29,000 two years ago there was only a little over 25,000 in the latest municipal election. The election returned almost the entire present city council to office with the addition of but one new face—the newcomer being a former state senator and a man prominent in municipal politics years ago. Four of the seven elected were endorsed by the Quincy Civic Association.

Chosen also by P. R. was a school committee of six, elected from a field of fifteen candidates.

This election has been accompanied by a barrage of criticism of P. R. voting and within two weeks the entire outgoing city council voted to support a bill which would eliminate it in Quincy. The local newspaper is undertaking a study on its own behalf to determine whether it should editorially support the continuance or abolition of P. R.

It is difficult to point out the objections which P. R. has raised other than that the average citizen who dislikes it seems to be afraid of it because of his inability to comprehend the method of computing a count, and that some want the right to have seven votes counted for the seven councilmanic seats.

It is claimed by a great many that proportional representation has failed to produce in Quincy candidates of a caliber any different from those who have run for office for many years. Quincy did not have confronting it when it adopted Plan E (the council manager plan with P. R.) problems of municipal graft and corruption which have caused other cities to adopt P. R. As a result, the issues which have served to keep alive active civic associations in those communities have not and do not now exist in Quincy. Our elections are nonpartisan and generally were clean before we adopted our new charter.

Quincy still has its first Plan E manager, William J. Deegan, Jr., who came here from Superior, Wisconsin. Since his arrival numerous municipal surveys have been undertaken and completed and several of the recommendations contained therein put into effect. As is the case with many manager cities there have been criticisms here and there during the last two years but, strangely, while there is a broad attack on P. R., the method which produced the council which chose and controls the manager, there is a broad general acceptance of the council-manager concept.

Thus we are at the cross-roads in Quincy. It remains to be seen whether there will be, following the studies now in progress, a concerted move to amend the charter and to restore plurality voting. Those responsible for the adoption of Plan E are considering whether they shall organize a fight to retain its P. R. feature.

Paul C. Reardon
Quincy Civic Association

Bankers Rap Local Industry-Aid Bonds

Resolution Urges Caution in Handling Such Issues

ISSUANCE of bonds by cities to finance industrial plants for use by private manufacturing concerns, recently under criticism from several quarters,[1] received sharp condemnation at the annual session of the Investment Bankers Association of the United States in December. In a resolution adopted by the association, members were urged to "exercise extreme caution in underwriting or marketing such bonds" and asked to use their "best efforts to inform voters, state legislators . . . and other interested parties of the past experience and inherent dangers of public financing of this character."

Pending while the resolution was under consideration was a public offering by the city of Greenville, Mississippi, of the final $1,000,000 of a $4,750,000 bond authorization voted there to construct a plant for Alexander Smith & Sons Carpet Company of Yonkers, New York. Although it was suggested that the resolution might except the pending issue and be applicable only to future instances of this type of financing, the majority did not agree with the proposal and the resolution was adopted without a dissenting voice. Subsequently, the two banker-dealer groups which had bid on the first $3,750,000 of the Greenville industrial aid bonds did not bid on the final $1,000,000, which was taken by a Greenville bank in association with a New Orleans group.

State Sells Bonus Bonds Privately to Thwart Restraint

The state of West Virginia, whose public offering earlier in 1951 of an issue of soldiers' bonus bonds approved by the voters in 1950 was disapproved by the Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee as not in harmony with the Voluntary Credit Restraint Program,[2] is selling $37,500,000 of the obligations on a private basis to state banks, private investors and others. The state had expected that some of the bonds might have to be taken by state funds as investments, but by mid-December 1951, 80 per cent had been sold.

The Voluntary Credit Restraint Program was formulated early in 1951 to provide a means of restricting the use of credit to essential public and private purposes, in order to minimize the inflationary effect of public and private borrowing. In the case of the West Virginia issue when originally offered, the screening committee had ruled that the effect of the issuance would be inflationary and no bids were received by the state at the time of public offering.

Motor Use Charges Raised in 1951

At least twenty states passed measures in 1951 aimed at increasing their revenues for highway building, according to a statement of the American Public Works Association surveying 1951 highway developments. In Massachusetts, income from a gas tax boost of from 3 to 4.3 cents is earmarked specifically for payment of a $200,000,000 highway bond issue. The state also raised passenger car registration fees 50 per cent and truck registration charges were doubled. Fees for drivers' licenses were increased from $4 to $5. All income from these measures will go directly into the state highway fund.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1951, page 597.

[2] See the REVIEW, June 1951, page 319.

Seven other states boosted motor fuel levies last year, as the postwar trend to higher gas taxes continued. Illinois' increase was from 3 to 4 cents per gallon effective August 1, 1951, and to 5 cents per gallon on December 31, 1952. Michigan raised its tax rate from 3 to 4.5 cents per gallon. New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming all raised rates from 4 to 5 cents.

Proposals for new or broadened authority for the issuance of highway bonds were approved in 1951 by the legislatures of eight states—Alabama, Delaware, Maine, New Hampshire, Oregon, Tennessee, Washington and West Virginia.

Nearly a dozen states passed new or increased truck taxes or registration fees. Among them were Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Utah and West Virginia. Idaho and New York passed new weight-mileage taxes based on the gross weight of the vehicle—defined as the weight of the truck plus the maximum load it carries. However, constitutionality of New York's law is being contested.

Housing In-lieu Payments Studied

Payments in lieu of taxes by low-rent housing projects are not much lower than tax payments on private apartment developments, concludes the National Association of Housing Officials on the basis of a recent study by the Buffalo (New York) Housing Authority. The authority reportedly examined the relationship of city taxes paid by five selected private apartments to shelter rents derived from the apartments. (Shelter rent is the net rent paid by tenants, not including the cost of heat, gas, electricity and water.)

Under the federal housing act of 1949, housing authorities are permitted to make in-lieu payments of up to 10 per cent of shelter rent on low-rent projects as their share of the costs of services provided by the counties, cities and special taxing districts.

The Buffalo survey showed that the five apartment developments paid 11.1 per cent of their net rent collections in taxes on the basis of the city's tax rate of $29.44 per $1,000 assessed valuation: *Development One,* a 202-unit project, had total annual shelter rents of $186,648 and paid $20,670, or 11.1 per cent of its shelter rent, in taxes; *Development Two,* an 84-unit project, had total annual shelter rents of $107,856 and paid $10,487, or 9.7 per cent of its shelter rent, in taxes; *Development Three,* a 20-unit project, had total annual shelter rents of $28,800 and paid $3,283, or 11.4 per cent of its shelter rent, in taxes; *Development Four,* a 144-unit project, had total annual shelter rents of $138,240 and paid $18,839, or 13.6 per cent of its shelter rent, in taxes; *Development Five,* a 280-unit project, had total annual shelter rents of $258,720 and paid $26,826, or 10.4 per cent of its shelter rent, in taxes.

City Income Taxes Ruled Invalid

Limiting the right of cities to levy income taxes at differing rates on different classes of taxpayers, the Ohio Sixth District Court of Appeals, in November 1951, invalidated ordinances of two Ohio cities levying taxes on the net profits of corporations. The court affirmed an earlier decree of a Mahoning County Court of Common Pleas which had permanently enjoined collection of a 1 per cent levy in Youngstown and a 7 per cent levy in adjoining Campbell.

Youngstown had in 1949 levied an income tax of 3/10 of 1 per cent on the income of individuals and the net profits of corporations. In January 1951, the rate on corporate net profits was increased to 1 per cent. The court held that the tax rate was not uniform and violated the equal protection prescribed by the state constitution and the uniformity clause of the U. S. constitution.

Sales Tax Reenacted, Cigarette Taxes Imposed

A sales tax at the rate of 2 per cent became effective January 1 in Syracuse, New York. The city had adopted a similar tax in 1948 but reduced the rate to 1 per cent in 1949 and abandoned the tax altogether in the spring of 1950.

Selective sales taxes also figure in news from other cities. In Joplin, Missouri, according to the United States Conference of Mayors, a two-cents-per-pack cigarette tax was approved by the voters by an eleven to one majority. Baltimore, Maryland, has increased its cigarette tax from one cent per pack to two cents, according to the same authority.

States Tackle Cigarette Bootlegging

Two recent news stories highlight the ever-present difficulties of the tax collector in his struggle with the tax evasion racketeers. In one instance, spurious tax stamps were being printed on cigarette packages, in the other, unstamped packages were being smuggled to Canada.

The story of the forged cigarette stamps was told in a United Press dispatch from Chicago, where state policemen raided eight wholesale cigarette firms to smash what was described as a $10,000,000 racket. Investigation had begun in 1949 and 1950, when four tax metering machines were stolen from cigarette distributors. Later, legitimate distributors complained that some distributors were undercutting them on price "below normal competitive possibilities." After the raid it was charged that counterfeiting meter dies and stamp plates had been made for the stolen machines, which were found in the possession allegedly of criminal syndicates whose "normal" income had been reduced by anti-gambling activity. A special assistant attorney general estimated that three out of every ten packages of cigarettes sold in Chicago and its suburbs in 1950 carried counterfeit stamps.

The cigarette smugglers were brought to light in Harrison, New York, where state police and agents of the New York State Department of Taxation, acting on a tip, confiscated a truckload of unstamped cigarettes enroute from Maryland to Canada. With the prevailing price of cigarettes there about 50 cents per pack because of high dominion and provincial taxes, the cigarettes reputedly were destined for profitable but untaxed sale at a price of 30 cents per pack. The New York State law prohibits possession of more than a nominal number of unstamped packages of cigarettes.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

NACS Holds Annual Sessions

Civic Leaders from All Parts of Country Discuss Problems

THE SESSIONS of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, meeting in conjunction with the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati, November 25-28, were well attended and enthusiastically participated in. At the November 25 meeting—Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director of the Citizens League of Cleveland, presiding—the group heard Allen H. Seed, Jr., NACS secretary and director of field services of the National Municipal League, keynote the sessions with his talk on "Civic Battle Zones—1951."

Commenting on the growth and enthusiasm of citizen groups which he visited in his 50,000 miles of travel during the past year, Mr. Seed reported that aroused citizens all over the country are "raising constructive hell" about graft and corruption. "The Kefauver investigation and others exposing graft and corruption in local governments have made a profound impression on the people. Civic action is sweeping the grass roots like a brush fire."

Mr. Seed's impressions were gathered on his tour of some 65 cities in conversations with hundreds of housewives, union leaders, businessmen, city officials and others "sick and tired of rotten government."

"Everywhere I found deep, burning resentment against laxness in government which permits graft by persons in positions of public trust," Mr. Seed said. "Citizens have become shocked by the Kefauver revelations into a positive awareness that they must act if they want integrity in government.

"They are finding the cost of federal government and international commitments so enormous that local government must cut out frills, duplications of service and unnecessary staffs.

"From local government, good and bad, comes our national leaders. People are learning it is a reflection of the kind of government they have at home if they let ward heelers, blown up to look like statesmen, climb the ladder to national office. Citizens are punching doorbells and putting good men into office instead of letting the politicians pick their officials for them. They are realizing that failure of local government to function creates a vacuum which the federal government is quick to step into. They are learning that their ability to govern themselves means less chance of federal encroachment on home rule."

Following Mr. Seed's talk those present conducted a "Shop Talk." Matters discussed included objectives and policies, planning and executing programs and projects, fund raising, staff personnel administration, office management, public relations, relations with officers and directors, appraisal of effectiveness, gearing research to action. Leading the discussion were: Roy L. Miller, executive secretary, Des Moines Taxpayers Association; Edward G. Conroy, director, San Antonio Bureau of Governmental Research; Leslie P. Gravlin, director, Hartford Governmental Research Institute; Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive vice president, Louisville Chamber of Commerce; C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, Municipal League of Seattle and King County; and Miss M. L.

Ferguson, executive assistant, Civic Advisory Council of Toronto.

Monday morning's session was given over to "Electing Good Candidates," Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo and president of NACS, presided. Talks were made by Mr. Crosser; Mr. Larcom; George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, Citizens Union of New York City; and Chester J. Morse, executive secretary, Detroit Citizens League, with general discussion following.

NACS cooperated with the National Municipal League in presenting a discussion of statewide civic research and action, Charlton F. Chute, director of the Pennsylvania Economy League's Philadelphia Division, presiding.

Officers elected at the business meeting of NACS held November 27 were: president, Mr. Gregg; first vice president, Mr. Larcom; second vice president, Mr. Crosser; third vice president, Hugh Robinson, executive secretary, Citizens Association of Kansas City, Missouri; secretary, John E. Bebout, assistant secretary, National Municipal League; and treasurer, Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director, Future Springfield (Massachusetts).

A proposal that the president of the association appoint six members to serve with the officers as a board of trustees was carried and President Gregg announced appointment of: Thomas H. Austin, executive secretary, Richmond (Virginia) Citizens Association; Roy L. Miller, executive secretary, Des Moines Taxpayers Association; Chester J. Morse, executive secretary, Detroit Citizens League; Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary, Citizens League of Pawtucket (Rhode Island); Charles E. Pool, executive secretary, Memphis Civic Research Committee; and Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services, National Municipal League.

Democracy by Air

Financed by the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education, a new project to aid citizens in solving community problems has been announced by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, president of Pennsylvania State College. The services will develop out of a series of broadcasts over CBS, "The People Act," which will seek to encourage an understanding of the workings of democracy at the local level. Requests for guidance received as a result of the broadcasts will be referred to counsellors in universities in the area from which the inquiry comes. Headquarters at Pennsylvania State College will furnish general educational services.

Transcriptions of the thirteen original broadcasts of "The People Act," arranged last year by the Twentieth Century Fund, which originated the series, are now available on free loan. Requests should be made to the Federal Radio Education Committee, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

* * *

Let's Face Facts

The statement below is taken from a four-page leaflet of the Seattle Municipal League. Attractively colored, with lots of pictures, it has been mailed to some 12,000 prospective members. The leaflet describes the league, its functions, its staff, its finances and its field of activity.

"We occasionally hear someone say, 'Oh, I haven't time to take an active interest in local government . . . my work keeps me busy.'

"If Mr. (and Mrs.) average citizen is not interested in his local government there are plenty of people who are—

the graft-hungry, machine-building politicians . . . crooks and racketeers . . . all ready to move in the moment we let down our guard. They have taken over American cities in the past and, more important, they are doing it today!

"The 'dividends of apathy' and disinterest in local government are very tangible and real. Corrupt local government means unsatisfactory and costly services . . . favoritism in public business . . . breakdown in law enforcement . . . low morale of public employees . . . money 'on the side' for police 'protection' for gambling, vice . . . dilapidated schools and run-down parks. . . .

"The citizen who refuses to take part in local government isn't even looking out for his own self-interest, much less meeting his responsibilities in a democratic society."

* * *

New Voters Encouraged

The League of Women Voters of Cambridge, Massachusetts, staged a huge party in October to which it invited 1,500 young people just turned 21. Among those who greeted the new voters were candidates for the Cambridge city council and representatives of both the Young Democrats and Young Republicans. A mock election explained the counting of ballots under the Hare system of proportional representation, in use for the election of city council and school committee.

The Michigan Community News Letter, published by the University of Michigan's School of Education and the Extension Service, "in the interest of community adult education," reports the recent activities of local community councils to promote registration and voting of "21ers." Northville, Michigan, gave a banquet for all reaching 21 the previous year and presented certificates to those completing a course in citizenship. In Three Rivers activities were initiated by the D.A.R., which built up lists of new voters, and continued by the community council. The council in Marshall devoted a month to organizing and completing the registration of new voters. Four of the organizations within the council each carried out a plan of its own design within one of the four wards of the city. Some communities made up their lists of new voters by examination of birth statistics, some made door-to-door canvasses.

* * *

Watchdog

Citizens' Action, organized to maintain good city government in Grand Rapids, Michigan, keeps an unremitting watch over the affairs of city hall. *The CA News,* going to all members, reports regularly on governmental doings. One activity of the organization is a welcome to newcomers in the community. Each receives a letter describing the city's council-manager government and listing some of its officials. It informs the newcomer when he will be eligible to register as a local voter and invites his interest in CA.

* * *

Off to a Good Start

The recently organized Adult Education Association of the U. S. A., with offices in Chicago, Washington and Cleveland,[1] is now functioning with a full-time staff. The organization is bringing together and focussing the efforts of persons in all educational fields working to advance adult education.

Malcolm S. Knowles is on leave of absence as executive secretary of the Central YMCA of Chicago to serve as administrative coordinator at the Adult Education Association's Chicago office. President of the association is Howard Y. McClusky, professor of education, University of Michigan. Robertson Sillars is editor of the AEA's bi-monthly publication, *Adult Education.* Percy Molson, assistant managing editor of *Today's Health,* has been appointed editor of a forthcoming monthly magazine to serve volunteer and part-time leaders of adult groups. Publication of this magazine has been made possible by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, July 1951, page 379.

* * *

Community Mobilization Conference

A Conference on Community Mobilization, arranged by the American Council for the Community, met November 29-December 1 in Washington, D. C. The conference was called: (1) To define community problems and duties in the defense emergency; (2) to ascertain how government can help most effectively; (3) to ascertain how voluntary agencies can help most effectively.

* * *

Statewide Manager Conference

More than 300 persons from some 40 communities attended the sessions of the Statewide Conference on the New Illinois City Manager Law, held November 14 at Peoria. The conference was sponsored by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with the Peoria Association of Commerce. Ralph J. Morgan, chairman of the legislative committee of the Illinois chamber, was chairman. Among the speakers were Russell E. McClure, city manager of Dayton; Hon. Bernice T. Van Vries, Illinois legislator; Ivan A. Elliott, attorney general of Illinois; and Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League. Robert D. Morgan, vice president of the Peoria chamber, acted as moderator during the audience participation period. As a result of the conference numerous cities in Illinois are interested in securing the council-manager plan.

* * *

New Organization

The Denver Civic Council, in its first year of existence, is made up of local civic groups. It is striving to coordinate the activities of its members, making their efforts more effective and avoiding duplication and overlapping, particularly in dealings with municipal authorities. Members are organizations such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce and property owners in various districts.

* * *

Activity in Spokane

Suggestions as to what type of meetings members would like and the most convenient time for holding them are being sought by the Municipal League of Spokane, Washington. "Would a periodic evening meeting be of interest?" queries the league's *News Letter.* "How would you like to see such a meeting of all members conducted?" As the league now operates, committees comprised of a limited number of persons meet during the lunch hour, conduct the business of the organization, as well as studies and discussion. Greater participation on the part of more members is desired by the organization, which is set up to maintain the highest integrity in government and to make "Spokane a better place in which to reside, conduct business and raise a family."

The president of the league, W. R. Green, has made a special appeal to members to indicate the committees on which they would like to serve. A coupon in the *News Letter* lists eight committees against which members may check.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

State Needs Real Chief Executive

Michigan Little Hoover Study Hits Hodge-Podge Government

"TWENTY-THREE months and twenty-nine staff reports have passed since the outset of the committee's inquiries into Michigan state government." This observation, in a staff report on the *General Management of Michigan State Government,* gives some idea of the monumental job done by the staff of the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government under the direction of Loren B. Miller, director of the Citizens Research Council of Michigan. The report covers 133 pages including twelve appendices.

The report begins with an excellent description of the dispersal and fragmentation of executive authority in the Michigan state government in the light of history, and a cogent critique of the fallacious arguments by which it is commonly justified not only in Michigan but in most other states.

The report pays its respects to the misuse of the fear of "centralization." It points out, "This is a misapplication of an effective propaganda symbol. The distribution of powers between levels of government is quite different from the fragmentation of executive authority within one government. . . .

"Those who oppose so-called 'centralization' of executive authority should be asked why they do not work, with equal vigor, for the dispersal and fragmentation of the executive authority in the federal government. They should be made to justify their reason for not advocating the election of the federal secretary of state, the secretary of treasury, the chief of the bureau of public roads, the commissioner of education; why the departments of interior and agriculture should not be headed by commissions with long, overlapping terms; why the chief of the F. B. I. should not be removable only by the Supreme Court. No one would seriously advance such proposals for the federal government. Yet they are seriously defended and argued when applied to state government. Wherein lies the difference?"

Appendix XI, "Public Awareness of State Officers," is a report on a sampling study done in Bay County, chosen because its electoral behavior is fairly typical of the state as a whole, of the extent of knowledge and ignorance of voters respecting the various elected state officers. The study fully supports the proposition that "as a means of keeping government close to the people, the election of purely administrative officials in contrast to political officers is a complete failure. . . . While the argument is to keep government close to the people, the actual result is to create independent islands of authority, responsible to no one except themselves, or to specially interested pressure groups. The result is to keep government hidden, not open. The result is irresponsibility."

One of the interesting statistics derived from the Bay County study was that while more people (26 per cent of the total) said they were more familiar with the highway commissioner than with any of the other eight elective officers listed, 75 per cent of these same people could not name the incumbent in the office. Another appendix, based on questionnaires sent to the members of 30 state boards and commissions, contained some enlightening information about "their understanding of their role and of their relationships to the executive process, and the presence or absence of gubernatorial supervision."

The report stresses the importance of providing the governor with adequate staff and of strengthening the legislature's means for effective control through a legislative auditor general to undertake performance as well as fiscal audits.

Another interesting proposal: "Creation of a series of departmental 'citizen councils' with authority to act independently of departments for the purpose of proposing, reviewing and approving departmental policy (with final determination by the administrator); auditing or reviewing the operations of the departments; and publicly reporting findings and recommendations to the legislature and the governor at least annually. This partial return to the earlier concept of a 'board of visitors' will bring both citizen participation in and citizen audit of state programs and functions, without dependence on the agency administrative head."

Bureau Notes

A special feature of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Association's publication, *Taxtalk,* is the Government Clinic section in which questions sent in by readers on municipal or state problems are answered.

The Bureau of Public Administration has been reestablished at the University of Georgia. A broad program of research has been projected, with particular emphasis on problems of Georgia state and local government and administration. An extensive program of training for state and local officials is also being planned.

The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana has begun publication of a monthly bulletin, *Louisiana Government in the News.* It is "designed to highlight significant local, state and national governmental news of interest to the citizens of Louisiana."

The council was featured in a 1,500-word story and pictures in the Baton Rouge *Morning Advocate* of October 28, which "traces the origin, purpose, methods and rapid growth of the council" and discusses briefly its past research publications. Several other Louisiana newspapers have also given space to the council and to its research reports and releases.

* * *

Annual Reports

The Civic Research Council of Flint gives in its latest bulletin a short summary of its work during the past year.

58th Annual Report—Fiscal Year Ended September 30, 1951, A Year of Activity and Progress is the 15-page report of the Chicago Civic Federation.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Philadelphia has appointed Robert K. Sawyer, executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement, as managing director of Philadelphia under the city's new charter, and Lennox L. Moak, executive director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, as finance director. Mr. Moak has been granted a leave of absence up to two years by the bureau.

Edward W. Weidner of Michigan State College has been appointed director of the college's newly created Bureau of Governmental Research.

Ewen C. Dingwall, former administrative assistant to the mayor of Seattle, is executive director of the Washington State Taxpayers' Association. Dingwall served as executive secretary of the Municipal League of Seattle and as editor of the *Seattle Mu-*

nicipal News prior to joining Mayor Devin's staff in 1945.

Plans to reorganize the association were recently completed under which the organization will be incorporated as a "non-profit corporation stressing research into problems of state and local government."

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Boards and Commissions

Separated Boards and Commissions. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* November 3, 1951. 5 pp.

Budgets

The Budgets Proposed by the City for 1952. An Opportunity to Improve Maryland's State Budget System. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* November and December 1951. 3, 2 and 2 pp.

County Budget Procedure under the Budget Law. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* July 1951. 2 pp.

8th Annual Compilation of County Budgets of Missouri's 109 Rural Counties. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1951. 18 pp.

First Unified Budget for Public Institutional and "Home" Relief. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* December 3, 1951. 3 pp.

New York City's Capital Budget in Crisis. By Harold Riegelman. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, 1951. 14 pp.

The 1952 City Budget. Syracuse 2 (New York), Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government,* November 1, 1951. 5 pp.

The 1952 City Budget. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* November 12, 1951. 5 pp.

Proposed 1952 County Budget. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 22, 1951. 3 pp.

Building Codes

Lower Fire and Insurance Costs Through Sound Building Code Administration. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* November 1951. 3 pp.

Civil Defense

Summary of the Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act, 1951. Public Law 139, 82nd Congress, Approved September 1, 1951. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Federal News Digest,* November 26, 1951. 5 pp.

Civil Service

City and State Employment in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* November 15, 1951. 3 pp.

City's Civil Service. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 19, 1951. 3 pp.

The Merit System and State Employment in Florida. By Angus Laird and William F. Larsen. Gainsville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1951. 12 pp.

More About Public Employment. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Information Bulletin,* 1951. 1 p.

County Government

Summary of Narrative Description of Harris County by Department. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 43 pp.

Education

Biggest Business in Dade County. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* November 5, 1951. 3 pp.

It's Up to the School Board.—The League Reviews the Pittsburgh School District's Proposed Budget for 1952. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* November 1951. 7 pp.

The Late Returns Come In—A Revised and Better Picture of Pittsburgh's School Finances. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* October 1951. 6 pp.

School District Tax Rates. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 29, 1951. 3 pp.

State Aid to Education. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* October 1951. 3 pp.

Statement Relative to Filing of Bill to Enjoin Additional Payments to Teachers Retired Since July 1, 1935, as Provided for by H. B. 551, 67th General Assembly. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* September 1951. 2 pp.

Strengthening the Board of Education. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* October 12, 1951. 5 pp.

Elections and Voting

Comparison of Ratio of Actual Vote to Number of Registered Voters in 12 Cities for Last Five Primary and General Municipal Elections. Hartford 3, (Connecticut), Governmental Research Institute, 1951. 2 pp.

Fair Trade Practices

Fair Trade Practices. By Kenneth E. Beasley. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* September 15, 1951. 3 pp.

Grand Jury

Your New Vacuum Cleaner. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* December 2, 1951. 2 pp.

Grants-in-Aid

Federal Aid. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, 1951. 9 pp.

No Gain for Connecticut in More Federal Aid. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News,* September-October 1951. 3 pp.

Industry

Industrial Development—An end in itself, or a means toward an end? Montreal, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, *The Listening Post,* December 1951. 2 pp.

Municipal Government

The Government of Greenbelt. By Christian L. Larsen and Richard D. Andrews. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 81 pp.

Incorporation and Organization of Texas Cities, Towns and Villages. By John G. Brendel. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 26 pp.

Opportunities for Further Improving the City's Operating Efficiency. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), September 1951. 2 pp.

A Proposal to Establish a New Department of Public Inquiry to Replace the Present Department of Investigation and A New Department of Municipal Management to Replace the Present Division of Analysis of the Bureau of the Budget. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, *Bulletin,* July 16, 1951. 6 pp.

Municipally Owned Real Estate

Acquisition, Conveyance, Leasing and Condemnation of Real Property of Cities and Towns. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* July 14, 1951. 29 pp.

Books in Review

The Louisville Story: A Century of Fiscal Integrity. A Report of the Sinking Fund Commission of Louisville. By F. E. Wood. Louisville, the Commission, 1951. 151 pp. $2.50.

This handsome volume, bound in boards, with the end sheets a photographic panorama of modern Louisville and profuse illustrations including reproductions of four water colors of the early town, marks a notable departure from the usual report on a city's bonded debt and capital improvement program. In a sometimes rambling but never dull text it narrates the rise of the little community near the falls of the Ohio River and the story of how it has financed its capital needs from the establishment of the Sinking Fund Commission in 1851 to the approval by the voters on November 7, 1950, of $13,350,000 bonds for its current improvement program. The volume concludes with half a dozen pages of sinking fund financial statistics.

Louisville's Sinking Fund Commission is numbered among the unique governmental agencies of the nation. Not only is it charged with the ministerial function of holding and disbursing the funds requisite to pay the city's bonded debt; under the city charter it serves also as the collector of a sizeable portion of the city's revenues, paying over to the city for operating purposes any surplus not required for debt service and reserves. In 1950 the sinking fund received $4,000,000 from the city's 1 per cent occupation (wage and salary) tax, $1,000,000 from the 1 per cent tax on new profits of business, $850,000 from dividends on the city's interest in the Louisville Water Company and minor amounts from other sources, to a grand total of $6,821,000. Some $2,990,000 of this went to meet debt service, reserves and other purely sinking fund expenses, while $3,831,000 was turned over to the city. Truly, a remarkable agency!

W. S. S.

Self-Government U. S. A. Individual Liberty U. S. A. By Kathryn H. Stone. New York 16, Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, 1951. 32 and 36 pp. respectively. 15 cents each.

These pamphlets, Numbers 2 and 3 respectively of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund of the League of Women Voters, are written for league members by a former vice president but deserve a still wider audience. They are available to schools, teachers and others at small cost. They set forth the best prevailing opinion in their fields and deal informedly with issues currently productive of superficiality and hysteria.

R. S. C.

Economic Effects of Section 102—The Penalty Tax on Unreasonable Accumulation of Profits. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, 1951. xxiv, 314 pp. $5.

Economic effects of the Section 102 penalty tax on unreasonable accumulation of profits are explored for the first time in this volume. Information concerning effects of the tax have hitherto been considered almost impossible to obtain because of the reluctance of businessmen to state how the tax affects their operations. Extreme claims have been made on both sides but little or no data have been offered in substantiation.

The Tax Institute Panel Committee, under the guidance of J. K. Lasser, then president of the organization, and of Professor Alfred G. Buehler and Weston Vernon, Jr., chairmen of the committee, devised and carried out an ingenious scheme for obtaining the necessary information. Data buried in case histories of their clients were tapped through the tax lawyer and tax accountant. Following a preliminary survey of the field by Professor K. M. Williamson, a questionnaire was sent to tax practitioners in all parts of the country. Concurrently a fact-finding panel of lawyers, accountants, businessmen and economists held a two-day closed conference to relate and examine case histories and to explore the provision's economic effects. The results were made available to a policy discussion panel which met later.

The volume contains a verbatim record of the two panel discussions and a detailed summary of the questionnaire results as well as supplementary material. All have been carefully edited and made more effective by marginal headings, explanatory footnotes and a bibliography and index.

Los Angeles County, A Handbook of its Government and Services. Edited by Harold T. Shafer and Frances Hall Adams. Los Angeles, County Board of Supervisors and Office of the County Superintendent of Schools, 1950. xv, 382 pp.

This county being tremendous with its 45 cities and its multiplying population, this handbook is tremendous too. It describes, with diagrams and illustrations, the organization and work of its 23,000 employees performing judicial and municipal types of services over an area of 4,083 square miles. It is intended primarily for use in the local schools as a supplement to general textbooks on government.

Local Government in California. By John C. Bollens and Stanley Scott. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1951. viii, 154 pp. $3.

A compact and complete catalogue of the varied local governments of California — municipal, county and special district — without evaluation, together with the related importance of home rule. Outlined are the duties performed by the various localities, their relative importance in terms of cost and sources of revenue. The problems of providing services for unincorporated areas and of coordinating administration in metropolitan areas are discussed in some detail.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

Municipal Accounting and Auditing. By National Committee on Governmental Accounting. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1951. x, 250 pp. $4.

City Managers

The Function, Responsibilities, Authority and Relationships of City Managers. By L. L. Purkey. (Address before Annual Conference of League of California Cities, San Francisco, October 15, 1951.) San Francisco 20, Standard Oil Company of California, 1951. 6 pp. Charts.

Civil Defense

Oakland Civil Defense and Disaster Council. Annual Report 1950-1951. Oakland (California), the Council, 1951. 32 pp.

Housing

The 1950 Housing Situation in Charts. Based on Preliminary Results of the 1950 Census of Housing. Washington, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1951. 31 pp. 25 cents.

(Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

International Relations

United States—Western Europe Relationships as Viewed Within the Present Worldwide International Environment. A compilation of research reports, documents and other pertinent information designed to be used as a background for discussion. New York, Columbia University, the American Assembly, 1951. 218 pp.

Legal Aid

The Cost of Legal Aid in a Metropolitan Area. By Reginald Heber Smith. New York 5, American Bar Association, 1951. 14 pp. (Apply Orison S. Marden, Chairman, Standing Committee on Legal Aid Work, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

Legal Aid in the United States. A Study of the Availability of Lawyers' Services for Persons Unable to Pay Fees. By Emery A. Brownell. Rochester, New York, The Lawyers Cooperative Publishing Company, 1951. xxiv, 333 pp. $4.50.

Management

The Management Guide. The Development of The Management Guide as an Organization and Administrative aid in the Standard Oil Company of California. By George Lawrence Hall. San Francisco 20, Standard Oil Company of California, 1951. 74 pp. charts.

Parking

Our Downtown Parking Headache and How We Can Cure It. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1951. 14 pp. Illus.

A Proposed Parking Plan for the [Santa Monica] Downtown Business District. Santa Monica, California, Parking Authority, 1951. 17 pp.

Planning

Economic Surveys as a Basis for Planning and Zoning. By Homer Hoyt. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* November 1951. 5 pp.

The Gladwyne Plan. An Unusual Community in an Excellent Township Plans to Protect the Future Development of Both. By Scott Bagby and Weaver Pangburn. Gladwyne, Pennsylvania, The Gladwyne Plan Inc., 1951. 60 pp. Illus.

Kingsport, Tennessee, The Planned Industrial City. (Third Edition.) By Kingsport Rotary Club. Kingsport, Office Supply Company, 1951. 512 pp. Illus. $2.50.

Land Planning Law in a Free Society. A Study of the British Town and Country Planning Act. By Charles M. Haar. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1951. xiii, 213 pp. $4.

PRICE OF A NEW CONSTITUTION

(Continued from page 17)

lowed procedure and unfettered by the need to practice before judges who lobbied from the bench against the new judicial clause, they produced a businesslike court system which is a model of modern justice. It is a shame more laymen and fewer legislators were not on the legislative committee.

The convention drafted a constitution based on the original commission draft. Once more the same citizen group, a cross-section of the people, took up the cause of better government. It was this citizen group appearing before the constitutional convention which had as much as anything else to do with the quality of the new constitution.

And it was this same group which took on the task of selling the new constitution to the New Jersey electorate. And the job was finally done.

Not an Easy Task

On the practical aspect of acquiring a new constitution, do not be misled into believing that it can be done easily. Even provisions which seem to speak for themselves need to be sold to the public. Even when the greatest possible cross-section of state groups backs the ideals, there is work to be done. It means organizing for a political campaign with a dual nature. There is first the elective task of getting a constitutional convention. There is next the equally difficult chore of seeing that the new constitution meets the requirements of modern government, not only by setting up the proper bases of representative government but by keeping from the constitution those pet ideas of selfish seekers who want everything for themselves at the expense of everybody else. There will always be groups trying to protect their own interests, trying to have the state's revenues earmarked for their own causes and the state's administration guided down their own avenues. Then there is a reversion to the elective task again, to persuade the public to accept the final draft.

To be successful this means, in the first place, the unselfish and continuing interest of many people. It may, in fact it doubtless will, take years of effort. It will take financial support from disinterested sources, for no political campaign is without costs.

But the results are well worth the effort. The knowledge that we have in New Jersey today a governor who has the authority to do his job, the knowledge that we have reliable courts, giving speedy and equal justice, the pride in state government that is equipped to do its job, these are achievements that give more satisfaction than can be readily measured.

But one final word. If we are to balance an all-powerful national government, it will take the best efforts of all of us in our state and local governments. If we are to retain democracy, we must see that it provides the tools to do the most good for the most people at every level of government. For those who wonder what they can do in the great battle between dictatorship of ideas and freedom of thought, the best way is to prove that democracy is a progressive, living, improving force. Constitutional reform is one proof of democracy at work.

Police and Fire

Manual for Police and Fire Commissions. With Rules and Regulations Relating to Commission Procedure. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1951. 67 pp. $1.50.

Public Health

Environment and Health. Problems of Environmental Health in the United States and the Public Health Service Programs Which Aid States and Communities in Their Efforts to Solve Such Problems. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, 1951. 152 pp. 75 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

How the Conference Goes to Work

People come to the League's Conference to work. At the Cincinnati Conference they worked together in some 25 sessions morning, noon, afternoon and night and nobody knows how many unscheduled parleys in hotel rooms and corridors. In addition to luncheon and dinner meetings, there were more than twenty group sessions featuring short talks and a lot of give-and-take discussion.

More than 200 persons with widely differing backgrounds and experience participated in these discussions, including topflight businessmen, city managers, charter draftsmen and consultants, political scientists, state and local officials and leaders of local civic organizations.

It is this unusual coming together of people who approach state and local government and civic problems from a variety of different but equally important angles that gives the spice and vitality to Conference discussions that bring people back year after year. A Conference panel represents a cross-section of the responsible officials, political thinkers and plain citizens who must work together to make self-government work.

Thomas R. Reid, Ford Motor Company, speaking at panel discussion on "Business Looks at Government." Other panel members, left to right, are: Leonard F. Ramberg, Burma Shave Company, Minneapolis; Cecil Morgan, Esso Standard Oil Company, Baton Rouge; George S. Case, Jr., Lamson & Sessions Company, Cleveland; E. D. Dodd, Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo; and Henry Bruere, presiding.

Members of panel on "Crime and Politics." Left to right; Mayor Nicholas Udall, Phoenix; Edward Jones, Springfield (Mass.) Taxpayers Association; Dayton D. McKean, Dartmouth College, presiding; Mayor Charles P. Henderson, Youngstown; Warren Olney, III, University of California Law School; Virgil W. Peterson, Chicago Crime Commission.

BELOW: Alfred F. Smith, San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, speaking in session on "Sprawling Cities." Roy V. Peel, director, U. S. Bureau of the Census, chairman of the panel, is seated immediately to the right.

Panel discussion on "Boards and Commissions in Cities." Speaking is E. L. Roxborough, Toronto Board of Education. Seated at table, left to right, are Charles F. Spencer, East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma, and Edward G. Conroy, San Antonio Bureau of Governmental Research, presiding.

BELOW: Panel discussions were continued at mealtimes. Left to right are: Leonard F. Ramberg, Minneapolis; Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge; Kimbrough Owen, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana: Lee M. Sharrar, Humble Oil and Refining Company, Houston.

Conference Stirs Citizens to Action

"One of the tangible results of the National Municipal League's convention here was the setting up of an 'action committee' to work for approval by the electorate of an Ohio Constitutional Convention." This comment in an editorial in the Cincinnati *Post* the day after the National Conference on Government left town is indicative of the practical results that have commonly followed League Conferences ever since the first one in 1894.

It is too early yet to begin to catalogue the many ways in which people who attend the Conference and others influenced by it will be putting the information and inspiration derived from it to work in their own states and communities. Citizens from 35 different states, from Maine to Florida, to California, to Washington, not to mention Washington, D. C., Canada and Germany, took part in the Conference. Some people from Tennessee and various other states came primarily to find out how to modernize a state constitution. People from Terre Haute, Minneapolis, Pawtucket, Tacoma and many other communities came to find out how to establish or strengthen local civic organizations to combat crime and improve local government. Political scientists came from dozens of universities to exchange ideas, discuss better ways of training people for local office and rub elbows and wits with the public officials and citizens who put political science to work.

The value of a League Conference is evidenced by the eagerness with which civic leaders try to bring it to their community. At the annual dinner the San Antonio delegation broke out a large pennant with the inscription "San Antonio Next" and tentative bids have been received from other cities.

Members Elect Officers, Council

Henry Bruère was reelected president and John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick first and second vice presidents, respectively, at the annual meeting of members of the National Municipal League, November 26, at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati.

New regional vice presidents elected were: John B. Gage, Kansas City, Missouri; Barry Goldwater, Phoenix; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge; Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio; and Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis.

New members of the Council elected for terms to expire 1954 were: L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis; George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland; Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle; Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.; Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.; Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.; Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines; Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich., and Lee M. Sharrar, Houston.

Henry L. Shattuck, Boston, was elected an honorary vice president.

The Council reappointed Charles Edison as chairman of the Council, Richard S. Childs as chairman of the Executive Committee, Carl H. Pforzheimer as treasurer and Alfred Willoughby as executive secretary.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

BRUARY 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO. 2

PERIODICAL DEPT.
Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

NEWS for League Members 69
The Voter Needs a Break .... *Editorial*
A Plan to Meet Disaster .... *L. P. Cookingham*
Politics in the Legislatures .... *O. Douglas Weeks*
Cities Win More State Funds .... *Denzel C. Cline*
School Board Status Debated in New York 93
Manager Suggested for Prince George's County 100
Independents Win Again in Worcester 104
Credit Unit Vetoes Utility Purchase 109
Citizens Cope with Suburban Boom 112
Training Programs for Public Officers Grow 115

FEB 14 1952

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD, Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

Childs Makes Tour of Illinois Cities

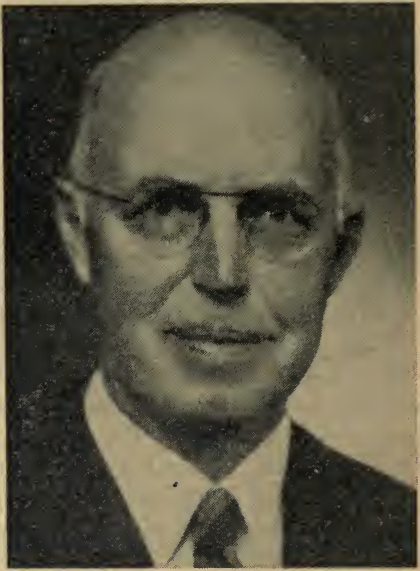
With the way open for the first time for Illinois cities (except Chicago) to adopt the council-manager form of government, civic groups throughout the state are campaigning for the plan.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's Executive Committee and volunteer staff member, accepted invitations for a series of speeches in Illinois last month:

> January 14—Chicago City Club luncheon, on "Short Ballot Reform in Illinois."
>
> January 15—mass meeting at Bloomington, where petitions have been circulated for a vote on the council-manager plan.
>
> January 16—meeting of Springfield Manufacturers and Employers Association, which was among the organizations active in obtaining favorable action by the legislature.
>
> January 17—Galesburg Rotary Club luncheon.
>
> January 17—evening meeting with Lincoln League of Women Voters and others.
>
> January 18—meeting of Geneva League of Women Voters.
>
> January 20 — Calumet City, where a committee is organizing.

The enabling act to permit the people of Illinois cities to adopt the council-manager plan was adopted by the state legislature last June after a 30-year fight led by the Illinois League of Women Voters and other groups. The legislature finally capitulated after many newspapers and the State Chamber of Commerce joined the struggle.

First Illinois city to act under the new law was Mt. Vernon which on October 2 adopted the plan by a five to one vote. Second adoption was by Brookfield which had already had the plan unofficially through the expedient of employing a manager without benefit of legal provisions. The third was Peoria, which adopted the plan January 21.


RICHARD S. CHILDS

Other Illinois cities interested include Waukegan, Champaign, Urbana, La Grange, Des Plaines, Cicero, Wheaton, Freeport, Rochelle and Maywood.

Mr. Childs also spoke January 21 in Mount Vernon, Illinois, where he presented the "All-American Cities of 1951" certificate to O. R. Buford at a public meeting, and on January 22 at Kansas City, Missouri, where, at a "Town Meeting" called by the Citizens League of Kansas City, Mayor William E. Kemp received a similar certificate on behalf of the people of the city.

Murray Seasongood—Good Citizen

A surprise feature of the annual dinner November 27 at the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati was the informal citation of Hon. Murray Seasongood, former Cincinnati mayor and former president of the National Municipal League, for his many years of civic leadership.

When Mr. Seasongood, who was acting as toastmaster, introduced Charles Edison as one of the speakers of the evening, Mr. Edison turned and introduced Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee.

Mr. Childs, referring to Cincinnati, "the largest city practicing the principles of our *Model City Charter*," recalled that Mr. Seasongood had, in many other local battlefields, "with dry and happy humor, turned civic forums into scenes of gayety for us as he made monkeys of resisting politicians. Other men imparted a degree of religion and stern purpose to such audiences; Seasongood showed them that reform could also be grand fun."

The written citation, signed by Henry Bruère, League president; Charles Edison, chairman of the Council, and by Mr. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee, read as follows:

"On the occasion of the annual dinner of the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati, the evening of November 27, 1951, we wish to express the appreciation and gratitude due you from good citizens everywhere for the example you have set during the greater part of your useful life.

"There are many who know in their hearts that making a reality of our system of self-government calls for intelligent participation in public affairs. There are, unhappily, relatively few who give it.

"You, Murray Seasongood, have freely and joyfully given of yourself, your energies, your inspiration. You have done miraculously well in helping your own city of Cincinnati achieve a way of handling its own affairs that makes your fellow citizens justly proud of the community in which they live and work and raise their families. More important for the future of this nation, what you and your friends have done here has been an inspiration and guide to people in hundreds of other communities throughout the land.

"You have earned the proudest of titles: Good Citizen."

New Issue of "The Story"

A 1952 revision of *The Story of the Council-Manager Plan,* most popular of the League's publications, was published in January. Its pages are slightly larger than in preceding editions and it includes 1950 population figures of all council-manager places.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 2 **Total Number 418**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for February 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 69

EDITORIAL COMMENT 72

A PLAN TO MEET DISASTER .... *L. P. Cookingham* 74

POLITICS IN THE LEGISLATURES .... *O. Douglas Weeks* 80

CITIES WIN MORE STATE FUNDS .... *Denzel C. Cline* 87

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 93

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 100

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 104

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 109

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 112

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 115

BOOKS IN REVIEW 120

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

The Voter Needs a Break

EVIDENCE as to how well voters know what they are doing on election day turns up rarely.

When Brand Whitlock, famous mayor of Toledo, was asked, as he came from the polls leaving behind one of Ohio's long ballots, "Whom did you vote for?," he responded, "How should I know?"

Nearly everyone votes for a few officers he knows about and for numerous others — minor officers — whose names and qualifications are mysteries. Everybody knows this is true — but how to measure it?

Last August an informative bit of evidence came from the House Committee report on the election contest between Walter B. Huber (D) and William H. Ayres (R) in an Ohio congressional district.

Mr. Huber, defeated by 1,921 votes, demonstrated that some county boards of elections had failed to rotate his name an approximately equal number of times to the top of the list of three candidates. Mr. Ayres got top position in two counties 50 per cent of the time, middle position 25 per cent and bottom position 25 per cent, whereas Mr. Huber got top position only 25 per cent and bottom position 50 per cent of the time. Likewise on 148 voting machines. The official count gave Ayres 102,868, Huber 100,947 and Brenneman, the independent, 7,246.

As to the influence of this disparity in advantage of top position, the legal requirement of itself is testimony, supported by what evidence from past elections we do not know. The congressional committee's minority statement pointed out that Mr. Brenneman received 1,144 votes in 37 polling places where his name was on the top line on the voting machine and only 161 votes on 37 voting machines where his name was on the third line.

Mr. Huber claimed his name was at the bottom twice as many times as Mr. Ayres' in Democratic precincts where Mr. Huber could have been expected to make a good showing but that he got a poor vote when his name was at the bottom and that each time a candidate was in third place he received a smaller percentage of the vote than he received when in first place. Mr. Huber believed the evidence indicated that ballot position had made a critical difference, more than enough to offset the one per cent lead of Mr. Ayres.

The majority report of the committee seated Mr. Ayres on the ground that his opponent had failed to exhaust remedies available to him under state law.

The case shows how infirm are the convictions of many voters in a congressional election under long ballot conditions.

A second and more direct study is conveyed in the report of the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government.[1] Michigan voters elect 25 state administrative officials and board members. With careful adherence to the best public opinion poll techniques, Bay County was singled out as one exhibiting typical voter behavior in the past for study of the "impossible task that voters are expected to perform with our long ballots." Interviews in rural and urban sections produced 323 usable answers, all obtained on October 21, 1950, seventeen days before the well attended election.

---

[1] Lansing, Michigan, November 1951. See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 57.

To encourage frank admission of uninformedness some easy questions of no importance to the inquiry were asked in each interview. The first key question was, "Which of the state offices do you know most about?" The state highway commissioner was picked by 26 per cent but 75 per cent of these could not name him.

The secretary of state had recently run for governor. Of those who picked the secretary as the most familiar minor officer, 73 per cent could not name him; 77 per cent could not name the superintendent of public instruction; 81 per cent could not name the attorney general; 96 per cent could not name the treasurer who had been in office the longest of the incumbent minor officers.

Another test of 500 college students showed that 96 per cent could not name certain of the minor state elected officers.

The conclusion, says the report, "would seem to raise a serious challenge against the validity of electing officers to fill such positions."

Democracy is thwarted, not aided, by requiring the people to express opinions they do not have. Obviously this system, which is all too prevalent, makes these officers appointive now—but by behind-the-scenes ticket makers.

The task of political reform is to clear away the clutter and trickery, thereby thwarting the manipulator instead of the voter.

Correction

On page 23 of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for January 1952, the title, "Tax Rates of American Cities for 1950," should read, "Tax Rates of American Cities for **1951**." On page 24, the 36th city should read Jersey City, N. J.

A Plan to Meet Disaster

Kansas City flood shows trained city personnel rather than volunteers must be depended on for emergencies.

By L. P. COOKINGHAM*

IT IS probably safe to assume that most, if not all, American cities are today unprepared to face severe damage by fire, flood or bombing. Certainly Kansas City was not prepared when flood struck her on July 13, last year; yet she fought, contained her devastating enemy and, within a much shorter time than almost anyone believed possible, was back to normal again.

I have been fortunate, if I may apply that word to such activities, in having witnessed first-hand the recovery operations in the Texas City disaster and in having participated actively in Kansas City's struggle against the disaster which visited her last year. From these two varied but definitely related experiences, I have drawn three basic conclusions:

First, it must be realized that you can plan to meet disaster rather than wait for it and thus be better able to combat effectively any destructive force which may be visited upon a city.

Second, the problem of organization which must be faced in fighting disaster is basically the same whether the catastrophe be in the form of fire, water or explosion—including the atomic bomb.

Third, it is the everyday municipal organization which must be readied to meet the disaster menace rather than a volunteer, part-time unit. Let me hasten to say, lest I be misunderstood, that volunteer organizations can be, and are, of vast assistance, but they are not geared for the immediate action mandatory in an emergency. Volunteers enter the scene minutes or hours after the disaster has struck.

It should be made clear that these remarks pertain to civil defense planning as well as other disasters which may be faced by any American city in this day of strife and uncertainty. In fact, municipal officials might be better off if they thought of civil defense as one more of their numerous problems rather than something which can be solved only by the federal government. Municipalities are the front line of civil defense and disaster preparedness.

A disaster plan should set forth in broad outline a disaster organization. This organization should be streamlined, with a headquarters capable of being housed in a compact location, and should make use of pertinent sectors of a normal municipal organization. Inasmuch as this organization may have to fight a variety of disasters, flexibility is highly desirable.

---

*Mr. Cookingham has been manager of Kansas City, Missouri, ever since that city's voters, in 1940, threw off the yoke of Pendergastism and declared for good government. Previously he had served in the same capacity for three Michigan cities—Clawson, Plymouth and Saginaw. Mr. Cookingham is a former president of the International City Managers' Association. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

Thus, only a broad organizational outline is prescribed. Broad responsibilities should be fixed and one overall executive should be provided who, in my opinion, should be the chief administrative officer of the city.

Organization and Personnel

The top executive should have no more than eight persons directly responsible to him during the height of the emergency. These should include a director of all field forces, a director responsible for the manning and operation of disaster headquarters, a director responsible for relations with utilities, a director responsible for fire fighting forces, a director responsible for maintaining law and order, a director responsible for liaison with private and other governmental emergency agencies, a public relations officer and a director responsible for volunteer personnel. As disaster abates and the city moves into the rehabilitation period, this organization must be expanded to include such fields as finance, planning, etc.

The director responsible for volunteer personnel should recruit and train a suitable volunteer organization to supplement regular city forces. Of course, this must be done prior to disaster to be effective. During the actual disaster this director should handle assignment of volunteer personnel if the disaster is of such proportion that it necessitates the use of volunteer help.

If the disaster plan provides such a broad organization, it can be adjusted to meet the exigencies of any situation. If the organization is too complex, however, it will be too unwieldy to keep pace with the swiftly changing situations which may arise under disaster conditions.

Highly mobile and efficient personnel are of great importance in an emergency situation. I have already stated my belief that a disaster organization should be built upon the structure of the municipal organization. Only in this way will trained personnel, conversant with the various installations in the city, be immediately available. In addition, the regular city employees constitute the only large nucleus of personnel which can be thrown into the fight against disaster immediately. It is entirely appropriate that municipal employees be thought of as "minutemen" of preparedness.

Yet, a large-scale disaster undoubtedly will demand more man power than the municipal organization or possibly even a volunteer organization can furnish. Particularly will this be true of laborers. Rather than make a public appeal for volunteer laborers, better results will probably be achieved if a local group such as a central labor union or a civic club is delegated to act as the recruitment center for establishment of a labor pool. Such a group can register volunteers at its headquarters, organize them into groups and appoint leaders. Volunteers then will be ready for movement as a compact disciplined group whenever and wherever they are needed. If this plan of recruiting is followed, the embarrassing and morale-breaking experience we had in Kansas City of having several hundred volunteers on our hands for several hours with no plans for their utilization will be avoided.

The disaster plan and consequently the disaster organization will be singularly ineffective if it goes no further than the paper stage. You must practice.

Training the Organization

City employees who in an emergency will be assigned technical duties such as cutting off utility services or manning sewer-pumping stations can have periodic rehearsals to become familiar with the location of equipment and with the other aspects of their jobs. Field crews and administrative personnel can be alerted occasionally to insure their knowing where to report. Key directors can run periodic mock exercises to test the efficacy of their own organizations and communications. Such activities probably will not be necessary more than once or twice a year once the organization has been completed and key persons have learned their respective duties.

The matter of training is another reason why I prefer building the local disaster preparedness unit around the municipal organization rather than depending on a volunteer body. Not only will greater mobility be achieved but also the training problem will be greatly facilitated. In utilizing municipal employees, disaster training becomes part of the job rather than an extracurricular activity which, of necessity, grows burdensome as time progresses. An additional advantage of building around the city employee group is the development of a substantial well trained staff into which the volunteer organization may quickly be integrated. It will be much easier to mobilize volunteers to supplement the municipal organization if the latter is a spirited, operating unit which can furnish inspiration and guidance to the volunteer group.

Let me emphasize that, whatever plan is utilized in organizing to meet disaster, it is of utmost importance that training and practice drills be carried on if the organization is to be effective.

Public Information

In any disaster—and I want to emphasize this—a good, honest public information program is absolutely essential. Only in this way can public cooperation and public acceptance of the efforts to fight disasters be assured. The disaster plan must anticipate this need.

The over-all executive should assume responsibility for the public information program. At all times in his headquarters he should have a public information officer capable of composing concise and lucid news releases rapidly and accurately. This officer or a member of his staff should attend all meetings, be present whereever decisions are made and have as full knowledge of all proceedings as possible.

The over-all executive should approve all news releases submitted to him by the public relations officer prior to their release for publication. Specific arrangements for immediate delivery of news releases to all radio stations and newspapers must be made in advance. In addition, copies of all releases should be routed throughout the disaster organization and to all cooperating agencies as a means of coordinating all disaster-fighting units.

The incidence of news releases will be governed to a great extent by the disaster situation. During the emergency a release issued on each hour should be a minimum, however, and releases always should be prepared for the early morning and the late evening news broadcasts. In Kansas City we released 50 news bulletins during the first 64 hours of our flood emergency. There is a direct correlation between the number of telephone calls received from the public and the number of news bulletins released. The more news bulletins released, the fewer calls will be received. But no matter how many bulletins are issued, many, many telephone calls will be received from the public.

To meet this situation and to keep disaster headquarters telephones open for actual emergency calls, the disaster plan should include an information center. A great percentage of the calls received from the public will be of such a general nature that any well informed person can answer them — hence, the recommendation for an information center to which all general inquiries can be routed by the central switchboard.

To be successful, such a center must be physically close to disaster headquarters and must be kept completely informed of all developments. One of the best ways to fulfill this latter requirement is to route all news releases and emergency orders to personnel manning the information center. It is also advisable to have each shift of information personnel briefed before going on duty. The briefing should be performed by the public information officer or a member of his staff.

Let me emphasize once more the importance of public information during disaster. Fear and ignorance, which spring one from the other, are the twin destroyers of public confidence. If panic seizes the city during disaster all the planning and all the efforts to combat its effects may go for naught.

Everything I have said has been based on the continuity of radio and telephone communication during the emergency. This might not be possible in all cases, particularly in event of a bombing. Yet public information is so important that planning must include establishment of temporary communications to handle this phase of the disaster.

Need for Coordination

As nearly perfect coordination as possible between the disaster organization and various other public and private agencies is essential. The poorest time to attempt to bring about such coordination is during or immediately after disaster strikes. To be effective, this coordination must be established prior to any emergency and therefore should be provided for in the disaster plan.

Provision for coordination should be defined to provide flexibility to meet varying situations. Primarily, the need is to establish the center tent pole, as it were, about which coordination will revolve and to establish with whom there must be coordination. This is no mean problem in itself. During the Kansas City flood, we worked with the U. S. Army Engineers, the National Guard, the U. S. Public Health Service and the Red Cross—to mention a few. After the flood, some 32 federal agencies, as well as numerous private agencies, became involved in the rehabilitation phase. Moreover, there was the added problem of cooperation with the other governmental units comprising the metropolitan area of Greater Kansas City. Therefore, it is essential that coordination be planned and that you know with whom to coordinate.

As the city struck by disaster moves from the emergency to the rehabilitation phase, coordination is still of paramount importance and perhaps more difficult. During the actual emergency everyone has a common interest in defense against the disaster, but with the abatement of the emergency conflicting interests arise. This is natural, but it complicates the problem. The question of what shall be done first, who shall do it and how shall it be done constitutes a knotty problem. The municipal government is not organized to answer this question. It is my belief that a citizens coordinating committee, with a membership representative of the locality, should be appointed to administer the rehabilitation and to establish priorities, etc. The municipality can administer the rehabilitation of its own facilities and should be represented on the coordination committee, but the city must return to its normal duties as soon as possible if it is to continue operating satisfactorily.

I must admit that my remarks have been based upon the limited experience of observing one disaster and participating in the fight against another, some reading on the subject and a bit of "scientific" crystal ball gazing. As limited as that experience is, few American municipal officials have had much more. Certainly, none of us has administered an American municipality under bombing. As fortunate as the situation is, it does leave us short on experience—and experience is a great teacher.

Quick Restoration Necessary

In this day of uncertainty, when American cities are clearly within bombing range of an enemy, I feel that a bombing disaster is an exigency which must be faced. For this reason, I should like to see us profit as much as possible from the experiences of our British and European brothers who survived so much during World War II. There are several valuable compilations of British and European experience under bombing and wartime conditions as well as summaries of their present civil defense activities which should be read by every municipal official.

No matter what kind of disaster a city may suffer, it will be faced with a rehabilitation problem. This may be the most important phase of the disaster activity. Regardless of how diligently the particular disaster has been fought, the total effort will have been unsuccessful if community facilities and economic activity are not restored to normal at the earliest possible date.

This is extremely important today when such a large segment of the population is living from one pay check to the next. These people cannot survive for long with their place of work closed. Not only will many individuals be affected but there will be a cumulative effect which will cost a highly developed municipality hundreds of thousands of dollars each day that any considerable portion of its business and industry is shut down. This, in turn, has its debilitating effect on the national economy and defense effort.

Increase Federal Aid

Yet no city in these times of inflated costs can finance in adequate measure a rehabilitation program for a disaster of major proportions. Kansas City has spent, or will spend, close to $1,400,000 in rehabilitation of municipal facilities alone, with approximately $980,000 of this cost being reimbursed by the federal government under Public Law 875. But what of the thousands of business and home owners who are forced to assume additional mortgages and liabilities if they are to continue to operate and to house their families adequately. This not only constitutes a heavy burden for the individual but it also seriously affects the local economy. Public Law 875 is a fine start towards aiding in the cost of rehabilitation following a disaster, but it must be extended to care for the individuals and the businesses unable to help themselves if those individuals and the local economy are not to suffer serious depletion after a disaster.

I want to carry this matter of rehabilitation a little further and apply it specifically to the municipality that may be bombed. Many people are under the impression that civil defense contemplates evacuating cities under threat of bombing. This is impossible. We cannot, in time of war, evacuate our cities and allow industries to lie idle. Think of the crippling blow this would inflict upon our national defense effort.

No, we cannot abandon our cities to enemy bombers. We must find ways to furnish adequate protection for our people so they can remain in the cities to keep industries running.

The corollary to this proposition is that we must be prepared to restore our cities to an operative condition at the earliest possible moment after a bombing. This is imperative if people are to live within these cities and if industries are to operate with a minimum of interference. It is apparent that cities cannot accomplish this alone. There must be assistance from the outside—probably from the federal government. It is my understanding that the Federal Office of Civil Defense is now in the process of establishing regional offices which will be responsible for coordinating the efforts of all federal agencies to meet any disaster within their region. This is a good start toward the problem of coordinating disaster agencies. It is my hope that these offices, once established, will quickly institute working relationships with municipalities in their jurisdictions.

So—don't wait! Your city may be flooded, razed by fire, desolated by hurricane, wracked by explosion or even bombed. A little planning now may save hundreds of lives and millions of dollars.

Politics in the Legislatures

Partisanship and two-party system take back seat to pressure groups and blocs in most states, survey shows.

By O. DOUGLAS WEEKS*

THE published materials on the legislatures of the forty-eight states deal largely with their formal, structural and procedural features and do not take adequately into account the part played by political parties and organization in the legislative process. The same may be said of most of the proposals for reforming or revitalizing these bodies. Such proposals can be, at best, only halfway measures if they ignore the matter of party organization and political control. Before we can successfully attack this basic problem, however, we need to assemble more facts about the operation of our party system and the nature of practical politics within our state lawmaking assemblies.

To make a start at filling this lacuna, I prepared in 1950, under the auspices of the Committee on American Legislatures of the American Political Science Association, an elaborate questionnaire which was sent to political scientists and legislative officers. From one to four replies were received from each state. The questionnaire covered many phases of party organization and activity in connection with the legislatures. It yielded a wealth of facts on variations in internal legislative party and factional leadership and machinery, the role of pressure groups and special and local interests, the part played by the governor in the legislative process and many other factors.

The findings in general substantiate the statement of Luce that "everywhere except in New York there is much less partisanship than is commonly supposed" and that "leadership is rarely now and in our time rarely has been a matter of party control." In fact, many gradations are to be found between the vigorous two-party system of New York and the chaotic factionalism within the one-party system of Florida, and these gradations are responsible for much variety in the political leadership and organization of the state legislatures.

In digesting and summarizing the results of the questionnaire, two approaches will be made: First, a general summary without regard to any classification of states according to varying types of party systems and, second, presentation of such a classification with a view to pointing up more clearly the marked differences between states with two-party systems, states with large majority and small minority parties, one-party states and the two states with nonpartisan legislatures.

---

*Dr. Weeks, chairman of the Department of Government of the University of Texas, is a member of the American Political Science Association's Committee on American Legislatures, in charge of its study on political organization and leadership in state representative bodies. This article is his address at the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 26, 1951.

With respect to party spirit or cohesion, seventeen states reported it to be strong within the legislature, while thirty-one characterized it as occasional, moderate, weak or nonexistent. Twenty-four states gave pressure or bloc politics a more important place than party politics, fourteen spoke of pressure groups and parties as of equal significance, and only seven rated party politics as more important. Twenty states out of forty-seven reported that local issues overshadowed statewide issues and twelve assigned local issues an important place. Thirty-three states asserted that national issues were of little or no effect in determining legislative votes and fifteen assigned them only a limited or occasional importance.

Party Strength

As to the effectiveness of internal majority party machinery in controlling the formal organization and procedure of the legislatures, the replies indicated that majority party organization was strong in twenty-eight senates and twenty-nine houses, moderately effective in six senates and five houses and weak or nonexistent in eleven senates and ten houses.

Well defined and continuous factional leadership and organization within the majority party was reported by twenty-four states. Factionalism within the all-important majority party in the legislatures of North Dakota and Virginia was indicated as being sufficiently strong to constitute the practical equivalent of a two-party system. A dual political division in the "nonpartisan" Minnesota legislature produces much the same effect.

Minority parties were reported to be well organized within one or both houses in eighteen states, moderately so in ten and non-existent in eighteen. Administrative leadership was stated to be exceptionally effective in controlling the internal organization of both houses of the legislatures of five states: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, New Mexico and Tennessee.

Replies with respect to the presence or absence of the familiar agencies of internal legislative majority party organization may be briefly summarized. Majority party caucuses were reported as nonexistent in fifteen senates and fourteen houses. In only thirteen states do they meet frequently and exert, or attempt to exert, any significant control over their members or the program of the legislature. In these states the meetings range from daily to three or four times a session. In none of these states are caucus decisions binding and only in New Jersey do majority caucuses control the legislative program.

Minority caucuses in one or both houses are to be found in only twenty-five states, and they are of some importance only in thirteen. Powerful partisan or factional presiding officers were reported in fourteen senates and thirty-five houses, steering committees in both houses of eleven legislatures and significant rules or sifting committees in thirteen senates and fourteen houses. Party or factional floor leaders are important in thirty-one senates and thirty houses; and standing committees play a dominant role in twenty-seven senates and twenty-nine houses.

Standing Committees

With respect to standing committees, some important deviations from the congressional pattern may be noted. Ten one-party states reported no minority party representation on standing committees and three other such states that such representation, because of the small size of the minority party, was not invariable. In the choice of standing committee chairmen, seniority figures prominently only in fourteen senates and twelve houses and is not a factor in twenty-three senates and thirty-six houses. Where seniority is not a consideration a wide variety of factors in the selection of chairmen was indicated, such as personal ability or experience, favoritism of presiding officers, party prestige, administrative choice and personal preferences of members.

Ten states reported that committee chairmen tend to dominate their committees, eleven that the committee majority usually has the upper hand, ten that the relationship varies from one to the other, and thirteen that the majority oligarchy controlling the chamber exerted over-all authority over committees and their chairmen. In at least half the chambers discharge rules were reported as either ineffective or used rarely.

Some interesting facts were provided on gubernatorial leadership and independent activities of administrative agencies in the legislative process. Twenty-nine states reported that headship of the majority party was a significant factor in the governor's legislative leadership. Eighteen states stressed the governor's personal qualities as an additional or independent factor. Leadership of a dominant faction of his party was mentioned as a primary source of the governor's leadership in fourteen states and five indicated ability to control cross-party blocs as a principal basis of the governor's legislative influence.

Governor's Role

A wide variety of political techniques employed by governors was indicated, among which control of patronage and ability to maintain a working liaison with the legislature were most frequently mentioned. Administrative power, financial control, use of propaganda, framing the party program, appointment or control of legislative party or factional leaders, and the use of the veto and the message were also indicated by a number of states. Senatorial courtesy was reported as unimportant in more than half the states and several states indicated that senate opposition to gubernatorial nominations was exceptional.

Independent legislative activities on the part of administrative agencies do not figure prominently in twenty-five states, many of them states in which the governor has been made the effective head of the administration or in which he exerts strong political leadership or both. Eighteen states reported that the governor's office served as an effective clearing house for administrative proposals of legislation, fourteen that it was partly so, while fourteen gave negative answers. The departments or agencies most frequently mentioned as engaging in independent legislative activity were those concerned with highways, education, welfare and health. From state to state, many other varying agencies were named.

Much of the data secured take on additional significance if related to the types of party systems found in different states. We like to generalize on the superiorities of our two-party system, while admitting that we do not have a responsible system like that of Great Britain. The report of the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association[1] makes some valuable suggestions as to how we may make our two-party system more responsible, but it does not tell us how to create a two-party system where it does not exist. Certainly in the legislatures of a large majority of our states a two-party system comparable to that of Congress is absent.

Relative Party Weight

As a matter of fact, there are only nineteen state legislatures in which the Democratic and Republican parties are fairly evenly matched and in which control is shifted frequently from one party to the other: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

In nine additional states—Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, West Virginia and Wisconsin (five Republican and four Democratic)—one or the other major party is normally in a dominant position. In these states the minority party holds a sizeable number of seats in one or both legislative houses, but the range is only from one-half to one-sixth the number of seats held by the majority party.

Into a third class fall the one-party legislatures of eighteen states —the eleven southern states together with Arizona, Kansas, Maine, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Vermont. In the southern states the minority party is either nonexistent or its number of seats is microscopic. In the rest the second party is discernible with the naked eye but quite small as to the percentage of seats held.

Lastly, in Minnesota and Nebraska legislative elections are nonpartisan and political parties receive no official recognition in the organization and functioning of the legislatures.

Within each of these four groups many variations present themselves. Divided control of the governorship and the legislature or of the two houses of the legislature between the two major parties is a usual situation in a number of the two-party states. In fact, during the last biennium, control of the three by the same party obtained in only four of the nineteen, and in the current biennium such control is found in only seven. The governorship was controlled by one party and both houses were in the hands of the opposing party in three two-party states during the last two-year period, and the same is true of six in the present period. The two houses of eight states were held by opposing parties during 1949-1951 and four states are in the same situation for 1951-1953. From 1949 to 1951 the major parties were tied in the senates of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and in the Wyoming house, and from 1951 to 1953 this condition continues in the last two states.

---

[1] "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," *American Political Science Review* (Supplement), January 1950. 99 pages.

With respect to party spirit or cohesion, only twelve of the nineteen two-party states reported it to be strong, and of these twelve only six stated that pressure politics was definitely subordinate to party politics. Four two-party states reported only moderate party cohesion and three—California, Montana and Ohio —characterized party unity as weak with pressure politics playing a more important role. Legislative leadership by the governor was described as strong in nine two-party states, indifferent in five and weak in five. Majority party caucuses are of consirable significance in twelve of the nineteen, speakers in twelve and floor leaders in eleven. Most of the two-party states indicated the presence of effective sifting, steering or rules committees in one or both houses.

In the second general group of nine states in which there is a large majority party and a respectable, though considerably smaller, minority party, the larger party was in control of the governorship and both houses in all during the biennium 1949-1951, but in the elections of 1950 the smaller party was able to capture the governorships in Maryland and New Mexico, in the latter for the first time in twenty years. At present, in the seven remaining states of this group, five are under complete Republican control and two under Democratic control. In the nine states party cohesion is strong in both parties only in New Jersey. In Iowa and Maryland the unity of the majority party is fairly strong but that of the minority is weak. Both parties are loosely knit in Kentucky, New Hampshire and New Mexico. A shifting factionalism is characteristic of Oregon and Wisconsin.

While majority caucuses exist in all nine of these states, they hold no regular meetings except in New Jersey, where they meet daily and control the legislative programs of both houses. Occasional attempts to bind majority members by caucus decisions have been made in Kentucky, West Virginia and Wisconsin, but with little effect. In the last named state the joint caucus is the only form. Minority caucuses also are found in all these states but they function mainly for organization purposes. Presiding officers are reported as powerful in both houses in Maryland and New Mexico and in the lower houses of Iowa, Kentucky and Wisconsin. Steering or sifting committees operate in four of these states and governors exert effective legislative leadership in four.

One-party States

In the eighteen one-party states the position of the majority party in both legislative houses is monopolistic. At the present time the Democratic party holds all seats in both houses in Louisiana, Mississippi and

South Carolina. This was true also of the legislatures of Florida, Alabama and Texas during the last biennium. In the elections of 1950, however, the Republicans were able to capture three seats in the Florida house and one seat each in the lower houses of Alabama and Texas. Only in Kansas, Maine, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Tennessee is there a minority party strength of any size at all. In none of these states is there any majority party cohesion.

In half the one-party states—Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Virginia—a more or less continuous majority faction of the major party serves as something of a substitute for a majority party. This situation is most pronounced in North Dakota where the Republican Organizing Committee and the Nonpartisan League carry on a nip and tuck rivalry and in Virginia where the Byrd and anti-Byrd factions wage a less equal political warfare.

Factionalism in the other half of the one-party states is of a much more shifting, fluid and ephemeral character. In some of these states several conflicting and overlapping patterns of division in the legislatures follow each other in confusing succession, the principal divisions being rural *versus* urban, section *versus* section, administration *versus* anti-administration, conservatism *versus* liberalism and local *versus* statewide. Pressure politics and log-rolling combinations are reported to be exceedingly strong in fourteen of the one-party states.

Majority party caucuses exist in only five one-party states but are obviously of little or no importance; minority party caucuses, where there is a minority party, are rare. Presiding officers are powerful in both houses in five one-party states and in the lower houses in three more. Factional steering or rules committees function in five states and factional floor leaders in eleven.

Governors in One-party States

Quite remarkably, the governor is described as weak in legislative leadership in only six of the eighteen one-party states. The principal sources of this leadership appear to be five in number. Control of a dominant and more or less continuous faction of the party is found in six states — Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, South Dakota, Tennessee and Virginia. An effective liaison between the governor and the legislature usually obtains in six — Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. The governor's power over patronage figures prominently in Alabama, Georgia, Oklahoma and Texas. Actual selection of, or a strong control over, legislative officers and leaders was reported in Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia.

The strong position of the governor as the result of administrative reorganization is given as an additional source of his legislative leadership in Tennessee and Virginia. It is apparent, therefore, that governors in one-party states who exert considerable influence over the legislatures do so as majority leaders rather than as majority party leaders, in some cases with greater difficulty and in others with greater ease than is experienced by governors who wield genuine party leadership in two-party states.

Lastly, the contrasting political situations in the nonpartisan legislatures of Minnesota and Nebraska should be briefly noted. In Minnesota a strong "conservative-liberal" division exists in both houses. The conservative group, which is usually in control, is made up of many Republicans and some Democrats. The liberals largely correspond to the Farmer-Labor party. Group caucuses exert considerable influence and presiding officers, floor leaders and rules committees controlled by the majority group are strong in both houses. The governor, although officially partisan, exerts influence over the legislature in a factional or bloc sense. In Nebraska, on the other hand, the legislature seems to operate on a strictly nonpartisan basis.

A Variety of Patterns

Various conclusions can be drawn from this information. Most important is the variety of patterns into which party organization and control in the legislatures fall. Even though it is possible to group the states into four major categories with respect to general types of party or political organization, it is still true that the party system or lack of party system in each state, as reflected in the legislature and in its relationship to the governor, is peculiar. It is also evident, except in a few of the two-party states, that no state legislature comes near having the kind of party system found in Congress. The state lawmaking bodies present too many contrasting pictures of political leadership, partisanship and factionalism.

The problems of the state legislative reformer, therefore, would seem to be almost insuperable within the realm of practical politics. Certainly, few general suggestions can be made which would fit the wide variety of political situations which obtain in the forty-eight legislatures. Obviously, if a two-party system is desirable, it is hard to see how it can be created in states where it does not exist. It is equally difficult to render existing two-party systems more responsible. Perhaps a few general suggestions can be made, however, which would be more or less applicable to all the states and which might conduce to more effective political control within the legislatures, even if a system of responsible party government could not be assured by their adoption.

These would include: (1) fair apportionments of legislative seats; (2) synchronization of the terms of senators, representatives and governor; (3) separation of state elections from national and local elections; (4) improvement of party nominating methods so as to insure greater responsibility of the majority party or dominant faction; (5) creation of party agencies which could better formulate policies and more effectively coordinate the independent branches of state government; (6) more effective regulation of lobbying and the elimination of private, local and detailed legislation; and (7) strengthening of the legislative and administrative powers of the governor.

Cities Win More State Funds

Shared revenues in Michigan increase 284 per cent in six years as result of fight by revenue-starved communities.

By **DENZEL C. CLINE***

MICHIGAN municipalities are faring better in their fiscal relations with the state than ever before. Under 1951 highway legislation they obtain twice as much from state motor vehicle taxes as previously. Amounts received from other sources of revenue collected by the state have increased tremendously. There is almost a Cinderella story behind the changed position of Michigan cities, although it hardly can be attributed to fiscal fairies waving a wand.

Municipal sharing in state collected revenues, long practiced in some states, began in Michigan during the 1930s. By 1941 municipalities—incorporated cities and villages—were receiving small amounts from three kinds of shared revenues. These were state retail liquor licenses, motor vehicle taxes (earmarked by constitutional amendment for highway purposes) and the newly imposed low-rate tax on intangible property.

The total from these sources going to cities and villages was about $11,900,000 in the state's fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, equal to fourteen cents per dollar of the total property taxes they had levied for municipal purposes. In fiscal 1950 these units obtained $45,600,000 from state shared revenues, of which half came from the 3 per cent retail sales tax. In six years, municipal income from state collected taxes rose 284 per cent and was equal to 33 cents per dollar of property taxes levied for city and village budgets.

For many years some cities were having acute revenue difficulties. These may be divided into two principal groups, Detroit and some others in the metropolitan area and the group of "fifteen-mill cities." The latter included Grand Rapids, Saginaw, Flint, Pontiac, Battle Creek, Jackson, Muskegon and a few small cities.

The people of Michigan began in 1932 their curious penchant for writing tax legislation by constitutional amendment when the property tax limitation amendment (Article X, Section 21) was adopted. It provides that, with certain exceptions, the total taxes on property in any year shall not exceed 1½ per cent of its assessed valuation. An early court decision held that although the limitation applies to other taxes on property in cities and villages, taxes for municipal purposes are not required by the constitution to be included within the maximum of 15 mills per dollar of assessed valuation.

However, by 1935 the people of eleven cities had voted upon themselves the fifteen-mill strait-jacket by requiring that municipal, as well as school and county taxes, must be included within the over-all maximum rate. In the following decade the tax fights in some of these municipalities were intense but the voters regularly vetoed every proposition to authorize higher property tax rates. Increasing pressure for additional revenue for municipal, school and county purposes was developing throughout the state but it was especially pronounced in the fifteen-mill cities. There were portents of a coming explosion if no safety valve was provided.

---

*Dr. Cline, formerly of Princeton University, is professor of economics at Michigan State College. He has served on the research staff of the Michigan Tax Advisory Committee and the Michigan Department of Revenue. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government, at Cincinnati, November 28, 1951.

Tax Study Committee

As prices rose in the war period, the need for additional municipal funds became acute. At the same time the war-borne prosperity was swelling the state's coffers with a rising flood of sales tax and liquor revenues. That memento of the lean and hungry 30s, a sizeable state deficit, was liquidated and the general fund balance began appearing again in fashionable black. What was commonly referred to as the "growing state surplus" was not unnoticed by revenue-starved municipalities. Such broad hints were being dropped for a slice of the sales tax that a special session of the legislature was called early in 1944. As a consequence, an advisory tax study committee of some 30 members was appointed to investigate, among other things, "ways and means of providing necessary revenues to local units of government compatible with principles of strong local self-government and enterprise."

This group submitted to the 1945 legislature a program which would have been greatly to the advantage of the cities. The committee recommended changes in the intangibles tax and motor vehicle tax laws which would have doubled the revenue of municipalities from these sources. Even more important were two proposals to expand the taxing power of cities. One was for enactment of a law authorizing the governing body of any city or village to impose locally administered excise taxes. Although this would not have affected the state's revenue, such legislation has not been adopted.

The committee's other self-help proposal was more novel and was intended to forestall demands that the state sales tax be earmarked for distribution to local units as a shared tax. Legislation was recommended to permit the governing body of a city to levy a one-half cent supplemental tax within the city on retail sales subject to the state sales tax. The tax would be administered by the State Department of Revenue in conjunction with the state sales tax, and would be returned to the city imposing it.

The proposed plan also called for the reduction of the existing 3 per cent state tax to 2½ per cent so that the combined state and city sales taxes would be no higher than previously. This was the feature that hastened the journey of the report to the legislative ash can. It was contended that the state could not afford to give up what would amount to one-sixth of its sales tax revenue if the rate were reduced to 2½ per cent. Ironically, within two years a constitutional amendment (Article X, Section 23) was adopted which in effect forces the state to hand over to local governments practically four-fifths of the sales tax receipts.

The 1945 legislature did not give municipalities either additional taxing power or a share of the sales tax. It did enact legislation which provided them with $11,800,000 additional in shared revenues the following year by revising the intangibles tax law and imposing a special tax on liquor for a two-year period.

Sales Tax Rebate

After defeat of their demand for a share of the sales tax from the legislature, some city officials organized a drive to secure it by constitutional amendment. Realizing the difficulty of obtaining sufficient votes, they drafted an amendment designed to win support from both urban and rural groups. Petitions were circulated in the summer of 1946 and sufficient signatures obtained to place the proposal on the ballot. By this time school groups were persuaded of its desirability as a means of securing more money for school districts. As a consequence of the widespread support from those interested primarily in helping the schools, the amendment was approved by a large majority at the November 1946 election. Two years later a proposal to repeal the sales tax diversion amendment was submitted to the people and was defeated by a majority of 81 per cent of the votes cast.

The sales tax amendment is in two parts. One requires the legislature to appropriate annually as a grant to school districts a sum equal to 44.77 per cent of total sales tax collections in the previous year.

The other part requires the quarterly return to local governmental units of "one cent of a state sales tax levy on each dollar of sales of tangible personal property on the present statutory base (not rate)." One half this sum must be remitted to school districts in proportion to the number of persons between the ages of five and nineteen years residing in each district (not the number of pupils attending public schools). The other half is returned to cities, incorporated villages and townships in proportion to population according to the latest federal census. County governments do not share in the sales tax rebate.

Because of wars, inflation and ballooning income payments, Michigan sales tax collections rose from $59,500,000 in fiscal 1940 to $97,600,000 in 1945 and $240,000,000 in 1951. Sales tax receipts returned to cities, villages and townships in 1951 represented a per capita distribution of $6.27.

Fiscal Consequences

Despite the enormous expansion in sales tax yield, state finances have been severely cramped since adoption of the diversion amendment. Operating deficits in the state general fund have occurred regularly for the past four years. The previous large balance has been exhausted and an accumulated deficit of $40,800,000 existed by June 30, 1951. The need for replacement revenues is obvious.

Public school districts are getting over two and a half times as much from the state as in 1945. In effect the constitution earmarks 61.5 per cent of sales tax revenue for them. The greater part goes to schools in cities and villages, where 68 per cent of the people reside.

Of course, municipalities have been helped greatly but, despite their largess from the state, they found it necessary to levy 49 per cent more property tax in 1950 than in 1945. In contrast, property taxes for township purposes declined 32 per cent in the same period. The townships' portion of the sales tax, intangibles tax and liquor license revenue collected in fiscal 1951 was $16,300,000, a sum equal to $5.96 per dollar of township property taxes. On the other hand, the share of the cities and villages was the imposing total of $37,500,000, but this represented only 27 cents per dollar of property tax for municipal purposes.

A side outcome of the fiscal controversy was the belated discovery of a means of meeting the vexing problems of fifteen-mill cities. In 1948 the legislature authorized the governing bodies of these cities to levy for municipal expenditures a tax on property up to ten mills of the assessed valuation, and this may be raised to twenty mills by the voters. The statute requires that the city tax shall be in addition to, and not a part of, the fifteen mills, which are now reserved for allocation to school and county taxes as in all the other municipalities. As would be expected, the release from confinement brought an upsurge in municipal, school and county taxes. Between 1947 and 1950 total taxes on property in the eight counties where the former fifteen-mill cities are located shot up 62 per cent, while the increase for the other 75 counties was 34 per cent.

For years Michigan municipalities battled without success for better treatment in the disposition of revenue from the state gasoline tax and the weight tax paid for motor vehicle registration plates. In the 1930s all township roads were transferred to the counties and the financing of rural roads shifted from property taxes to almost complete support from the motor tax money distributed by the state. The cities, on the other hand, had to raise a large part of the money for streets since their portion of the gasoline and weight tax receipts usually was insufficient even for adequate maintenance.

Money for Streets

The state gave all the weight tax money and $6,750,000 a year from the gasoline tax to the counties and the latter were expected to apportion part of these funds to their municipalities. Because of the complicated provisions and priorities in the distribution laws, cities and villages sat at second table and waited for the leftovers. For example, use of the money by a county for payment of road debts had priority over distribution to municipalities. In some counties with a bountiful heritage of debt incurred for rural roads, cities and villages received little for their streets. In about a third of the counties the boards of supervisors followed the practice of taking half the motor vehicle funds which otherwise would go to municipalities and using the money on rural roads.

The Tax Study Committee report severely criticized the existing distribution of funds and recommended that 25 per cent of weight tax and gasoline tax receipts be apportioned to cities and villages and distributed directly by the state.

After the war the highway situation continued to get worse. It was evident that additional money would have to be provided for both urban and rural roadways. The Michigan Good Roads Federation, in cooperation with the State Highway Department and the U. S. Public Roads Administration, undertook a comprehensive study of the highway problem. As a result, an excellent staff report, *Highway Needs in Michigan,* was published in 1948 upon which the federation's highway study committee based its legislative recommendations. The Michigan Municipal League was represented on the committee and participated actively in promoting the new highway financing program.

Efforts to enact the legislation necessary to secure the program were unsuccessful until the 1951 legislative session. There was a hectic battle for several months. The governor was fighting for adoption of a corporation net income tax as a solution of the general fund deficits. This the legislature refused to do. The governor insisted that the problem of adequate funds for the state budget as well as for highways should be met at the same time.

After months of pulling and hauling, bills increasing the gasoline tax from three to five cents per gallon were near enactment. It became apparent that the governor would veto such a bill and there probably would be insufficient votes to override it. Therefore, the rate was reduced to 4½ cents per gallon before passage.

Nevertheless, the governor promptly vetoed the measure. The first attempt to override failed by one vote in the House of Representatives. The following week, however, a second vote was taken which succeeded in overriding the veto. This was the critical item in the highway finance program since the other bills in the series would not become effective until its adoption. They became effective on June 1, 1951, when the gasoline tax and weight tax increases began.

In September 1951, the Michigan Congress for Industrial Organization submitted a petition requesting a referendum vote on the gasoline tax increase at the November 1952 general election. The Good Roads Federation challenged the validity of the signatures on the petition and a recheck of the entire list was ordered by the State Board of Canvassers. When it was found that by a narrow margin there were sufficient valid names on the petition, the State Supreme Court was called upon to enter the fiscal melodrama. It is contended that the gasoline tax measure is not legally open to a referendum vote.

New Distribution Basis

The 1951 highway legislation provides a rational allocation of funds based on highway needs. It requires that all the revenue from the weight and gasoline taxes shall be deposited in the motor vehicle highway fund. After deduction of refunds and amounts appropriated to the secretary of state to administer the taxes, the net revenue is divided so that 44 per cent goes to the State Highway

Department, 37 per cent to the 83 county road commissions and 19 per cent to the incorporated cities and villages.

The amount allocated to the State Highway Department is used for its expenses and improvement and maintenance of state trunk lines, including mileage within municipalities. Under the new law the state now assumes the entire cost of maintenance of state trunk lines within municipalities but the latter continue to pay part of the construction costs. The state is required to spend on trunk line construction inside incorporated places not less than 40 per cent of the total available for improving state trunk line highways and bridges.

What does this add up to? In fiscal 1950 cities and villages received $12,100,000 in gasoline and weight tax funds, which represented 14.7 per cent of the total net revenue collected from those taxes during the year. According to state budget division estimates, the gasoline and weight taxes at their higher rates are expected to produce $132,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1952, as compared to $84,000,000 in fiscal 1950. After subtracting administrative expenses, there should be available for highway purposes about $130,000,000, of which the 19 per cent share of cities and villages would be $24,700,000, or double the amount they received in 1950.

But this is not all. When state expenditures on trunk lines are included, as well as the 19 per cent distributed to municipalities, probably 30 per cent or more of the total motor vehicle fund revenue will be used on streets in cities and villages. It is estimated that the State Highway Department will spend about $1,000,000 a year more as a result of assuming the entire maintenance of state trunk line mileage in municipalities.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

School Board Status Debated in New York

Election, Fiscal Freedom Advocated and Opposed

AS A special part of the over-all study of the government of the City of New York, under the auspices of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, a report on the city's school system to the committee was issued in four installments in December. Prepared after a thirteen-month survey by Dr. George D. Strayer and Louis E. Yavner,[1] it includes among its chief recommendations the proposals that the city's board of education be elected, instead of appointed by the mayor, and that it be fiscally independent of the city's general government. Both proposals are opposed by the committee's financial experts—Professors Robert M. Haig and Carl S. Shoup of Columbia University—the Citizens Union and other authorities and organizations.

On January 16, at a conference of some 57 organizations—civic, professional, etc.—called by the mayor's committee, it was announced that a majority of them opposed fiscal independence of the educational system and election of the school board.

Education in New York is not merely a municipal duty but is also a state function, over which the Department of Education and the Board of Regents[2] have a large degree of supervision. The city itself is, of course, also subordinate to the state, and its functions in general are subject to state authority.

The survey report claims that the present appointive board is unable to meet the many responsibilities imposed upon it by state law "because of the controls exercised over it by other city officials and agencies." It states that the city's governing body—the board of estimate—and the budget director now decide such questions as what positions are established, how many teachers are employed, how much is spent for books and other educational supplies, etc., and the budget director also exercises detailed control over expenditures after the school budget is approved. It also indicates that political considerations play an undue part in personnel and policy matters. For these reasons the report urges fiscal independence and an elected board.

Whereas the nine members of the present board are appointed by the mayor, on a basis of representation for the city's five boroughs, for terms of seven years, the report proposes their election at large for terms of twelve years. Nominations would be made by a committee of representatives from sixteen private organizations (a suggested list includes civic and labor groups, universities, etc.); other nominations could also be made by petition.

---

[1] Dr. Strayer is emeritus professor of Teachers College, Columbia University, and has conducted many school surveys. Mr. Yavner was commissioner of investigation under Mayor LaGuardia of New York and is now an assistant and deputy of Rudolph Halley, newly elected president of the city council. The mayor's committee is headed by Lazarus Joseph, city comptroller, and its surveys are under the general direction of Dr. Luther Gulick.

[2] See "Changes Proposed in New York State Educational Organization," page 98, this issue.

As to so-called fiscal independence, a few suggestions as to revenue sources, tax limits, etc., are given but a specific plan was left to the municipal finance study of the mayor's committee. The school budget, including debt service and pensions, is now nearly $300,000,000, of which about $88,000,000 comes from state aid. The report suggested that the city's present 10 per cent debt limit be increased to 12 per cent, with 3 per cent allocated to the school building program. The board would make its own capital budget, with the city planning commission merely reviewing proposals for sites. The report does not indicate whether the board or the city would issue school bonds.

Opponents of these proposals point out that election of the board, even if it were nominated chiefly by so-called civic organizations, could not be expected to eliminate "political" influences, if not actually stimulating them; that fiscal independence, necessarily accompanied by tax limits or other restrictions, can become a strait-jacket; that education should be looked at in relation to other public needs; that comprehensive treatment of such needs by the general city government is preferable to further division of responsibility; and that improvements can be effected in regard to appointment of board members and greater freedom of internal management without recourse to desperate and dubious remedies.

The report deals in detail with other aspects of school organization and administration, although not with the curriculum or other strictly educational matters. Many recommendations for better coordination and efficiency are made.

A major recommendation, made previously and reiterated, is creation of a deputy superintendent to administer the educational program, an administrator of housing having charge of buildings, and an administrator of business affairs. Under the deputy superintendent the eight associate superintendents, now supervising divisions such as elementary schools, junior high schools, academic high schools, etc., would each deal with a specific function— instruction, curriculum, organization, research, personnel, child welfare, special services and public information.

The authors of the report not only recommend autonomy for the city school system as a whole but even suggest a decentralized system of a number of communities each with an elected board of education operating a separate school system, under a city-wide organization for supply, maintenance and research services only; each board would be responsible to the State Education Department for the maintenance of minimum standards.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Peoria, Illinois, (1950 population, 111,856) adopted the council-manager plan on January 22 by a vote of 15,872 to 7,095. The city is the third to adopt the plan under Illinois' new manager enabling act.

On November 20, 1951, voters of **Aransas Pass, Texas,** (5,396) adopted a council-manager charter.

Old Orchard Beach and **South Berwick, Maine,** have recently held referendum elections on retaining the town manager plan; in both the plan was emphatically approved. In Old Orchard Beach the election on December 27 resulted in a vote of 721 to 540 for the manager plan. In South Berwick, where the election was held on January 5 in a heavy snow storm, the vote was 799 to 417. The Independent Voters' Association campaigned for the plan and assailed the opposition as led by politicians who had been voted out of office in 1948, when the manager plan was adopted.

The **Massachusetts** legislature has authorized a recess study to look into ways of facilitating adoption of town manager government, according to the Council of State Governments.

In **Hoboken, New Jersey,** the charter commission, elected November 6, 1951, to study alternative forms of city government and to make recommendations within nine months, is proceeding under difficulties. The city commission has reduced the commission's expense estimate of $12,000 for stenographer-typist, stationery, telephone, postage and printing educational literature and 25,000 copies of its report, to $10,000, with only $2,500 appropriated thus far. The chamber of commerce has announced its opposition to the existing commission form of government and the League of Women Voters is urging the council-manager plan.

Takoma Park, Maryland, will hold a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan on March 25, 1952.

Washington, North Carolina, is showing interest in the council-manager plan. It was explained at a public meeting at the courthouse by Professor E. J. Woodhouse of the University of North Carolina.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Sylvania, Georgia,** favors a council-manager charter for that city.

The **Ashtabula, Ohio,** Chamber of Commerce is planning to place the question of readopting council-manager government on the ballot in November 1952.

The **Elgin, Illinois,** Association of Commerce is sponsoring an educational program to furnish Elgin citizens and civic groups with information about the council-manager plan.

The **Taylorville, Illinois,** Association of Commerce is working for adoption of the manager plan in that city.

The **Mississippi** Economic Council has prepared legislation to enable any city or town in the state to adopt council-manager government, to be presented to the 1952 legislature for action.

Glenwood, Minnesota, has appointed an advisory board to study the feasibility of the council-manager plan for the city.

Under recently adopted home rule legislation in **Colorado, Montrose** and **Monte Vista** voted to eliminate existing charter limits to the manager's salary and to leave the salary question to the city council.

In **Hamilton, Ontario,** the city government has appointed a committee of five to inquire into the manager plan.

AMA Augments Its Municipal Program

The American Municipal Association at its annual congress in Washington, December 9-12, adopted a series of resolutions supplementing and enlarging its previously announced national municipal policy. They include the following propositions:

Inflation impairs local governmental functions and Congress should legislate to halt further inflation.

Federal authorities should assign an adequate portion of national production to internal development and necessary local improvements.

Existing public retirement systems should be integrated with the national social security system.

Efforts to gain adequate federal payments in lieu of local taxes should continue.

Congress should provide adequate funds to cities for civil defense; cities should go forward with defense programs and mutual defense plans.

An AMA interim committee is to study industrial dispersal plans and resultant municipal problems.

Tax sources for federal, state and local governments should be established with due regard to local government needs.

Adequate pay, requirements and training should be provided by cities to obtain high grade employees.

A special conference on mass transportation should be held.

Loss of personal property taxes on property used in the manufacture of defense materials should be prevented.

Federal agencies should exercise no proprietary rights to lands or natural resources underlying navigable waters within state boundaries.

The AMA pledges its cooperation with the National Board of Fire Underwriters and state and local officials for revision of fire insurance rating and grading schedules.

Congress should provide for resumption of publication of the census of governments.

Federal and state governments should cooperate with cities in the collection of local taxes.

Arbitrary constitutional and statutory restrictions on home rule should be removed.

A detailed statement of highway policy and action, in relation to federal, state and local governments, was set forth, including among many items a plea for federal and state governments to give cities more equitable distribution and benefits from highway user taxes and a statement that cities must encourage off-street parking facilities.

Adequate federal aid should be provided to match municipal airport programs.

Radio and television stations should be required by the Federal Communications Commission to provide adequate time at reasonable rates for all important political campaigns and public issues.

Representatives from 35 states attended the congress and participated in the adoption of resolutions and policy statements. Mayor A. E. Cobo of Detroit is the new president.

Arizona League Holds 24th Convention

The 24th annual convention of the Arizona Municipal League was held in Prescott November 26-27, with 147 persons in attendance. Leading topics considered were home rule, civil defense and attendant liability problems, off-street parking facilities and annexations. A nine-point legislative program was adopted concerning annexation, claims against municipalities, sanitary and special improvement districts, budgeting, etc. Mayor Arthur Turner of Miami was elected president.

Nine police chiefs attending the convention formed the Association of Chiefs of Police of Arizona, a further meeting of which was held in December.

Municipal Report Contest in New Hampshire

The Bureau of Government Research, University of New Hampshire, under the direction of Professor George Deming, conducts an annual municipal report contest, with reports from all cities and towns in that state grouped in population classes, from I (500 and under) to V (over 10,000). The intermediate population limits are 1,000 and 2,500. In the 1951 contest the winners in each class, from smallest to largest, were Mason, Hampstead, London, Wolfeboro and Dover. In Class V Keene was second to

Dover; both were then council-manager cities. The reports are judged on the basis of how well they tell the story of the town's or city's work, how attractively the story is presented and how effectively they outline municipal plans for the future.

Kansas City, Philadelphia Receive La Guardia Awards

The first La Guardia awards for outstanding achievement in municipal affairs were bestowed December 15 on City Manager L. P. Cookingham of Kansas City, Missouri, and on the Greater Philadelphia Movement, represented by its three co-chairmen, C. Jared Ingersoll, William F. Kurtz and Robert T. McCracken. The awards were established in 1951 by the La Guardia Memorial Association, formed in 1947 shortly after the death of former Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York City. They are to be made annually in his honor.

These awards were made after a nation-wide survey conducted by the Graduate Division of Public Service of New York University, with the aid of material furnished by the National Municipal League, the Governmental Research Association and the American Municipal Association. They were given at a luncheon in New York attended by some 350 persons.

Movies, Radio, TV Used by Cities, States, Nation

A growing number of cities are filming their reports to citizens on municipal activity, the International City Managers' Association reports. Among recent cities to do so are Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Eugene, Oregon; both report waiting lists of civic groups desiring to see the films.

Philadelphia has produced two fifteen-minute sound-and-color films. They are a project of the "Know Your City" office of the city's Commercial Museum, which operates under authority of the city council. *Philadelphia, City of Two Million,* portrays city services, while *Philadelphia On the March* spotlights the city's newest projects in housing, flood control and civic improvements.

Eugene has produced a color film, *A Budget in Action,* which cost only $900, less than the cost of the usual annual report. It runs 45 minutes and has an accompanying tape-recorded commentary enhanced by a light musical background. It covers the processes of council authorization, budget procedure and departmental operations, and ends with capital outlay programs.

Last year, Burbank, California, produced a sound color film, *The Story of a City,* with the help of a professional producer. Another California city, San Mateo, produced for about $800 a home-made film, *Your City In Action,* a black-and-white sound record of city activities. Other cities have produced travelogues and films on one or another aspect of city life.

Radio has been widely used for telling a city's story to its citizens and for other purposes of governmental information. A recent addition to cities using radio is Lubbock, Texas, which gave a 25-minute program every Tuesday evening for twelve weeks. It covered the functions of the city government and its past, present and expected future accomplishments, and was prepared and presented by city employees. The program was sponsored by the Business and Professional Women's Club.

Television has recently been used jointly by the California State Employment Service and the U. S. Civil Service Commission to stimulate recruiting for state and federal positions by means of a half-hour weekly program called "Help Wanted." When utilized in behalf of the San Francisco Naval Shipyard, job inquiries are reported to have increased from two to four times.

Massachusetts Legislature Permits More Home Rule

Legislation adopted last year in Massachusetts transfers additional powers from the state to municipalities as to use of local revenue surpluses, hours and related working conditions of local employees, the use of municipally-owned land and the appropriating and contracting powers of cities and towns.

The Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, which sponsored a broader bill, says in its publication *Taxtalk*, "The new home rule law, despite its limited coverage, stands as a turning point in state-local relations in Massachusetts. It is the first legislation in modern times devoted to the single purpose of restoring and strengthening the responsibilities of local government."

Changes Proposed in N. Y. State Educational Organization

The Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities, created in 1946 by act of the legislature, has suggested important proposals for altering the governing body of New York State's educational system.[1] They have been submitted for consideration of the 1952 legislature.

The Board of Regents, governing body of the state school system, with its appointive commissioner of education, dates from 1904. It is made up of thirteen regents, elected three at large and ten from districts by a joint vote of both houses of the legislature for thirteen-year terms, in rotation. At present the governor is merely a spectator as to this department of the state government. Turnover is slow and reelections are common until vacancies result from the 70-year age limit.

The report proposes increasing the regents-at-large to five instead of three, shortening terms to ten years and preventing reelection. Not more than two-thirds of the board could be from one political party (now twelve out of thirteen are Republicans). The five regents at large would be appointed by the governor with Senate consent, the others continuing to be appointed by the legislature as at present.

The proposals include strengthening the commissioner's staff and giving him control of the deputy commissioner who is now chosen by the regents, reducing the list of appointive officers requiring regents' approval and making all appointees removable at the pleasure of the commissioner. The regents are urged to divest themselves of detail and to reduce the number of their committees.

R. S. C.

Idaho Makes Changes in Election Laws

The 1951 Idaho legislature made various changes in election laws. In primary elections perforated ballots will be used, the voter to tear off the ballot for the party of his choice and discard the others before marking selections of candidates. In general elections, party circles are to be eliminated from the ballots; each candidate will be voted for individually.

---

[1] Report of the Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities. Legislative Document No. 77. Albany 1951.

State Government Council Proposes Legislative Program

New legislative proposals have been put forward by the drafting committee of the Council of State Governments for consideration by the fourteen state legislatures[1] meeting in 1952.

The committee's report, *Suggested State Legislation,* sets forth several newly approved measures, together with proposals currently under study and recommended uniform acts promulgated in recent years by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

New measures include two relating to civil defense: (1) to clarify the authority of peace officers to arrest and detain in enforcing civil defense laws and (2) to provide for exemption of property owners who permit their buildings to be used as shelters from legal liability as to persons using such shelters.

A leading proposal under study is a draft of suggested state legislation designed to remedy present deficiencies in the control of organized crime.

The following proposed uniform laws are set forth: divorce recognition, enforcement of foreign judgments, acknowledgments, ancillary administration of estates, photographic copies of business and public records, marriage license applications, prenatal blood tests, probate of foreign wills, narcotic drugs and the model small estates act. A descriptive statement of the background and purposes of the uniform commercial code, developed as a result of ten years of research, is also included.

Efficiency Steps Urged on Congress

In its fifth annual letter to Congress last month the National Committee for Strengthening Congress, headed by Robert Heller of Cleveland, made nine specific recommendations for greater efficiency and better procedure:

1. Electric voting in the House of Representatives, to save 10 per cent of its time,
2. A relevancy rule for the Senate to require debate to pertain to pending business,
3. A Senate rule for majority cloture,
4. No private legislation by Congress—411 private bills were passed in the last session as against 255 public bills,
5. A raise in pay for congressmen,
6. Steps to curb absenteeism,
7. Home rule for the District of Columbia,
8. An omnibus money bill,
9. A House rule making a majority vote sufficient to bring any bill to the floor for action.

Public Service Fellowships at Harvard University

The Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University again announces the offering of limited numbers of fellowships for advanced public service training for the academic year 1952-1953. The Littauer fellowships are for persons with experience in public service who show special academic abilities and personal promise. The Administration Fellowships are for recent college graduates with special qualifications indicated for entering the public service. Information may be had from the secretary, 118 Littauer Center, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

---

[1] Arizona, California, Colorado, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Manager Suggested for Prince George's County

Survey Recommends Action to Get Home Rule Charter

HOME RULE and a county manager form of government are among the more important innovations recommended for Prince George's County, Maryland, in a survey conducted by Public Administration Service.[1] This county, adjoining the District of Columbia, is heavily urbanized throughout a large part of its territory. It has experienced phenomenal growth, its population increase between 1940 and 1950 amounting to 116 per cent. The survey was prepared at the request of the county commissioners to determine how governmental problems could be met most effectively.

The report urges that action be taken to secure a home rule charter as "one of the most important steps in securing efficient and democratic local self-government for the county." According to article 11A of the Maryland constitution, the voters of any county may petition the county commissioners for an election to choose a charter board which in turn prepares a home rule charter to be submitted for popular approval in a later referendum.

Under home rule, Prince George's County could frame and adopt its form of government. The county council would be authorized to enact local laws on all subjects included in a grant of express powers given by law to home rule counties. The county would be freed to a large extent of minute legislative supervision through local legislation.

In its recommendations for greater local autonomy, the report advocates a reduction of state administrative supervision over county functions. It recommends abolition of the practice whereby many local officials are appointed by the governor. It also suggests abandonment of state administrative supervision over details of functions financed and conducted jointly by the county and state and recommends substitution of broad state controls and technical assistance.

The report stresses the fact that authority and responsibility for county operations are at present diffused among several officers, departments and boards. As a major step to fixing responsibility for county administration, it recommends installation of the county manager plan. Under such a system, administration and management would be the responsibility of a trained manager, appointed by the county council. The legislative body would be relieved of many routine administrative tasks and could devote its time to policy decisions, which will take on added importance if a home rule charter is adopted. The county manager would be responsible for operation of all county services.

The report also suggests further means of fixing authority and responsibility for county administration. It recommends the consolidation of many functions and departments to reduce them to a manageable number. It suggests that boards and commissions be used for advisory but not for administrative purposes as at present. Also, the elective positions of sheriff, surveyor and treasurer would be made appointive or abolished.

---

[1] *Local Government in Prince George's County, Maryland.* Chicago, 1951. 85 pages.

The report also recommends an extension of municipal functions performed by the county, finding that existing municipalities are generally too small to perform many of them. It declares that the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, a bi-county agency operating in parts of Prince George's and neighboring Montgomery Counties, should be abolished and its planning and zoning functions transferred to the counties. An administrative taxing unit in the urban section of the county is suggested as a means of financing municipal services for that area.

The report recommends retention of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, a bi-county agency providing sanitary services in the area, but suggests that the county be represented on the state-appointed commission.

Pennsylvania Governor Stymies City-county Legislation

Governor John S. Fine of Pennsylvania on January 22 vetoed enabling legislation to put the Philadelphia city-county consolidation amendment, adopted in November,[1] into effect. The bill, introduced by Senator A. Evans Kephart of Philadelphia, represented a compromise between the two major parties. It would have set up a ten-member commission—five appointed by the governor and five by the mayor of Philadelphia — to draft legislation merging county offices into the city government for submission to Philadelphia voters. The governor gave questionable constitutionality as his reason for the veto.

Since no further action can be taken by the legislature until its 1953 session, Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and Democratic members of the city council have set in motion machinery for creation by the council of a bipartisan commission to draft consolidation bills for submission to the voters next fall. The city solicitor has assured the group that such a plan is legal.

Two Counties Consider Manager Plan

Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, may shortly receive the same kind of careful scrutiny leading to reform as was experienced recently by the city of Phoenix. The Citizens Bureau of Investigation is raising questions regarding the present administrative structure under which the three supervisors each has jurisdiction over one of the districts into which the county is divided. It is studying the county manager plan as a possible alternative.

In San Bernardino County, California, an informal committee has been appointed to review the county's charter and make recommendations for its improvement. The group is studying all aspects of the county manager and the county administrative officer plans. Under the present charter, adopted in 1912, the chairman of the board of supervisors acts as the county's full-time executive officer.

Fairfax County Studies Change to Executive Plan

In anticipation of its change from a board to a county executive form of government on January 1, 1952,[1] Fairfax County, Virginia, decided to secure expert aid to guide it during the transition period. As a result, a 220-page report was prepared by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration.[2]

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1951, page 591.

[1] The county executive is one of several optional forms of government available to counties by popular vote under Virginia law. It is similar to the state's optional county manager law except that the county executive, appointed by the board of supervisors, does not have

The study was not simply a description of the new form of government which the voters of the county adopted, but rather it was designed to point out and explore "the problems related to the transition to the county executive form of government." It attempted to anticipate the questions and problems occasioned by the extensive changes in governmental form, thus making it possible to plan for these matters before they arose.

The report set forth the various legal problems caused by the change; for example, the status of the police department between the time the old one was dissolved and the new one organized. It considered certain conflicts between general state laws applying to all counties and the law authorizing the county executive form, recommending that competent legal opinions be secured on numerous problems.

The survey also considered major problems of organization and administration that would arise during the transition. In the field of administration, the report declared the primary problem to be the relative roles of the county legislative body and the county executive, and the relationship between the two. It analyzed the problems that arise in setting up new departments, the allocation of functions among them, and numerous other questions of management that inevitably appear under any new system.

Intergovernmental Cooperation Between County and City

Napa County, California, has joined with the three cities of Napa, St. Helena and Calistoga in authorizing employment of a planning consultant to develop a zoning plan and land use regulations, especially for the unincorporated areas adjacent to the incorporated cities. The Napa city council and the Napa County board of supervisors also have accepted a joint liability insurance program recommended by the County Insurance Agents Association.

Columbia County, New York, is assisting the town highway superintendents to prepare for receipts under a new state-aid roads program.

Jim Wells County, Texas, and the city of Alice have reached an agreement under which the county will resurface the city streets.

Functions of the planning departments of the city and county of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, have been established on a coordinated, community-wide basis. Community planning problems, such as zoning, highways, street-widenings, expressways, parks and recreation and playgrounds, are solved jointly by the city, represented by its public land commission, and the county, represented by its park board. A proposal for inclusion of the suburbs in the program is being given further consideration.

School Consolidation in Minnesota and Wisconsin

Minnesota, which in 1947 had the second greatest number of school districts in the United States, has reduced them from 7,606 in that year to 6,479

---

powers of appointment but may only recommend appointments to the board.

[2] *Guide to County Executive Form of Government, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, 1951.

at present. During this four-year period, consolidations have taken place in 67 of the state's 87 counties.

A report from Wisconsin reveals that the number of school districts in that state was reduced from 6,391 to 5,792 in the same period. The consolidations resulted from the payment of higher state aid to improved districts and from county committees which were required by law to file master plans of school systems by July 1, 1951.

Wayne County to Abolish Useless Agencies

A committee of the Wayne County, Michigan, Board of Supervisors has recommended abolition of county coroners and the county drain commission. It is suggested that the duties of coroners, who now spend $200,000 per year, be assumed by medical examiners who already are performing a large part of the coroners' functions. The duties of the drain commission would be assumed by the road commission.

The committee recommended that the state legislature enact permissive statutes under which the voters of Wayne County could indicate their wishes by popular referendum.

County Bids in All Tax-delinquent Real Estate

Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, has adopted an unusual method for disposing of its tax-delinquent land. Once a year the county, in accordance with law, publishes a delinquent tax list and offers for sale at auction all property on which taxes have not been paid. However, no one except the county itself is permitted to bid on the property because county officials have found that at open auctions the county usually found itself owner of only the poorest lots from among those offered.

Now, since the county secures the desirable as well as the less desirable real estate, all lands thus acquired can be offered to a better market by the county real estate department. All tax-foreclosed real estate is thus put back more quickly on the county tax rolls. The fiction of the auction device is merely a matter of form to comply with Wisconsin law.

Tennessee Counties and Cities Join on Road Program

The 1951 convention of the Tennessee County Highway Officials Association endorsed the cooperation of counties and cities on a legislative program calling for state aid for roads and streets. It approved unanimously a committee report which stated in part:

"It is to the best interest of the Tennessee County Highway Association, the Tennessee Judges Association and the Tennessee Municipal League to develop cooperatively a joint program for submission to the 1953 legislature providing for a permanent program of state-financed construction on county roads and state financing of local city streets."

Continuing committees of the three associations will meet to develop specific measures for submission to the full membership of the associations, but it already has been agreed that the counties should have definite earmarked state revenues for a permanent construction program on rural roads and that the selection and location of county road projects should be reserved to local officials.

Texas County Officers Revive Short Course

The Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association in its recent convention voted to resume its short course at Texas A. & M. College. Such a course was held several years prior to World War II but was discontinued because of the war.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Independents Win Again in Worcester

Plan E Regime to Continue, Shakeup in School Committee

WORCESTER'S second P. R. election on November 6 appeared to assure a continuance of nonpartisan progress in New England's third city. Though the vote was smaller than at the first election under the council-manager charter two years ago, the verdict of the voters was even more emphatic.

The Citizens Plan E Association, nonpartisan civic organization which spearheaded the drive for the new charter, endorsed nine council candidates, as it did in 1949. This time its score was higher. Seven of those it endorsed were elected to the council, compared to five in 1949. The only two candidates who won without the organization's endorsement were councillors with long experience in politics. One has served in the council fourteen years, the other four years.

The success of the Citizens Plan E Association in the election does not mean the entrenchment of a nonpartisan political machine. The Association was unable to hold together as a voting bloc its five endorsees in the 1950-1951 council. The organization generally kept hands off city hall affairs, taking an emphatic stand only on the choice of a city manager. Twice it called for election of a professionally-trained, experienced manager. Twice the council unanimously chose local men.

The first manager was Everett F. Merrill, industrialist. He served fifteen months, then resigned, as he had indicated he would after helping the new regime to get started. The council chose Francis J. McGrath, former elementary school principal and assistant to Merrill while the latter was manager, to succeed him.

The 1952-1953 council has indicated it will keep Mr. McGrath on the job. His appointment runs for an indefinite term.

Most notable feature of the council election was the size of the vote piled up by Andrew B. Holmstrom, industrialist. He was first choice on 13,290 ballots in 1949. He topped that this time with 14,752 first-choice votes, despite the 20 per cent drop in ballots cast. Mr. Holmstrom, chosen by his colleagues in 1949 and again this time as mayor, received a No. 1 vote from nearly one out of every four voters who went to the polls. George H. Hallett, Jr., associate secretary of the National Municipal League and director of the ballot count again as in 1949, said he could not recall any other P. R. election in which one candidate amassed such an overwhelming margin of votes.

In other respects the election brought no sensations and few surprises. All nine councillors sought reelection. Seven of them made it. The other two were replaced by the last two candidates counted out in 1949. One of the candidates who went down to defeat had served in the city council twelve years. He was next to the last man counted out. The other councillor who failed to win reelection was completing his first two-year term.

Mr. Holmstrom, by virtue of his election by the councillors as mayor, automatically becomes chairman and seventh voting member of the school committee. The other six members were chosen again on a separate P. R. ballot.

The 1950-1951 committee received far more public criticism than the council, largely because of wrangles over teaching appointments. The criticism was turned into votes for other candidates on election day. As a result, two of the five committee members who sought reelection were defeated. The sixth ran for the council and was the last man counted out. One of the three school committee members reelected had her number of first-choice votes cut from 11,987 in 1949 to 6,899 in the latest election.

Fewer Votes Cast

The results of the nonpartisan election were generally satisfactory to good government supporters. But the turnout of voters was not. About 61,000 went to the polls. About 102,000 were registered to vote. The turnout was 20 per cent below the 76,390 who cast their ballots in the city's first P. R. election in 1949. It was below the normal turnout in the old days of rough-and-tumble election campaigns along party lines.

Various explanations have been offered for the drop in voter interest. One suggestion is that voters go to the polls in droves when they want a change in administration. There was general satisfaction with the work of the nine-member city council during Worcester's first two years under the new charter.

A certain number of voters who went to the polls in 1949 "to see what P. R. is all about" apparently didn't come back for a second helping this time.

The number of candidates for the city council dropped from 152 in 1949 to 48 last November. That certainly contributed to the lessening of interest. The latest campaign was tamer, with attention centered on the twelve or fifteen candidates who obviously were strongest.

The election count went smoothly, with high praise on all sides for the job Dr. Hallett did in directing the complex activities. Nearly all the counting force, including all of those in top positions, had had the benefit of experience two years before. The council count was finished by midday the Saturday after the election, after which the force recessed until Monday afternoon. The school committee count and all the rest of the proceedings were then completed by supper time the next day.

For the first time in history, Worcester voters had three ballots with which to grapple. There was a white one for the city council, a pink one for the school committee and a blue one for a referendum.

The referendum, to legalize the central purchasing department created in 1950, required a "yes" or "no" answer. It was approved overwhelmingly. Voters did well in keeping their three ballots and two kinds of voting—P. R. and plurality—straight.

The number of invalid ballots in the council contest jumped from 1,584 in 1949 to 2,719 this time. But Dr. Hallett called it nothing to be alarmed about. An increase in the second P. R. election is usual, he reported.

In 1949, there was an intensive campaign by the press, radio and civic organizations to educate the voters in how to mark their P. R. ballots, putting numbers beside candidates' names to indicate their choices. In the latest campaign, there was almost no educational work. That, along with the extra ballot for the referendum, contributed to the increase in improperly marked ballots.

An analysis of all the ballots, under Dr. Hallett's direction, showed only 6,213 council ballots failed to count for one of the winning candidates. And these ballots included 3,599 marked for one of the winners, but not needed to elect him.

The analysis pointed up the importance of making many choices on a P. R. ballot. Two 36th-choice votes counted toward the election of one councillor. Most of the ballots, however, counted for early choices.

The smaller turnout of voters and the increase in the number of invalid ballots are grist for the mill of local P. R. foes, an apparently small but definitely vocal group. They are already talking of an attempt to repeal P. R. voting in 1953.

One of the two council winners not endorsed by the Citizens Plan E Association made opposition to P. R. a plank in his campaign platform. He finished second to Mayor Holmstrom in first-choice votes, with 5,008 of them.

General reaction to the election results seems to be that Worcester will continue the progress shown during the past two years. During that period, a paid planning staff and a central purchasing department have been set up.

Politics has been squeezed out of welfare and public works operations, with sizeable savings. A long-range capital improvement program has been established and is being followed.

Much has been done, but there is always room for improvement. Good government supporters in the city government are concentrating on those improvements now. They realize council-manager government in Worcester will stand or fall on what is accomplished in the next few years.

Robert C. Achorn

Worcester Telegram

P. R. League Holds Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League was held as one of four concurrent sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, at the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, November 27. Some 25 members and friends were in attendance as well as a substantial number of Cincinnati school pupils—both elementary and high school. Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, president of the League, presided.

Featured was a demonstration by the pupils of Cincinnati's Garfield Elementary School, boys and girls of ten to thirteen, who conducted an election of a school council by the Hare system. The pupils were led by their principal, C. S. Miller.

Speakers discussed P. R. in Cincinnati and Hamilton, Ohio, and in Medford, Worcester and other Massachusetts cities where it is in use.

Mrs. Dorothy Nichols Dolbey, a candidate on the Cincinnati City Charter Committee's ticket, discussed the use of P. R. in her city. Excerpts from her remarks appear below.

City Clerk George P. Hassett of Medford reported on the November 1951 P. R. elections of the city council and school committee in his city, declaring that the system had worked well, with the count proceeding in good order and representative bodies elected.

John Benninghofen, a member of the city council of Hamilton, Ohio, reelected at the November 1951 election, reported on his reactions to the use of P. R. in that city, where it has been in effect since 1927. He discussed certain problems which had arisen in connection with gambling activities but agreed that under P. R. it had been possible for the citizens to take effective action on a nonpartisan basis once they became sufficiently aware of the situation.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the P. R .League, who had conducted the count of P. R. ballots for school board and council in Worcester, Massachusetts, made a report on that election. A story on the Worcester experience appears elsewhere in this department.

The use of P. R. in student elections was discussed by George Howatt, an instructor in political science at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Mr. Howatt told of his experiences in several colleges where he explained the system and aided in its adoption. He pointed out the educational advantages of such use of P. R.:

"In most college or university elections there are two or three competing groups—dormitory, fraternity or commuting students—or some variation of these groups. Plurality voting methods usually result in over-representation or under-representation, or monopoly by one group and exclusion of another. The consequent strife and bitterness is almost automatically eliminated by the use of the Hare system."

The following trustees, placed in nomination by Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, were reelected to serve for 1952: Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati; Richard S Childs of New York, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; Andrew B. Holmstrom, mayor of Worcester, Massachusetts; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, vice-president of the P. R. League.

The P. R. League, merged since 1932 with the National Municipal League, still retains its corporate existence.

E. S. P.

'P. R. Tried and Tested for Cincinnati'

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is made up of excerpts from the talk of MRS. DOROTHY NICHOLS DOLBEY at the P. R. League's annual meeting in November, as reported by the Cincinnati *Post* of November 28. Mrs. Dolbey, active in civic and religious work in her city, was a candidate for the Cincinnati city council on the 1951 ticket of the City Charter Committee. Though her candidacy was not successful, Mrs. Dolbey remained in the running until almost the end of the count.

Democracy will not endure unless it is a good democracy. If it grows cynical and corrupt it will perish. It will perish as easily from enemies from within as it can from enemies from without.

I believe that the P. R. method of election is the fairest, most democratic system of voting Cincinnati has ever had.

It enables Cincinnatians to vote with a certain knowledge that their ballots count and count for some candidate who needs those ballots to be elected. For 26 years it has given us councils in which there have been both majority control and minority representation.

A recent news article intended as a criticism of P. R., I am sure, states that 70 per cent of the votes cast in the November 6 election counted to elect a candidate marked No. 1. That, to me, is a tribute of the highest order though not meant to be such.

Other voting systems, even in the landslide elections of our national history, have never had that high a percentage of votes cast to elect a candidate or candidates. Furthermore, the percentages of national history are for one candidate or one ticket. The 70 per cent in Cincinnati's recent election was for candidates on both tickets, thus insuring majority control and strong minority representation.

P. R. is also the only voting system which has brought about the genuine two-party system. Even the job-holding politician who opposes P. R. recognizes that fact.

The professional politician and his agents are forever telling us of terrible things that may happen under P. R. I suppose many persons have wondered and worried that radicals may be elected to office, religious and racial blocs may split us apart, etc. But Cincinnati has used P. R. for 26 years and none of these troubles has occurred.

Instead, Cincinnati has kept its city government operating on a business, non-patronage basis. The politicians haven't been able to give city jobs to friends, they haven't been able to give city contracts to favorite bidders. Could that be the reason that the professional politician has forced the citizens of Cincinnati to vote on the question of repeal of P. R. in the past?

Perhaps Superman hasn't been elected to council under P. R., but a very high percentage of councilmen have been able, respectable citizens, leaders in business, professions and civic affairs. In fact, a writer for one paper which has always opposed P. R. admitted not so long ago that members of the Cincinnati city council would stand up by their ability in most legislative bodies in this country.

P. R. has been tried and tested for 26 years. By that test Cincinnati voters have won justice, decency and good government.

Switzerland Chooses Lower House by List System

The three largest parties obtained almost equal representation in the National Council (lower house of the federal parliament) in the Swiss elections of October 28. Each of the 22 cantons elects to the National Council a delegation of a size proportional to population. The election in each canton utilizes a party list type of proportional representation, with provision for the voters to express preferences for individual candidates as well as to make a selection between party lists of candidates.

Only 21 changes in the party occupancy of the 196 seats of the National Council were produced by the recent elections. As compared with the previous council, elected in 1947, the Liberals lost three seats and gained two, to remain the largest party with 51 seats. The Social Democrats, the next largest party, gained three seats and lost two, obtaining 49. The Catholic Conservatives made the greatest gain, adding four seats and losing none, to reach a total of 48. This, together with that party's hold of 18 out of 44 places in the Council of States, which consists of two members from each canton, some of them chosen in the recent election, makes the Catholic Conservative party the most influential group in the parliament.

Among the minor parties, the Farmers and Artisans group gained two to hold 23 seats, the National Front gained two and lost its leader's seat for a total of ten, the Liberal Conservatives and the Communists (officially the Workers party) each lost two seats to hold five. The Democrats obtained four seats and one unaffiliated candidate was elected.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Credit Unit Vetoes Utility Purchase

Bond Issue Turned Down by Restraint Committee

APPLICATION by seven public utility districts in the state of Washington for clearance on a proposed bond issue, to be used in part to purchase the facilities of a privately owned electric system, was refused approval early in January by the Western Investment Banking Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee. This is one of the numerous regional units created to carry out the Voluntary Credit Restraint Program promulgated last year by Director of Defense Mobilization Charles E. Wilson pursuant to the 1950 defense production act.

The action threatens to disrupt proceedings in progress for nearly a decade looking toward public acquisition of the last large private electric system in western Washington, promises to further complicate an already involved situation respecting the disposition of another utility system in the eastern part of the state, and throws into sharp focus the clash between the voluntary program and local government home rule.

The bonds for which clearance was refused were, roundly, $115,000,000 of electric revenue bonds sought to be issued by public utility districts in Chelan, Jefferson, Kitsap, Skagit, Snohomish, Thurston and Whatcomb Counties, Washington. About $96,800,000 of the bonds would have been used to purchase certain properties of the Puget Sound Power and Light Company, including approximately $45,000,000 for the company's stockholders, and the remainder of the issue for improvements and working capital.

Clearance was refused on the ground that the issuance would be violative of one of the criteria set up by the National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee for judging the inflationary or non-inflationary effect of municipal bond issues. That unit had held that financing should be postponed in the case of bonds to be issued for the purchase of privately owned utilities by municipalities, which involves borrowing to replace equity capital.[1]

The public acquisition of the Puget Sound company facilities has been generally anticipated for some years, and one of the system's most important components—the distribution system serving Seattle and its environs — passed to public ownership last year when Seattle purchased it after prolonged negotiations. One of the company's principal hydro-electric generating plants also passed, by lease, to a public utility district last year and condemnation actions have been started against other components of the system so that a speedy clearing up of the disposition of the remainder of the system, as well as its integration into the publicly owned systems, has become a pressing matter. Representatives of both the public utility districts and the utility company indicated that "the Credit Restraint Committee's action will not deter our joint efforts toward an over-all purchase."

The credit restraint committee's action also placed in jeopardy the efforts of three public utility districts in eastern Washington to purchase certain properties of the Washington Water

---

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1951, page 319.

Power Company with proceeds of upwards of $65,000,000 of electric revenue bonds. This company is wholly owned by the American Power and Light Company, a holding company under "death sentence" of the utility holding company acts of the 1930s to divest itself of its holdings in the operating unit, the last it still holds.

This situation is tremendously complicated, since both Washington and Idaho are involved and both local government and stockholder groups are in disagreement. Proceedings between the company management and the utility districts, however, had reached a point where the deal appears to be imminent, and announcement of a bond issue to finance the purchase was expected some time in early spring.

At the state-local level, the refusal of clearance of the public utility district bonds appeared likely to bring out in the open rising dissatisfaction on the part of local government agencies with the entire defense production program as it affects state and local units. To support their view it could be pointed out:

1. The criterion applied in the utility district–Puget Sound company case had little realistic significance since, while the replacement of equity capital with debt capital might in theory be inflationary, in practice this aspect of the transaction would be of negligible effect. Said Puget Sound President Frank McLaughlin of the theory, "it is not felt that this [objection] can be supported by proven facts in Puget's case."

2. The Credit Restraint Committees are voluntary, with only a tenuous legal standing, whereas the state and local governments are acting pursuant to clearly defined law and generally at the specific direction of the voters expressed at a referendum. The governors of both West Virginia and Oregon, whose bonus bond issues were vetoed as inflationary, cited the legal mandate to issue the bonds.

3. The attempt to deal with the inflation problem as it touches state and local governmental expenditures through voluntary credit controls is putting the cart before the horse. If shortages and defense requirements really call for controls, they should be spelled out through a system of priorities and allocations similar to those used in World War II, exerted at the point where material and labor are committed, not at the financing level. Moreover, while the states and local units have complied almost without exception with the Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee rulings (the private placement of part of the West Virginia soldiers' bonus bonds is the outstanding exception), the federal agencies have shown a marked lack of understanding of local government needs for operating supplies and materials for construction purposes and have been niggardly in their allocations to local government.

New York City Faces Deficit, Struggles to Balance Budget

The City of New York, with a budget second only to that of the federal government itself, faces a $17,000,000 operating deficit for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and must raise $200,000,000 of new revenues if it is to balance its budget for 1952-53, according to statements by Mayor Vincent Impellitteri.

The prospective $200,000,000 deficit for 1952-53 represents, according to the mayor, about $57,000,000 to increase salaries and wages, $40,000,000 for mandatory pension contributions, at least $16,000,000 for education, $14,000,000 for hospitals and charitable institutions, $34,000,000 for transit deficits and $12,000,000 for service on short-term debts. The prospective total for 1952-53 is placed at more than $1,500,000,000 compared with the current budget of $1,336,000,000.

To help meet the higher costs the mayor has suggested a constitutional amendment to raise the city's tax rate limit from 2 per cent of assessed valuations to 3 per cent—a procedure requiring passage by two successive state legislatures and approval by the state's voters at the succeeding election and hence not a method of meeting the impending need for additional money for 1952-53.

Meanwhile, he has suggested consideration of a number of alternatives, although noting that "Personally, I don't like any of them." They include state assumption of about $14,000,000 of the expense of higher education (municipal colleges); increased state reimbursement for tubercular patients ($5,000,000) and for certain welfare services ($21,500,000); an admissions tax, $12,000,000; charges for over-night parking on the streets, $12,500,000; tax on realty sales, $25,000,000; check tax, $8,000,000; cigarette tax, $15,000,000; and increases in the gross receipts (sales) tax ($60,900,000) and tax on utility bills ($28,000,000).

Cities Finance Sewage Disposal Operations by Service Charges

The use of sewer service charges to finance operation of sewage disposal systems of cities is increasing. Oklahoma City is the most recent large city to levy a sewer service charge, reports the International City Managers' Association. In that city one- and two-family houses pay a charge of $1 and $2 per month, respectively. Other users are charged from $1 to $29 per month plus charges based on water consumed, starting at ten cents per thousand gallons per month. This ordinance, however, is being challenged in the courts in a suit seeking a restraining order on future collections.

In Mauston, Wisconsin, a newly adopted charge for sewer service amounts to 100 per cent of the water bill. Mauston's charge was imposed in order to finance a proposed sewage disposal system.

Many new sewer service levies by both large and small cities may be expected soon, the association predicted, since the legislatures of five states—Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York and West Virginia—have authorized some or all cities and towns to levy or extend sewer service charges.

The trend toward sewer service charges is shown in a recent report by the Tennessee State Planning Commission. In that state 34 of 101 cities with public sewage systems levy such a charge. Thirteen have only a connection fee, which averages about $25. A flat rate monthly service charge ranging from 50 cents to $1.75 is levied by 30 cities, but only six of these base their charge on the water bill. The four remaining cities levy a sewer service charge only on users outside the city.

Small cities have long relied on service charges to finance sewage system operations. However, statistics gathered for the *Municipal Yearbook* showed that larger cities are increasingly using this means of financing services. Cincinnati, Minneapolis, New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia have sewer service charges in effect. In addition, at least 278 cities over 10,000 population now make similar charges.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Suburban Boom Finds Citizens on Job

Committee Aids Officials on Problems New Industry Brings

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is a synopsis of the remarks by STANLEY H. RENTON before the National Conference on Government's session on "Sprawling Cities," Cincinnati, November 27. Mr. Renton, chairman of the board of Vulcanized Rubber and Plastics Company, is chairman of the Lower Bucks County (Pennsylvania) Citizens Committee on Health and Welfare Needs.

MORRISVILLE, Pennsylvania, had a narrow escape, about 160 years ago, from becoming Washington, D. C. By a close vote, Congress decided against Morrisville and in favor of the well known location on the Potomac. Until recently, Morrisville was a small manufacturing town and residential suburb of Trenton, New Jersey, just across the Delaware River. Farming country and other suburbs of Trenton and Philadelphia surround it. The borough of Morrisville has about 5,000 population.

Then U. S. Steel Company bought 3,800 acres just south of Morrisville and announced its intention of spending $400,000,000 on an integrated steel mill. Ground was broken March 1, 1951, for the Fairless Works, five or six thousand construction workers are now on the job and, early in 1952, steel will be coming from the new plant.

For over a year there has been a boom. Housing developments are planned on every hand. Two states and three county governments are involved. On the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River the governmental setup is entirely inadequate. There are eight townships, nine boroughs and a county government in the critical defense area. In addition, numerous independent school districts are struggling with almost impossible situations. Nearly all the usual urban problems have been suddenly dumped on what was chiefly a rural community. Questions of health, welfare, recreation, sewers, water, zoning, traffic, etc., cry out for answers.

To meet these situations the borough council of Morrisville appointed an able planning board and created a municipal authority to get around the borough's debt limitations and make possible modern water and sewer systems. It is seriously considering appointing a borough manager, who is badly needed.

Meanwhile, the company with which I am connected felt that as one of the oldest firms in Morrisville a civic responsibility was imposed on it. In February 1951 it asked 25 of the leading business and professional men of the community to have dinner together. These 25 men formed themselves into a Greater Morrisville Citizens Committee, which meets twice a month to discuss problems, to bring together the public officials of the various towns and boroughs and to assist wherever they can.

As an outgrowth of this committee, there has been formed another group which is making a survey of the health, welfare and recreation needs of the area and which plans to organize shortly a Council of Social Agencies. Other groups are working on other problems.

Confronted with a situation such as this, public-spirited citizens must put their shoulders to the wheel, and so must the local business men, industrial leaders and governmental officials. Detailed plans need to be made in connection with each problem and then the civic leaders must stay behind these plans in order to make possible a rapid and satisfactory change-over from rural and suburban to modern urban conditions.

So far as the citizens are concerned, it is necessary to organize a really representative group which shall do at least four things:

1. Define the problems and find out what is being done about them,
2. Help officials and other groups to do the necessary planning,
3. Help fill in the gaps in the organizations working on the problems,
4. Follow the plans through by means of regular progress meetings until they are completed.

All this the committee is endeavoring to do.

Canadian Citizens Organize for Citizenship

The Canadian citizenship act of 1946, one of the final steps for Canadians toward full legal sovereignty, pointed up the need for all Canadians to understand the full meaning and implication of their citizenship. The flow of immigrants during recent years — war brides, displaced persons, Britons, Dutch and other Europeans seeking new homes and new life—increased the need for citizenship education.

To meet the challenge, the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship broadened its membership and expanded its activities. In 1948 it became the Canadian Citizenship Council, which was unanimously endorsed by some 99 agencies—federal and provincial departments, national service, education and welfare groups, labor and industry—in a resolution adopted at a national conference in Montreal.

The council is, to quote its descriptive leaflet, "the national voluntary coordinating body for all the public and private agencies which are working locally, provincially and federally to help us all be better Canadian citizens." Its purpose is to develop in all Canadians:

"A constantly growing appreciation of the meaning and implications of democracy as a way of life;

"A better understanding of the nature, privileges and obligations of citizenship;

"An appreciation of our cultural and social heritage;

"A mature pride in Canada.

"The council is achieving this broader awareness of the meaning of citizenship through (1) the integration, evaluation and allocation of citizenship problems and projects submitted by member organizations and (2) the provision of resource materials, information, staff and consultation services."

The council has a national office in Ottawa. Its information bulletin, *Citizenship Items,* appears monthly. Its pamphlets include: *So We May Know More About Canada Citizenship and Democracy* (14 pages), *Responsible Citizenship in Fifty-one—Report and Proceedings of the First National Conference on Canadian Citizenship* (64 pages), and a series under the general title, *The Democratic Way,* which deals with such matters as *Freedom and the Law* (20 pages) and *Democracy and the Political Party* (24 pages).

Lane Bryant Awards Made

At its annual award luncheon, held on December 17, the Lane Bryant department store of New York City presented its annual award of $1,000 for outstanding service to the community to the Catholic Interracial Council of Delaware. This is a new group, with headquarters in Wilmington, primarily concerned with improvement in race relations. Its two major accomplishments are the breaking down of segregation practices, particularly in schools and theaters, and the securing of employment opportunities.

Honorable mention was bestowed on three organizations and one individual for their community activities: The Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference of Chicago, formed to unite residents and property owners of all races, creeds and national backgrounds in a community housing program; the Fountain House Foundation of New York, first community center organized in the country for rehabilitation of former mental patients; Rev. R. Norman Hughes, of Bay City, Michigan, for his work in securing low rent housing for his community; and the Citizens Committee on Children of New York City, a group of a hundred experts in various fields affecting children, which has helped procure kindergartens, health stations and day care centers in public housing projects; helped launch the city foster home program; developed training courses for personnel working with troubled children; and aided in many other activities.

Judges for the 1950 award were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, of the United Nations; U. S. Senator Paul H. Douglas; Mrs. Hiram Cole Houghton, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir, president of the Child Study Association of America; and Hon. Ruth Bryan Rohde, former minister to Denmark.

* * *

Communities Make Surveys

Committees of three small Indiana communities—Vevay, Eaton and Dugger—are conducting surveys with the aid of Community Service in Adult Education of Purdue University. Field consultants have been working with local citizen groups to help devise necessary techniques. Subcommittees, working under a chairman, are each gathering and interpreting information on one phase of the community, i.e., physical, economic, historical, political, health, educational and sociological conditions. The results of the studies are expected to provide material upon which each community may base a program of development and improvement. The studies are the beginning of a larger research project to determine the need for adult education programs in small places. All told, 24 communities will be covered.

'Be Aggressive'

The People's Association for Better Municipal Government of Columbia, Missouri, celebrated its first year of achievement in December. Chief speaker was City Manager Gene Perkins, who expressed the hope that "this association will stay active. Above all else," said Mr. Perkins, "be aggressive. Have a continuing program and take positive stands. This is your government. Stay in there and pitch."

The association has as its purpose, "To develop and maintain interest of the citizens of Columbia in the success of the council-manager form of government and in the continued improvement of its operation."

Commenting on the meeting, a local newspaper said, editorially, that "If the lively and widespread public interest which prevailed during the process of writing Columbia's home rule charter could be maintained, we would soon have the best city government in the country."

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Training Programs for Public Officers Grow

Universities Tailor Courses to State, County, Local Needs

GREAT strides are being made in the training of elective public officials and in training programs for public officials generally, according to Emery Olson, dean of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California.

This observation by Dean Olson, in closing a panel discussion on "Training for Public Office" at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati, November 26, was amply supported by numerous thumbnail sketches of in-service and graduate training programs for state and local government officials by representatives of universities from coast to coast. As Dean Olson pointed out, the many reports of programs in progress was a great contrast to the situation only a few years ago.

The chairman began by calling on the members of the panel and others present for information and discussion on programs designed exclusively or partly for elective officials. Briefer reports were given on in-service training and cooperative and intern programs.

Courses for Elective Officials

James R. Donoghue, of the University of Wisconsin, reported that since 1948 his university has had seventeen one- to five-day institutes, chiefly for county officials. These courses, a few of which last as long as ten weeks, have received good support from such official organizations as the Wisconsin Association of County Clerks.

George H. Deming, of the University of New Hampshire, told of orientation courses for members of the General Court in that state. Although these courses are managed by the university, experienced members of the legislature do the actual teaching. Inasmuch as this is the largest of the state legislatures—399 members in the lower house — the course serves the important additional function of enabling the members to meet one another early in a given session. The cost of this six-hour course has been negligible—under $100 for the university.

Edward F. Dow, of the University of Maine, spoke of the annual four-day assessors' schools which his university has been managing for the past five years. It hopes to expand this program to include other local officials in the near future.

Guthrie S. Birkhead, Syracuse University, mentioned briefly the graduate program in public administration run jointly by New York University and Syracuse University at Albany. Although the major portions of the student body are New York civil servants, from time to time a few local officials have enrolled to obtain master's degrees in public administration.

Edwin O. Stene, University of Kansas, described the university's three-day training program in assessment problems and procedures, conducted jointly with the county clerks in that state. An additional program at Kansas is the one-week training school for peace officers, formerly held for only three days. The program, at which sheriffs are the sole elective officials in attendance, has three parts: basic instruction for recruits, advanced police science, police administration (for chiefs and sheriffs).

Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee, reported that his university was starting a short course for city councilmen in December 1951. Financed in part by the university, this is the first program of this type in Tennessee. Subject matter includes, among other things, discussion of local relationships with TVA, stream pollution problems, etc.

Alfred S. Holt, of the Public Service Institute, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, spoke of the sixteen in-service training programs his institute has been conducting since 1938 for all levels of state and local officials. With one session per week, ranging in length from six to 24 weeks, these courses include in their clientele borough officials, assessors, etc. A system of advisory committees aids the institute in planning courses, arranging schedules, approving materials. Mr. Holt lauded the practice of giving certificates to the graduates of such courses. In a brief discussion the panel generally stressed the publicity and morale values of thus honoring or emphasizing the completion of a course of study. Joseph A. James, University of Pittsburgh, explained that his school has often cooperated in some of the courses offered by the Pennsylvania Public Service Institute.

G. W. Moore, of the Dallas Planning Council, mentioned the lectures for public officials sponsored for several years by his council and by Southern Methodist University. Certain courses in government from the university curriculum are held in the courthouse and numerous experienced or prominent public officials are called upon to lecture.

Russell M. Ross, of the University of Iowa, described two current programs: the first is similar to the Kansas University course for peace officers; the second, a one-day course for state legislators, has to date been relatively lacking in support from the legislators.

Bennett M. Rich, Rutgers University, told how for the third year his school is offering an eight-week course for local finance officers, attended also by a few city councilmen. In the spring of 1952 a fourteen-week course for assessors is being planned.

William F. Larsen, of Florida University at Gainesville, reported its offering of short courses for municipal finance officials, clerks and city managers.

Weldon Cooper, of the Office of the Governor of Virginia, wondered where competent instructors for elective officials could be obtained. He stated his belief that under ordinary circumstances the university professor is not prepared, does not possess enough practical knowledge to teach what the practitioner wants and may need to know. Mr. Holt explained that his institute schools draw on experienced practitioners for teaching, but that they usually are prepared by giving them a week-long orientation in advance. Mr. Stene said that the University of Kansas has been quite successful in using faculty members to instruct in its courses, particularly in those classes where discussion and a look at the broader aspects of a given subject are needed. No conclusions were reached on this point, although there seemed to be general agreement that there are limits to the usefulness of academic personnel as instructors for elective officials.

Joseph E. McLean, of Princeton University, asked if there is a difference between publicly supported and private universities in their conduct of such training programs: are publicly supported programs necessarily limited as to the questions they can raise or the treatment they can give to other questions? Do political considerations, broadly or narrowly conceived, act as deterrents to the more effective conduct of the public institution's program? A few members of the panel spoke to this point, admitting that in their cases certain topics were tacitly withheld from discussion or sharp criticism. The audience reported a few cases of this type in other states. A general feeling was expressed that training programs for elective officials should probably never be designed with the specific aim of putting across a certain reform.

In-Service Training

Ferrel Heady, of the University of Michigan, opened discussion of in-service training programs exclusively for appointed personnel. About six courses for city managers, assessors, etc., are given each year at his university. Now that these courses have become established, the instruction is given chiefly by officials from the various professions, although in the early stages university faculty members were usually employed. He explained briefly the many manuals, handbooks and other printed materials distributed by the university to local officials.

Lee S. Greene, of the University of Tennessee, asked how successful universities have been in persuading technical personnel, engineers, water works superintendents, etc., to go beyond their limited scientific or operating problems into discussion and readings about their administrative problems as such. Very little success was indicated.

Several members of the panel noted how difficult it has been for them to get city managers to their training sessions. They claimed that managers were often active supporters and persuaded their personnel to attend the sessions, meanwhile failing to attend themselves. Mr. Larsen and Mr. Holt, however, said that city managers were the backbone of the student body in several of their programs.

Students and Interns

Walter V. Majoewsky, Cincinnati personnel officer, explained the five-year cooperative course Cincinnati is running with the University of Cincinnati. When Clarence Dykstra was city manager, a two-year cooperative course for graduate students was also held. The present program, for engineering students only, is operating very successfully. Eight of the twelve graduates last year were employed subsequently by the city.

Albert Lepawsky, of the University of Alabama, explained the southern regional program for interns conducted jointly by the Universities of Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee, plus two to three dozen city, state and federal agencies. During this twelve-month course, each student spends one quarter of his time as an intern and one quarter in each of three universities. Upon completion of the course, he is awarded a certificate and, with three months additional study, he may obtain a master's degree. Mr. Lepawsky expressed his feeling that the varied contacts of these students and the university faculty members with government officials proves of greater net worth for the officials than for the program. Many governmental agencies throughout the region are anxious to participate in the training program.

Mr. McLean explained teaching methods at the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University. During the two-year program, the student receives instruction in seminars by teams of three instructors drawn from several social science departments of the university. A given class, for example, may be taught jointly by a political scientist, an economist and a sociologist. In the intervening summer, each student serves an internship in a government agency or with private business.

Mr. Dow spoke of the internship training program the University of Maine is conducting for town and city managers. In the summer months, when regular city or town officials are on vacation, these interns spend three months in practical work in the temporary vacancies. This internship usually occurs in the third or the fourth summer of the student's school attendance. Although the university has experienced some difficulty in finding these three-month jobs in cities or towns where the student will find the better methods and procedures in use, it has had success in placing its graduates.

Mr. Stene described the one-year graduate program for city manager candidates at the University of Kansas, which is followed by a one-year internship. During the second year the student writes his thesis, often drawing on his job for research materials; in addition, he enrolls in a seminar held at Lawrence three days every six weeks. Mr. Stene and Mr. McLean agreed that they had found their training programs to be valuable experience for the professors who conduct them.

The most profitable parts of the panel, in the opinion of this reporter, were the brief discussions about the utility of academic personnel for teaching practitioners, about the differences between publicly supported and private institutions in these programs, and about the need to introduce technical personnel to general questions about public administration.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD
Syracuse University

Research Reports and Articles

Charters

The Purported Revised Charter. New Haven 10 (Connecticut), Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* November 26, 1951. 4 pp.

Constitutions

The Abortive Louisiana Constitutional Convention of 1951. By William C. Harvard. Gainesville, University of Florida, Southern Political Science Association, *The Journal of Politics,* November 1951. 15 pp.

Education

New Education Setup. Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* December 1951. 5 pp.

Reorganization of School Districts. By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 59 pp $1.

Report of School Building Study Committee. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* December 10, 1951. 7 pp.

Museums

World Famous Museum—City's Art Museum and Companion Institutions Supported by Public and Private Funds. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 17, 1951. 4 pp.

Pensions

Sound and Unsound Pension Plans. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 1951. 2 pp.

Police

One-man Radio Patrol Cars Prove Success. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, *TRA Journal Newsletter,* September 1951. 1 p.

Public Welfare

Changes in Relief Laws—Revisions Since 1947 Outlined. By Harry

V. Cheshire, Jr. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* October 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Developments in Utah's Public Assistance Programs. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* November 1951. 6 pp.

Purchasing

Report on Purchasing Organization and Methods. Prepared by Griffenhagen & Associates. Dallas, Citizens Advisory Committee on County Government, 1951. 36 pp.

Reapportionment

Congressional Redistricting. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 26, 1951. 2 pp.

State Government

General Management of Michigan State Government. (Staff Report No. 30.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 118 pp.

Streets and Highways

Report on Road and Bridge Administration in Dallas County. By Griffenhagen & Associates. Dallas, Citizens Advisory Committee on County Government, 1951. 65 pp.

Taxation and Finance

License Fees and Service Charges Help Meet Rising Costs. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, University of Pennsylvania, *Municipal Administration,* September 1951. 2 pp.

Motor Carrier Taxes. 1951 Income Tax Legislation. 1951 Property Tax Legislation. Other Tax Changes—Tax Study. 1951 Wisconsin Taxes. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* August, October and December, 1951. 2, 4, 2, 1 and 4 pp. respectively.

1951 Legislative Session. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* August-September 1951. 3 pp.

Principles and Practices Regarding Tax Exemptions in New Jersey. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1951. 15 pp.

Sources of Municipal Revenue. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1951. 37 pp.

Taxation: The Over-All Picture. Taxation: Property Taxes. Taxation: Inheritance, Unemployment, and Other. (Staff Reports Nos. 15, 18, 20.) Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 29, 31 and 22 pp. respectively.

Tax Facts and Comments for Long Beach, California. By Lawrence O. Jackson. Long Beach, 1951. 26 pp. (Apply author, 2042 American Avenue, Long Beach 6.)

34 Counties Cut Tax Rates—Trend Since 1945 Reported. By Maxine M McSweyn. **Tax Rates of California Cities—Actual and Adjusted to County Assessment Ratio 1950-51 and 1951-52.** Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* October and November 1951. 6 and 5 pp. respectively. 25 cents each.

The Utah State Department of Business Regulation. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* August 1951. 4 pp.

Traffic

Urban Congestion and Mass Transportation. By Park H. Martin. **Urban Expressways.** By William J. Cox. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* November-December 1951. 2 and 1 pp. respectively.

Voting Machines

Voting Machines for Lucas County Surveyed. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* October 1951. 1 p.

Books in Review

Public Administration. By Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg and Victor A. Thompson. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950. 615 pp. $6.

Written with obvious competence, this exhaustive text on public administration is a realistic explanation of how government is managed in all its executive branches. It deals not only with national, state and local governments but also independent boards and commissions set up by Congress and the state legislatures, and government corporations. The book gives attention to the relationship between politics and administration and offers a careful appraisal of the Hoover Commission proposals. It conveys to the reader the real flavor of day-to-day administrative practices in our governmental agencies.

County Government in California. By University of California at Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research. Sacramento, County Supervisors Association of California, 1951. 143 pp. $1.50.

The County Supervisors Association of California has issued a handbook on California's county government, the first comprehensive description ever published for use by officials of California counties. This booklet, prepared for the association by the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California, Los Angeles, presents a thumbnail sketch of the officers, organization and functions of California counties.

The pamphlet begins with a brief history of the counties and then provides a description of some 27 offices, ranging from that of county clerk to livestock inspector. It describes also ten boards and commissions that are found in many California counties. Each county service and the methods used to administer it are described briefly. The major sources of county finances, such as the property tax, various non-property taxes and borrowing, are discussed. Staff functions, such as budgeting, purchasing, personnel and planning are described. Brief consideration is given to county home rule and other relations between the state government and the counties.

This is an admirably concise report on the complicated county government structure in California. As such it should prove interesting to students and practitioners of county government alike. E. A. M.

The Code of the City of Phoenix 1951. Phoenix, Arizona, Office of the City Clerk, 1951. 693 pp. $5.

This codification represents the first compilation of Phoenix ordinances since 1939. It is the first code adopted as a whole under a 1951 legislative act authorizing municipalities to adopt codes by reference.

The book contains a history of Phoenix prepared by Barry M. Goldwater, city councilman, in collaboration with James M. Barney, author of a previous history; the city charter; civil service law; administrative code and general ordinances.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Absentee Voting

Absentee Voting by Wisconsin Servicemen. The Procedure under 1951 Legislation. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1951. 18 pp. $1.

Agriculture

Food and Feed Reserves. By Murray R. Benedict. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1951. 52 pp. 50 cents.

Assessing

Standards for Assessing Real Property. Prepared by Public Administration Service for and in cooperation with The Scientific Classification and Assessment Project, Department of Finance of Puerto Rico. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 67 pp. $2.50.

Debt

Public Bonds for Private Purposes. By Robie L. Mitchell. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, The Municipal Forum of New York, 1951. 12 pp. (Apply William J. Riley, c/o Drexel & Company, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

Suggestions for Determining the Best Bid on a School Bond Issue. By William B. Castetter. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, School of Education, Educational Service Bureau, 1951. 16 pp. 75 cents.

Directories

Directory of Agencies and Officers of the Territory of Hawaii. Honolulu 14, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 64 pp. 60 cents.

Education

School Board Handbook. By L. W. Chesney. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1951. 152 pp. $5.

Housing

International Glossary of Technical Terms in Housing and Town Planning. (English, French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish). Edited by H. J. Spiwak. Amsterdam C, Netherlands, International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, 1951. 144 pp. $3.

International Relations

The Search for National Security. Edited by Benjamin H. Williams. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* November 1951. 259 pp. $2.

United States—Western Europe Relationships as Viewed Within the Present Worldwide International Environment. A compilation of research reports, documents and other pertinent information designed to be used as a background for discussion. New York 27, Columbia University, Graduate School of Business, The American Assembly, 1951. 218 pp.

Motor Vehicles

48 States . . . United! To Achieve Uniformity of Motor Vehicle Laws. Washington 4, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1951. 16 pp. Illus.

Municipal Government

Facts about Tokyo. (A special number of the *Tokyo Municipal News.*) Tokyo, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, The Council on Liaison with Foreign Cities, 1951. 48 pp. Illus.

Population

Internal Migration and Mobility in the United States—March 1949 to March 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 14 pp.

Price Control

Price and Wage Controls. By The Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 44 pp.

Shopping Centers

Shopping Centers That Offer New Ideas. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* December 1951. 4 pp.

State Government

Readings and Materials in Louisiana Government. By Emmett Asseff and Kimbrough Owen. Baton Rouge, 1951. vi, 340 pp. (Apply authors, Louisiana State University.)

Streets and Highways

The Facts Are Crystal Clear. Town and City Streets Are Highways . . . Vital Links in Colorado's Highway System. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1951. 16 pp. Illus.

Statement of Policy on Highways, Traffic and Parking. Vermillion, League of South Dakota Municipalities, *South Dakota Municipalities,* January 1952. 12 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Control and Administration. By Irving Tenner, Eugene C. Lee, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* November 1951. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Income Taxation. A List of References with Annotations. Detroit 26, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 9 pp.

The New York State and Local Tax System 1951. Albany 1, State Tax Commission, Research and Statistics Bureau, 1951. 32 pp.

Oklahoma Sales Tax. Including Operations of the Use Tax and Coin Device Licenses. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1951. 38 pp. Tables.

A Review of Federal Municipal Grants and Controls as of July 12, 1951. By Carl H. Chatters. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1951. 4 pp.

Summary of City Finances in 1950. The 474 cities covered are those having over 25,000 inhabitants in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 13 pp.

Total Tax Collections in 1950. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* October 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Awards and Citations Offered in the Field of Traffic Safety. A Survey. Chicago 11, National Committee for Traffic Safety, 1951. 9 pp.

Civilian School Crossing Guards Replace Regular Police. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1951. 3 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for March. Theme: **Motor Manners.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme January 1952: **Winter Hazards;** Theme February 1952: **Know and Obey Traffic Laws.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Traffic Is a Two-Edged Sword. By Pyke Johnson. Washington 6, D. C., Automotive Safety Foundation, 1951. 12 pp.

Water

Flouridation of Public Water Supplies. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1951. 10 pp.

Water for Industry. A Review of Water Resources Affecting Industrial Location. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1951. 32 pp. $5.

Seed Aids New Civic Group in Miami

One of the many newer civic organizations which have been established throughout the country in recent months, the Citizens' Action Committee of Miami held its first installation dinner January 17, with Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, participating.

Allen H. Seed, Jr.

Mayor Chelsie Senerchia of Miami, expressing official pleasure over increased citizen interest in public affairs, installed the following officers:

M. L. Todd, chairman; Mrs. Helen Russell, Stephen Szabo, William Crawford and Leon Fornel, vice chairmen; Walter Frederichs, treasurer; and Mrs. Estelle Quisler, secretary.

Mr. Seed conferred at length with officers of the Citizens' Action Committee, a group formed to work for the improvement of Miami's government, on problems of organization and program and put them in touch with similar organizations in other cities.

In the last municipal election the committee successfully backed candidates for the city commission.

The committee and the Dade County Research Foundation, of which John F. Willmott is executive director, currently are applauding the city commission's decision to institute a nationwide search for the best available city manager for Miami.

In recent weeks Mr. Seed has spoken or conferred with citizen leaders in Richmond, Virginia; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina; Tampa and Jacksonville, Florida; Savannah and Atlanta, Georgia.

He will speak February 12 in Houston, Texas, before the Torch Club after conferences in Birmingham, Alabama, and New Orleans.

Income, Membership Increase in 1951

The continuing deep concern of citizens for civic improvement was reflected by marked increases in 1951 in the National Municipal League's income and membership.

Income was $101,060.97 as compared with $75,493.82 in 1950. A substantial part of the increase was from businesses and individual businessmen.

The number of members, which has been climbing steadily since the low point during World War II when many were in the armed forces or with the government in civilian capacities, increased approximately 7 per cent during the year.

Bruère Gets Medal for Civic Service

At the twentieth anniversary dinner January 3 of the Citizens Budget Commission, a New York civic organization, Henry Bruère, president of the National Municipal League, was one of six men who were awarded medals for exceptional citizen service in civic affairs.

Each received a bronze medal inscribed "For high service to the City of New York" which depicts the classical figure of a man representing citizenship receiving a torch ignited from the altar of faith and courage by a female figure symbolizing civic duty.

Three candid camera shots of the annual meeting and dinner of the NML's Council and Officers, November 26, at Cincinnati. Above, left to right: William Collins, finance chairman; Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary; Henry Bruère, president; Charles Edison, chairman of the Council; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer.

Above, left to right: Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; L. E. Marlowe, Richmond (Va.); E. D. Dodd, Toledo; Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio; L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis; Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati; George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York.

Below, left to right: Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis; John W. Agnew, Boston; Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services; F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines; Leonard F. Ramberg, Minneapolis; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich (Conn.); Lee M. Sharrar, Houston; Herbert Emmerich, Chicago; Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle; Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

RCH 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO.

PERIODICAL DEPT.
Library
City, Mo

NEWS for League Members 125

The Home Town Is the Battle Ground .... *Editorial*

Crusaders Crash Through .... *William O. Winter*

'The Voice of the People' .... *George D. Braden*

Initiative Held in Reserve .... *Arthur A. Schwartz*

Kentucky Study Urges Constitution Changes 146

Business Methods Recommended for County 154

State-local Debt Reaches New Peak 157

Minneapolis Citizens League Formed 159

State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165

MAR 1 8 1952

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MacCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

Kalamazoo Citizen Action Praised

Kalamazoo, a city which has stood in the forefront of successful council-manager plan cities for 24 years, on February 7 received a certificate as one of the "All-American Cities of 1951."

The certificate was presented by Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids civic leader and regional vice president of the National Municipal League, who told an audience at Kalamazoo Central High School auditorium that their success had been an example and inspiration to her own city for many years.

Mrs. Judd, who served as a member of the jury that chose last year's All-American cities, said that, in view of Kalamazoo's long record of civic competence, "the success of citizen cooperation in your school building program may not seem extraordinary to you but it did to the jury and to the National Municipal League Conference that listened to the stories of many cities. It did seem important that your story be brought to the attention of the country to serve as an inspiration to other cities.

"It was an example of efficient organization and administration of a community job, of creative treatment of publicity and public relations and, most important of all, of dynamic citizen cooperation for the common good.

"Thus an award to Kalamazoo for this particular citizen project serves the objectives which inspired the young woman reporter on *The Minneapolis Tribune* who first suggested the idea of the All-American City award at the National Conference on Government in St. Paul in 1949. She argued that it would dramatize the National Municipal League's work and help spread the gospel of citizen action for better local government.

"The *Tribune* has continued to cooperate with the League in this recognition of the kind of citizen effort that is needed everywhere."

The award was received on behalf of the citizens by Dr. Glenn C. Bond, chairman of the Kalamazoo Citizens' Committee on Public Schools. Participating in the ceremony were Henry Ford, Jr., who was chairman of the committee during its campaign for school expansion a year ago and who presented the Kalamazoo story before the jury at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati, and Mrs. Kenneth L. Crawford, president of the board of education.

—Photo by The Kalamazoo Gaze

Mrs. Siegel W. Judd **Dr. Glenn C. Bond**

—*Leitzell Photo*

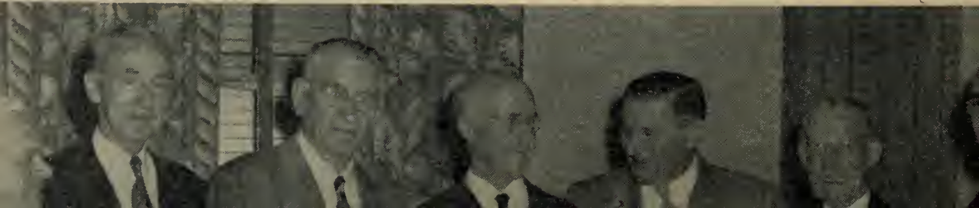
O. R. Buford (right), vacuum cleaner distributor, stepped up to receive the "All-American Cities" award on behalf of the citizens of Mount Vernon, Illinois, when it was presented January 21 by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's executive committee.

This was altogether fitting and proper, since it was Mr. Buford who hit on the novel idea of using his paid advertising space in the newspapers to sell vacuum cleaners by telling about what was wrong with the city government rather than about his product. His approach and the mass of facts he presented in this way caught on so well that, when last year the Illinois legislature finally made it possible for cities to adopt the council-manager plan, Mr. Buford had no trouble getting 1,910 signatures instead of the 667 required for a special election. Mount

(Continued on page 175)

Richard S. Childs (center) with some of the 300 business and civic leaders who heard him speak in Springfield, Illinois, on "A Business Man Looks at Local Government." Left to right, Mayor John E. MacWherter; Representative Hugh Green; John W. Hobbs, past president, Springfield Manufacturers and Employers Association; Mr. Childs; R. J. Kerber, president of the association; V. Y. Dallman, editor, Illinois State Register; Byron Booth.

—*Photo by Illinois State Register*



National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 3 Total Number 419

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for March 1952

NEWS for LEAGUE MEMBERS 125

EDITORIAL COMMENT 128

CRUSADERS CRASH THROUGH .... *William O. Winter* 130

'THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE' .... *George D. Braden* 136

INITIATIVE HELD IN RESERVE .... *Arthur A. Schwartz* 142

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 146

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 154

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 157

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 159

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 165

BOOKS IN REVIEW 172

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

The Home Town Is the Battle Ground

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was named as one of the eleven All-American Cities of 1951. James M. Osborn, member of the Council of the National Municipal League, presented the certificate of award February 4 at a meeting of Pawtucket's civic leaders. This guest editorial consists of extracts from Mr. Osborn's speech.

NO ONE could be here tonight without noticing the buoyancy in the atmosphere—a feeling of freedom and relief—of welcoming the future with confidence. Basically your problems are similar to those of many other cities all over America. Too often discouraged citizens view civic ills in their home town as something they are facing alone. They see inefficiency frozen in the city hall, with local government monopolized by patronage-fed political machines.

Indeed, local politics has earned a reputation almost synonymous with contamination. A recent poll showed that seven out of every ten parents hope their children will not go into politics. Many corporations and banks unofficially forbid their employees to participate in local political activities. The Red Cross and Community Chest enjoy top leadership but the attitude toward participating in municipal government is that people who play with dirt become covered with dirt.

How did American cities get into this situation? The primary cause is so simple that it may come as a shock until you think about it for a minute. We Americans have been following a false premise in local government. Although our cities are political subdivisions, technically speaking, economically and practically they are merely service agencies—citizen cooperatives if you will—to provide schools, streets, bridges, police and fire protection and other services for the public welfare. Think it over and you will see that most of our problems have arisen from the false reasoning that local elections should turn on whether we like or dislike the man in the White House—his attitude towards tariffs or China—the false belief that there is a Republican way to pave a street or a Democratic way to dig a sewer.

But don't the two national parties depend for strength upon the city hall boys—the local political machines? The answer is a flat and unequivocal "no." We have been sold that propaganda by local politicians who benefit from putting the cart before the horse. The proof lies in the little realized fact that in America today nonpartisan local elections have now become the predominant form. This is true in every population group.

It is no secret that communists sneer at democracy as an empty word. They point out that in many sections, including my home state of Connecticut, 2 per cent of the voters have a monopoly on the party machinery that controls nominations, so the voter's choice is limited to tweedledum or tweedledee. They see state political machines treating cities like conquered provinces. They see the buying of public officials by gamblers and gangsters accepted as common subject matter on television and radio. They see the moral cancer of special privilege and "the fix" invading schoolboy sports — even West Point. Where they see these things they see the perversion of democracy; but it takes more than a political boss waving the American flag on July 4 to controvert them.

The answer to communism lies in making democracy *work*—work at the grass roots through nonpartisan local elections, with nonpartisan administration for the whole good of the community. Last November the assembly of Roman Catholic bishops issued this public warning of the moral decay that is gnawing at American government:

"In politics the principle that 'anything goes' simply because people are thought not to expect any high degree of honor in politicians is grossly wrong. We have to recover that sense of personal obligation on the part of the voter and that sense of public trust on the part of the elected officials which give meaning and dignity to political life. Those who are selected for office by their fellow men are entrusted with grave responsibilities. They have been selected not for self-enrichment but for conscientious public service. . . . One and the same standard covers stealing from the cash register and dishonest gain derived from public office."

But progress is being made. The hopeless frustration and cynicism with which most thinking people regard local politics can be cured if they will look outside their own backyards to see what other American cities are doing.

The All-American Cities award is an honor for Pawtucket. It is also a beacon light for other cities. You have won the citation not for the present state of your municipal affairs but on the basis of "energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen action" to change the state of those affairs. You have repudiated previous misrule by overwhelming votes. You have, against great odds, organized the Citizens League, which played a major role in gaining home rule for all Rhode Island cities. You followed that promptly by electing a high grade charter commission to prepare a plan of government whereby the good citizens who predominate in your city as in any other can resume control of your day-to-day business of serving the public welfare. Your accomplishments are a thrilling example to your slumbering neighbors and a happy augury to your own future.

James M. Osborn

Crusaders Crash Through

Editor and vacuum cleaner distributor spark campaign that opens way for council-manager plan in Illinois.

By WILLIAM O. WINTER*

SOMETIMES when you have labored long in the political vineyard and have found the grapes with little juice, you think sardonically of Aristotle-a-la-Jowett: "Man is by nature a political animal." You think that either Aristotle or the translator was sadly in error, for the American, at least, shrugs off his political responsibilities as easily as his winter garments on the first warm day of spring.

The citizen reacts to a variety of things: to art, mechanics, religion; to money, power, fame and sex! And politics, some say, is the catholic reaction—it includes all of these. But do the data bear them out?

At first blush, discouragement seems valid. The indifference and apathy of countless thousands of American citizens, the "blind" voting of countless others, the cajolery necessary to get still others to register and then the tabulation of ballots in election after election which shows, typically, that less than half those registered take the trouble to journey to the polls—all this seems valid reason for thinking sardonically of Aristotle's observation.

Yet there are so many exceptional instances that you are forced to hold back on hasty conclusions. You are at the polls at 6 A.M. some morning and a man in overalls, or a business suit, talks of names and issues—intelligently, perceptively. Or you live in a state like Illinois, a state that has for years had on the statute books a law permitting only cities and villages of 5,000 population and under to have council-manager government. No other municipalities are entitled to have a manager, though a meager dozen have sought to raise themselves by their own boot straps and have adopted the plan by ordinance.

All at once there is a flurry of activity. A businessman campaigns for the manager plan, a publisher stumps the state, a political scientist and a famed constitutional lawyer draft a bill, a governor calls for its enactment and state senators and representatives work doggedly for its passage. In less than a year the bill is law and two cities, Mount Vernon and Peoria, have held special elections under it and approved council-manager government.

That such things happen is heartening. The way they happen is even more encouraging. The campaign in Illinois, for example, was a hard, often thankless, job. That all the municipalities in the state except Chicago may now adopt council-manager government is the result of articulate and courageous leadership by many citizens. This article is largely the story of two of those citizens—a businessman and a newspaper publisher.

---

*Mr. Winter, former research associate with the Bureau of Government at the University of Michigan, is assistant professor in the Department of Government at Southern Illinois University.

The businessman was O. R. Buford of Mount Vernon. A distributor for vacuum cleaners in southern Illinois and parts of adjacent states, Buford has had a successful business career. But Buford is not content simply with merchandizing his product and he has become a sort of unofficial watchdog of his community, its government and social responsibilities.

Vacuum Cleaners Our Only Business

Buford's forum is the local newspaper; more specifically, it is his weekly advertisement in the local paper. Always captioned, "Vacuum Cleaners Are Our Only Business," the text of the advertisement usually concerns itself only incidentally with the merits of his product. Rather, its concern is to give an iconoclastic review of local politics. Buford has attacked the inefficiency of Mount Vernon municipal government — its bad financial management, double parking, poor parking meter enforcement. He has called for better service from the privately owned water company and in 1949 he campaigned vigorously against a proposed increase in rates. (He lost that fight.)

He has called for the use of special assessments in the improvement of Mount Vernon streets. "Nor do I think it fair," he exclaimed in an advertisement of May 1950, "to take state gas tax money and put down paving, free of charge, when it should be assessed to the property owners." Several times he has chastised the people of Mount Vernon for not meeting their quota for the Red Cross blood bank. And he has called upon other businessmen to assume his role of community prodder.

For his attacks upon the city government Buford has had ample material. The city has been facing recurring deficits for years. The "Ten Years Ago Today" column of the Mount Vernon *Register-Times* of January 26, 1950, contained this item: "Five members of the Mount Vernon police department and five members of their fire department have filed suit against the city for back pay." The amount involved was approximately ten thousand dollars. That was of course in 1940.

In April 1949 a suit for $56,000 in unpaid bills was brought against the city by a concrete company and the local water company. In July 1950 an engineering company sued the city for unpaid professional services of $11,568. City employees often went months without pay. Finally, in desperation, the city council adopted an ordinance to permit the issuance of $90,000 in funding bonds to pay the city's debts. More than a third represented back pay due employees.

Against this situation Buford constantly inveighed. He criticized the administration for bad management, for nepotism, for unfortunate purchasing practices. And he proposed a solution to the city's ills. The city is spending more than its income, he editorialized in his weekly advertisements. The remedy? "Mount Vernon needs an income and a city manager to keep it within its income." A manager would in a short time, he added, "solve most of our 'Mount Vernon broke' and 'Mount Vernon sued' problems."

"A prophet is not without honor, save in his own . . . house," and Buford's house, for business purposes, is municipal property. In order to eke out its income the city has for several years rented the entire second floor of the city hall for office space. Buford has some of this space. In addition there is a church office, a beauty parlor and the office of an oil well drilling company. Suddenly, one evening in the summer of 1950, the city council decided to cancel Buford's lease.

But he had an editorial ready for that one: "Now just why did they vote to cancel my lease? Surely they don't want to shut me up. Am I doing business in America or behind the iron curtain? . . . Well, they vote to cancel my lease, but some day Mount Vernon will have a city manager." The council retreated and Buford is still in the city hall.

Some people expressed disagreement in other ways. While Buford was attending council meeting one evening, someone put sugar in the gas tank of his car. And a citizen wrote in July 1951 to the local newspaper: "There is no doubt that mudslinging may sell vacuum cleaners but constructive criticism does more good." Mudslinging Buford's charges may have been, but there is every indication that he has always had a healthy respect for facts and has never made his charges frivolously. Nor does he retreat before his opposition; on the contrary, he makes editorials out of it.

Buford began his campaign for council-manager government several years before a city of the class of Mount Vernon could adopt the plan —unless it did so by ordinance, by no means a satisfactory method. Just before Christmas 1948 and not many weeks before the local elections —and as always under the caption, "Vacuum Cleaners Are Our Only Business" — Buford commented: "When I am mayor I want the city of Mount Vernon to own and operate all utilities with the exception of the telephone and to pay a city manager at least $10,000 a year to run the business." Although not his first mention of the council-manager plan, this marked the beginning of a gradually quickening manager campaign.

Buford did not run for mayor. He disclaims all ambition to hold public office, either that of mayor or of manager. He has been accused of wanting both but he insists he is too busy selling vacuum cleaners.

Presents the Evidence

An important element in Buford's long campaign was to present the evidence, to let the record speak for itself. He cited Hannibal, Missouri, with its own water and light plant, and a manager with a salary of $7,200 — good government, he told the people of Mount Vernon, and in a city the size of ours. Then he corresponded with citizens and officials in Mexico, Missouri; Dayton, Ohio; Kenosha, Wisconsin; and other cities to get facts about the operation of the manager plan. These he printed in his advertisements.

Much of this activity took place before January 1951. After that Buford intensified his pace. Before, he had been calling for something nebulous, far away, and his critics had said to him in effect, "Don't you know it is impossible under state law for us to have council-manager government?" And he had answered, "Of course, I do. I also know that you can change things." When the governor called for an optional council-manager law and the legislation was introduced in the House of Representatives, the change seemed near at hand. The target was no longer over the horizon; it was in plain sight.

Manager Bill Introduced

House Bill 213 was introduced on February 28, 1951. Immediately Buford grabbed his pen: "There is nothing wrong with Mount Vernon which cannot be remedied when it is given the legal right to run its business like any other business, which is successful, must be run. To do this, of course, means a city manager."

The following week he again praised council-manager government and then the week after he had this to say: "Think! When you think you will be busy. When you are busy you will accomplish much. Right now, as you read this, if you will think with me about the city manager plan of government for Mount Vernon, much good can come from it."

During succeeding weeks he urged that Mount Vernon citizens write their senators and representatives about H. B. 213. In April he urged each citizen to mail four postal cards, one for the state senator and three for the representatives from the Mount Vernon district. He reminded them that their city was taking in less than it was spending and suggested the remedy—the manager plan. In May, he noted the success of the plan in specific cities.

In June he wrote, "If I were a young man thinking of entering or now in college, I would give serious thought to a preparatory course in city management." And then he added, "I sincerely hope in the next few days that our State Senate will pass the city manager bill." It did and the bill went to the governor, who signed it. Immediately, Buford announced he was preparing petitions for a special election on adopting the optional law.

Not content with information he had gotten from cities by letter, Buford wrote the National Municipal League for help. In addition, he went on a 1700-mile trip through Wisconsin and Michigan, visiting manager cities and talking with managers and other officials, getting a first-hand picture of the operation of the manager plan.

Returning, Buford began circulating his petitions. Although only 700 signatures were needed, he got almost 2,000. The county judge, as the law required, called the election for October 2.

Buford's campaign for adoption of the council-manager plan in Mount Vernon was similar to the one he had waged so long for a statewide enabling act: advertisements, public meetings and personal contacts. While the campaign was not entirely as the Mount Vernon *Register-News* described, a one-man affair, certainly Buford personally, or through his office, carried the burden of the effort.

The effort was successful. The council-manager law was adopted by a majority of almost six to one. Mount Vernon had become the first city in Illinois to adopt the new law —and only three months after the governor had signed it!

The efforts of O. R. Buford in behalf of the manager plan for his state and city were the most colorful of the crusade to get permissive council-manager legislation for Illinois. But he was by no means alone. Another major contributor was William B. Hamel, publisher of the Mattoon *Daily Journal-Gazette.*

A Publisher Campaigns

Like Buford, Hamel was interested in the plan before the convening of the 1951 General Assembly. He made his first speech espousing it in July 1950 and followed with more in the late summer and autumn. The legislature convened on January 3, 1951, and, learning that council-manager legislation would be introduced—the governor called for it in his opening address—Hamel cancelled his plans for a winter vacation. In all he made 38 speeches.

Hamel talked before civic clubs, service organizations, women's clubs —the invitations were many and the organizations varied. Buford arranged a joint meeting of important civic and service clubs of Mount Vernon which Hamel addressed.

But speeches were only part of Hamel's personal campaign. He wrote editorials for his own paper calling for passage of the proposed legislation and he mailed three full-column editorials to 85 daily newspapers and 600 weeklies and semi-weeklies. He telephoned, wired and wrote publishers and community leaders all over the state in an effort to enlist their support. And he journeyed to Springfield to testify before a legislative committee for H. B. 213.

This was entirely a personal effort. Hamel had no organizational support and his expenses were borne by his newspaper. His campaign, however, attracted wide attention: in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, in publications of the Union League Club of Chicago and the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, and in various trade journals and newspapers. There can be no doubt of his great contribution to the molding of public opinion behind better government.

All his expenditure of time, effort and money was of course without tangible compensation but he does not hesitate to say he would do it again. "Of course, it took . . . many days or parts of days out of my office," he wrote me, "which meant I had to make it up in writing my column and handling my mail nights in my study at home." Such intangible costs receive only intangible rewards.

The efforts of Buford and Hamel were a spectacular culmination of a movement that began long ago. In 1936 the Union League Club of Chicago called a meeting of businessmen to hear Murray Seasongood and the late Henry Bentley describe council-manager government in Cincinnati. This meeting resulted in the formation of the Chicago City Manager Committee, which drafted council-manager enabling legislation and succeeded in getting it introduced in various sessions of the General Assembly. Although the committee sought widespread support in its endeavor, and at one time had the endorsement of some two hundred organizations, the legislature was unsympathetic. In baseball parlance, the bill never got to first base.

A Long History

But the committee continued its endeavors. Working with other groups, such as the Union League Club, Illinois League of Women Voters, State Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce, the committee sought legislative action. Further, the Illinois Council Manager Conference was organized to seek coordination of statewide support. This conference, according to Edward M. Martin, secretary of the Public Affairs Committee of the Union League Club, "functioned as a clearing house of information, speakers, literature and as the sponsor of bills submitted to successive sessions of the General Assembly."

Despite the important role of Chicago citizens, participants in the movement finally decided that Chicago must be left out of the permissive legislation if it was ever to be passed by the legislature. Other compromises were incorporated. The two persons instrumental in preparing the various bills, including H. B. 213 itself, were Mr. Martin and Walter F. Dodd, attorney and widely known authority on government.

One important reason for success was that council-manager government had already made its appearance in Illinois. Previous to Mount Vernon's adoption of the new law, there were thirteen cities and villages with council-manager government. Glencoe adopted the plan by ordinance in 1914 and Winnetka adopted it by the same method in 1915; the others have adopted since, most of them by ordinance. Two adopted the enabling act for municipalities of 5,000 or less which H. B. 213 replaced.

Representative Bernice Van Der Vries of Winnetka sponsored H. B. 213 and City Manager C. Harold Eash of Brookfield testified for the bill before legislative committees. Such interest and support by people closely connected with council-manager government, plus the good record of the plan in spite of the legal legerdemain necessary for its existence under ordinance, contributed to the passage of the bill.

And finally, the action of Governor Adlai Stevenson, in calling for the legislation in his opening message to the legislature and in courageously supporting the measure in its passage through the legislative process, was a *sine qua non.*

At best this is but a sketch of the long struggle to get council-manager government for the cities and villages of Illinois. A courageous businessman and a crusading publisher, an enlightened governor, a political scientist, a lawyer, state representatives, a city manager, representatives of many organizations—all of these and many more contributed.

Now the scene shifts to the dozens of municipalities throughout the state that have the opportunity to make a clear-cut decision like the one already made by Mount Vernon—the choice between a bumbling commission or weak mayor system and effective local government under the council-manager plan.

'The Voice of the People'

National opinion polls with electronic machines seen as means of recapturing some values of old town meeting.

By **GEORGE D. BRADEN***

THE time has come to improve our governmental machinery by using some of the scientific and engineering devices now so common in the business world. The American people are proud of their democratic system of government, but they are aware of the fact that in many ways it creaks along as if we still lived in the stagecoach era. The American people are also proud of the achievements of a business world that welcomes every new invention, every new idea designed to increase efficiency. Let us combine these two great American achievements by modernizing our democratic machinery through the use of the latest scientific developments.

We are still in the "horse-and-buggy" era so far as the distant relationship between the people and the government at Washington is concerned. Many state and local governments have long since given the voter a direct voice in determining policies by providing for referenda on important questions. But on the national level it has not been possible heretofore, chiefly because of mechanical difficulties, to create that close feeling between the citizen and his government that is so essential to a vital democracy. Here is a place where modern science, by providing feasible machinery for national referenda, can be instrumental in bringing the people and their government closer together.

The scientific development available for this purpose is an electronic voting machine. This may sound like something out of science fiction, but if one stops to think of the "lightning" electronic calculators that have been making the news lately and of the common IBM and other tabulating machines, it can be seen that an electronic voting machine is simply a combination of well known devices. As a matter of fact, the machine shortly to be described was originally developed in a simpler and non-electronic form about twenty years ago at the request of Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania. In many respects this new machine looks like an ordinary voting machine except that it has buttons to push instead of levers to pull. But there are several unique features about the electronic machine that make it much more efficient than the machines used today and also offer possibilities for uses not practicable today.

First, there is the "token" part of the machine. Every voter upon registration would receive a token, large enough to contain his photograph and signature. This token, containing a series of notches, would entitle him to vote. When voting he would insert his token in the voting machine in order to make the machine operate. The significant thing about the token is that the electronic circuits in a central office would be so arranged that no voting machine would accept a vote from a token that had already been used on that day.

---

*Mr. Braden, an attorney of Louisville, Kentucky, was formerly associate professor of law at Yale University. He was the director of the project that drafted a proposed new state constitution for the Connecticut Commission on State Government.

This means that a person would not need to vote in a home precinct, for the central office circuits would prevent repeater voting. In fact, absentee voting could be so arranged that a voter from New York who was in Chicago could insert his token in a Chicago machine and vote for New York candidates. His vote would be transferred electrically to the appropriate central recording office in New York. Furthermore, tokens could be issued to non-voters, notched in such a way that the voting machines would not accept the token for voting purposes. Thus, the tokens, which would contain signature and photograph, could serve as identification on all sorts of occasions and the machines could be used for various census purposes.

A Lightning Calculator

A second new feature about the electronics voting machine is its instantaneous calculation. At the same time that a machine made a permanent record of a vote, the same information would be electronically recorded at a central office. Hence, cumulative totals for wide areas would be available literally within seconds after the closing of polls. And the count would be accurate. Our present difficulties with the human errors of counting votes, especially paper ballots, would be eliminated.

Third, the use of the token and the provision for a central records office would greatly simplify the machinery of voting. Machines could be permanently installed at the most convenient and efficient locations. There need be no precincts for voting purposes. A man's residence would appear in the series of notches and the tabulating process would locate the vote in the right geographical area. Aside from skilled repairmen and the skilled workmen running the central records, the only election officials required would be people to compare face and signature with photograph and signature. With the electronic voting machine, voting can be made as easy as stopping in for a cup of coffee.[1]

Here, then, is a practicable modern voting machine, only slightly more expensive than voting machines now in use, that in every way would make the electoral process more efficient. In addition, these machines would permit periodic official referenda. By use of tokens and through permanent location of machines, the whole process of voting is simplified and this means that the election machinery can be put into operation on short notice. City, county, state or national government could call for an expression of opinion from the electorate whenever there was a need to know what the public thought. Thus, the electronic voting machine not only offers efficient voting, it offers accurate public opinion polls. On all levels of government this new voting machine makes it possible to inject more real democracy into the processes of government.

---

[1] I recognize the difficulties in sparsely populated areas, but I doubt that the difficulties are any greater than under the present system. I can also visualize the use of a mobile machine in a trailer, traveling across the countryside, a mobile telephone sending the votes in to the central office. In short, I would argue that any difficulties about voting are more easily solved by use of modern scientific devices than by use of traditional methods.

One of the most serious criticisms leveled at the federal government today is that the government, particularly Congress, is not truly representative, especially in the sense that it is not responsive to the wishes of the American people. (This is said with due regard to the element of sectional interest represented by the make-up of the Senate and, to a certain extent, of the House of Representatives.) If national opinion referenda would increase the public's participation in government and increase the government's responsiveness to that participation, the possibility is well worth exploring.

An Advisory Referendum

On the other hand, the national electoral system is a delicate mechanism not lightly to be tampered with. The primary task is to fashion a national referendum that would be supplemental to the ordinary legislative process, that would not in and of itself be a part of the legislative process. The proposal which follows is simply a national advisory referendum, an accurate public opinion poll, that would have no binding effect and that would precede, not follow, legislation. It would do no more than advise the president and Congress what people thought about a current vital issue.

There follows a blueprint for national referenda which by necessity is a sketchy outline containing only the bare essentials. In making this blueprint, four considerations have been borne in mind:

First, the decision to have a referendum, with means of avoiding too many. A statute providing for national referenda ought to provide that no more than five or six could be called in any one year. Who calls it? Obviously Congress should have the power by joint resolution. On the other hand, the president, as the national political figure, ought to have power to call one or two within the limits of five or six. Provision should also be made for calling a referendum by a substantial minority of Congress. For purposes of safeguards it would be advisable to provide that no more than two topics could be considered at one time, and that referenda could not be bunched too close together.

Second, intelligent choices for the voter. This is not easy, as any pollster will tell you. It would seem advisable not to give either Congress or the president the power to word referendum questions, though some power of veto should be retained by them. One good method would be to have a panel of "experts" — that hated word — whose sole job would be to draft questions. Veteran newspapermen would be ideal, for they are good at succinct statements of difficult problems. It is important to note that the referendum questions are not designed to be simple yes or no propositions. There should be a range of several shades of opinion so that the tabulation of votes would reflect, as well as it can be done statistically, the general sentiment of the public.

Third, voter intelligence. Between the time that a decision is made to have a referendum and the day of voting there should be a time interval devoted to debate and discussion. The federal government could very well sponsor a series of national town meetings, so to speak, utilizing the great potentialities of radio and television. Governmental sponsorship is not indispensable, of course, but if there were an imaginative independent governmental commission charged with seeing that the public was appropriately enlightened, it seems more likely that the public would participate. Following such a national debate, a week might well elapse during which voters would be encouraged to discuss matters among themselves and private groups could air their views. Private debate could continue by radio and television, subject only to prevention of abuse.

Fourth, the legislative process at work after a referendum. Note again that the referendum would in and of itself have no legal effect. After a referendum was held, it would be known what voters thought, by congressional districts, by states and throughout the nation as a whole. Any member of Congress could vote in any way he wanted to. The only difference would be that he would know what his constituency really thought—he would not have to try to figure it out from public opinion polls, lobbyists, letters written to him and so forth. It is especially important here to note that even though each legislator knew the temper of his own constituency, the resulting legislation would undoubtedly be a compromise of views. Just as the legislative process today is a compromise process, so it would be then. The only difference is that it would be more likely to represent an accurate compromise of the views of the country as a whole.

What are the merits of this proposal?

First, it would increase both interest and participation in government. Instead of interest being limited to biennial elections, people would have an active interest periodically during every year. Instead of participation being limited to a vote for one representative and one senator, more or less every two years, people would have opportunities from time to time to participate in government by officially advising their government what they really thought. In all likelihood, the dramatization of a public issue by a national referendum would provide a great stimulus to the growth of community and neighborhood discussion groups and thus extend participation in public affairs generally.

'Will of the People'

Second, it would clarify the relationship between personalities and issues. Several years ago George Gallup pointed out[2] that, "some of the gravest errors have come about through the attempt to read into the election returns of candidates the will of the people on issues." He therefore proposed that in every national election "voters be permitted to record their views on important issues in the form of an advisory referendum." Without the electronic voting machine, such a referendum would, of course, be feasible only on the regular election day. But with the voting machine the referendum can be called for when the issue is "hot," and when voters can concentrate on the issue without being distracted by the general election campaign.

---

[2] See "They Want to Be Good Citizens," by George Gallup, the REVIEW, January 1947, page 26.

Third, it would enable the voter when it came time to vote on reelecting a legislator to judge better how well he had been represented. There is a lot of funny business that goes on in Congress, and a voter has a pretty hard time keeping track of what his representatives do. Even under this proposal, funny business would still go on but it would be more difficult for a representative to explain why he voted thus and so in view of the fact that the sentiment of his district as recorded in the national referendum was otherwise.

Better Than Lobbies

Fourth, national referenda would have an important effect on lobbies. Lobbies serve the electorate today by providing the in-between-election voice of the voter. At present, though, it is difficult to know whether a lobby accurately represents its own strength on a particular issue. On a soldier's bonus question, for example, a veterans' organization may say it speaks for all veterans and a taxpayers' organization may purport to speak for all taxpayers. Yet all veterans are taxpayers. And if the two lobbies get on opposite sides of a question, the lobby method of representation falls down. (There are many other aspects of the lobbies which make them unsatisfactory substitutes for true representation, but this is not the place to spell them out.)

Now note what happens with a national referendum. The lobby would have to convince its constituents, and its power would be roughly equivalent to the success it had in convincing its own constituency. Take the bonus. If the veterans' organizations asked veterans to vote for a bonus in a referendum and the vote was strongly against a bonus, it would be difficult to threaten congressmen with defeat if they voted against a bonus. On the other hand, a special interest group has an important legitimate function: to tell the members of its group where their interests lie. With national referenda this function would increase in importance, and at the expense of the misleading and undemocratic service these same special interest groups frequently perform under prevailing conditions.

Finally, national referenda would free us from complete dependence on the private public opinion poll. By virtue of the sampling technique, leaving aside certain difficulties over a recent national election, the polls can never be completely satisfactory. Furthermore, many people have "no opinion," and there is no way to be sure that these "no opinion" people are non-voters. A national referendum under the circumstances here outlined would eliminate the doubt and would in all likelihood eliminate most of the "no opinion" people. This would especially be the case if there were a "national town meeting" preceding the vote, for the "no opinion" man would probably form an opinion after the national debate.

This is a large country with great diversity of interests. To accommodate this diversity we have created a cumbersome governmental mechanism that tends to lumber along in an unsatisfactory manner. The beauty of the national referendum by electronic voting machines[3] is that the people as a whole can come together and express themselves. At one and the same time the sentiment of the country, as a nation, by sections, by states, by communities, is known. Those who act for us, Congress and the president, would on important occasions have an accurate insight into the temper of the American people. Over a period of time, as the referendum with its accompanying national debate became an accepted institution, we would develop an informed and articulate public. We would always require a representative system, for the nation is too large for direct action, but our representatives would know what they really represented.

This proposal is not revolutionary, it is not un-American. If anything, it is a use of modern science to create on a national scale one of the most ancient American political devices—the New England town meeting. Politicians and statesmen for generations have talked about the "voice of the people." The time has come to stop just talking about the "voice of the people," for now the people can really speak.

---

[3] I have heard that a plan of referendum by mail has been worked out. Although I have been unable to figure out how it could be safeguarded against fraud, I do not doubt that it could be done. I do doubt, however, that it would be as satisfactory as the electronic voting machine. For one thing it would be cumbersome and require a great deal of work in preparing, mailing, receiving, sorting and tabulating replies. For another thing, it would be hard to maintain the community spirit that accompanies voting. In government we are dealing with group action. The sense of the group ought to be preserved, and it would probably be lost if the postal service was the medium for voting.

Initiative Held in Reserve

Although its use in Ohio has diminished it has proved value, enabling aroused public to override legislature.

By ARTHUR A. SCHWARTZ*

THE concept of direct participation by the electorate in the evolution of a state constitution, as well as in the legislative process, is reflected in the experiences of Ohio, which has served as a laboratory for 38 years.

The Ohio constitution provides for its amendment by direct initiative. Signatures to petitions must equal 10 per cent of the total vote cast for governor at the last preceding election; signatures in each of at least half the counties to include not less than 5 per cent of the county vote for governor. Such petitions must be filed in the office of the secretary of state at least 90 days prior to a regular or general election.

Petitions may also be filed with the secretary of state seeking passage of a legislative act. Such petitions must be filed not less than ten days prior to the convening of the legislature and contain signatures equal to at least 3 per cent of the total vote for governor at the last preceding general election; those in each of at least half the counties to include not less than one half of one per cent of the county vote for governor. The secretary of state transmits the petition to the General Assembly for action. If it fails to act favorably on the proposed law, the filing of a supplemental petition signed by an additional 3 per cent of the electors will place the issue on the ballot.

All laws passed by the General Assembly, except those providing for tax levies, appropriations for current expenses of the state government and those declared to be emergency measures, take effect 90 days after being filed in the office of the secretary of state. If, during this period, a referendum petition bearing valid signatures equal to at least 6 per cent of the total vote for governor at the last preceding general election (those in each of at least half the counties to include not less than 3 per cent of the county vote for governor) is filed with the secretary of state, the proposed law must be submitted to the electors at the next general election.

The constitution provides that emergency acts, passed by a two-thirds vote of each house, shall not be subject to a referendum. The question of the conclusiveness of the legislative determination of an act as an emergency measure has risen twice. In both instances the Supreme Court held, by a split decision, that the General Assembly has exclusive authority to determine that an emergency exists, and such determination is not reviewable by the courts.

This holding is decidedly contrary to decisions in other states, but in Ohio there seems to have been little abuse by the legislature of this power to evade the referendum. The foundations of the court decisions seem weak, however, so that, in case of flagrant abuses in the future, there is a strong possibility they would be reversed.

---

*Mr. Schwartz is director of the Legislative Reference Bureau of the State of Ohio. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 28, 1951.

While 1912 marks the beginning of the initiative and referendum in Ohio, the submission of constitutional amendments by the General Assembly to the electors has been authorized by the constitution since 1851.

Strong Support for I. and R.

At the time the initiative and referendum were introduced in the state, an upsurge of interest in direct legislation was sweeping the nation. The initiative, referendum and recall were magic words which seemed to revitalize public interest in good government and were looked upon as a panacea for all the ills of representative government. We find William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, J. B. Foraker, Judson Harmon, Hiram Johnson, Theodore E. Burton and other distinguished personalities of that day addressing the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1912 on the initiative and referendum. Even at that time, a number of states, especially in the far northwest, had already a fund of experience with direct legislation.

Because of the constitutional provision guaranteeing each county at least one member in the House of Representatives, we find a rural-dominated House continually thwarting legislation designed or supported by metropolitan interests. The battle between population centers and the rural element is ever present.

The failure of the proposed constitutional amendment providing for the classification of property for taxation to win approval of the "Cornstalk Club," as our rural bloc in the House of Representatives was popularly known, postponed for some years submission of that amendment to the electorate by the General Assembly. As a result of this delay such a proposal was submitted to the voters by initiative petition on November 5, 1918.

At the same election the General Assembly submitted a proposed amendment to the same section and article, authorizing passage of laws to prevent the taxation of both real estate and the mortgage or debt secured thereby.

Court Interferes

Both proposals were adopted by the electorate but the Supreme Court subsequently held that since both purported to amend the same section, although there was no direct conflict between the two, only one could stand and, since the proposal submitted by the General Assembly received the larger affirmative vote, it and only it had been adopted. So the classification of property for purposes of taxation, although approved by the electorate, was postponed.

The General Assembly submitted a similar amendment November 4, 1919, but the electorate this time defeated it by approximately 80,000 votes. Again, the question, submitted by the legislature, was defeated by some 65,000 votes in 1925. The amendment was finally written into the constitution on November 5, 1929, by a 200,000 vote majority, again having been submitted by joint resolution of the General Assembly.

The use of the initiative petition in Ohio to overcome the rural bloc in the General Assembly was illustrated when the women of the state exemplified the effectiveness of concerted action. They circulated petitions in 1948, placing Senate Bill No. 6, authorizing the manufacture and sale of colored oleomargarine, before the General Assembly in 1949. Upon failure of the House of Representatives to pass the bill after its adoption in the Senate, it was ordered placed upon the ballot November 8, 1949, by supplementary petitions and was adopted by a majority of almost a half million. The rural bloc in the House of Representatives had previously cornered this bill in 1941, 1945 and 1947.

Ballot Change Secured

An example of how aroused public interest has utilized the initiative to bring about needed remedies is the recent adoption of the so-called "Massachusetts" or "office type" ballot in Ohio. Bills providing for such a ballot were sidetracked in the 1937, 1939, 1941, 1945 and 1949 legislatures. Although there was no need for a constitutional amendment to achieve this purpose, the proposal, submitted by initiative petition, was finally adopted as section 2a of article V of the constitution in 1949.[1]

An examination of the operation of the initiative and referendum in Ohio affords a cross section of the public pulse as to leading issues of past years, issues which not only concerned the state's electorate but also posed questions of policy for the whole country.

Prohibition presents a long and varied history of the use of direct legislation. The issue was particularly hard fought in Ohio, the "dry capital of the United States" being situated at Westerville. Prohibition and related issues appeared on the ballot sixteen times, state prohibition being approved by the electors in 1918, after a number of attempts, and finally being repealed in 1933.

'Woman's Rights' Aided

Another important and popular issue finally determined in Ohio by the use of direct legislation was that of woman's rights. In 1913, the first election held after adoption of the initiative and referendum, women gained the right to hold certain positions in the state government by a constitutional amendment submitted by the General Assembly. This was the first step in the long uphill battle by women to gain full recognition in Ohio, culminating in 1923 in an amendment to the constitution eliminating the words "white male" to conform to federal requirements.

Direct legislation has served as a vehicle for the expression of the popular will in many other issues during the past 38 years, including workmen's compensation, old age pensions and debt limitations on political subdivisions, to name but a few.

The number of times the initiative and referendum were invoked throughout the early years and the gradual diminution in the number of proposals present a graphic picture of the dynamics of popular participation in the legislative process. Out of a total of 74 proposals submitted between 1913 and 1951, exactly 50, or 67.6 per cent, were submitted during the first half of the period.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1949, page 558; July 1951, page 367.

Out of the 74 questions, 28, or 37.8 per cent, were adopted. Twenty-nine of the proposals were constitutional amendments submitted by initiative petition, nine of which were adopted; 31 were constitutional amendments submitted by the General Assembly, sixteen of which were adopted; four were bills submitted to the General Assembly by initiative petition, two of which were adopted by the electorate; and ten were acts of the General Assembly upon which referendum petitions were filed, only one of which was approved by the electors—the Crabbe Act, relative to state prohibition and its enforcement, submitted in 1920.

Put to the Test

A test of the initiative and referendum as a means of registering the popular will may be made by determining what percentage of the electorate voted on the proposals submitted.

An average of the vote cast on all measures submitted by direct legislation each year of Ohio's experience was compared with the vote for governor. Since the governor is elected in even-numbered years, the comparison of referendum votes cast in odd-numbered years was with the governor's vote of the year previous. For this reason, the odd-numbered year percentages may not be entirely reliable, but they will be useful to show trends.

At the election held November 4, 1919, we find the only instance when the popular vote on proposals registered 101 per cent of the total vote cast for governor, the explanation being that one of the proposals was the repeal of statewide prohibition.

Only in four other elections, 1914, 1917, 1920 and 1927, did 90 per cent or more of the electorate voting for governor participate, and in only two elections, 1918 and 1922, was there a vote on proposals which constituted 80 to 90 per cent of the vote for governor.

On the other hand, the lowest ebb of popular interest was in 1925, when only 47 per cent of the electorate voting for governor participated in decisions on classification of property for taxation, debt limitations on political subdivisions and four-year terms for state and county officers.

Popular interest in proposals submitted within the last ten years shows 78 per cent in 1942, 64 per cent in 1944, 56 per cent in 1947, 62 per cent in 1949 and 52 per cent in 1951.

An average of the 38-year period shows 72 per cent of the electorate voting for governor casting ballots on proposals submitted.

After years of observation we can look upon direct legislation as only an adjunct to the regular legislative process, resorted to as a means of carrying out the public will when an enlivened public opinion demands it or as a method of accomplishing that purpose when such will has been thwarted by the legislative body.

The interest which precipitated the initiative and referendum in Ohio has gradually subsided, as evidenced by

(Continued on page 174)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Kentucky Study Urges Constitution Changes

Advocates Continued Governmental Study

A FINAL report has been submitted to Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby by Kentucky's Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government, authorized by the legislature and appointed by Governor Earle C. Clements in 1950. The committee was directed to make "a comprehensive study and survey of the requirements, needs and responsibilities of the state government." During a period of eighteen months, intensive research and many committee discussions were conducted, and some twenty research reports and memoranda were prepared for the committee—chiefly by the staff of the Legislative Research Commission supplemented by additional personnel employed by the committee.

The life of the committee ended December 31, 1951. The 70-page final report, embodying its findings and recommendations, was prepared by the staff of the Legislative Research Commission, headed by Dr. Arthur Y. Lloyd, who also served as executive secretary and research director for the committee. It was submitted to the governor in January by Edward S. Dabney, of the Security Trust Company, Lexington, committee chairman. The vice chairman was James W. Martin of the University of Kentucky.

The committee was not charged with the duty of preparing a plan of state reorganization, but it urged that there be a re-examination and comprehensive study of the entire structure of the administration, giving attention to its relationships to the judicial and legislative branches, to the federal government and to local governments. It pointed out several examples of the scattering of responsibility for state functions. Various specific recommendations in the nature of changes in organization were made, some of them involving amendment of the state constitution. One sweeping recommendation was that the constitution "be revised to make possible the appointment of all state administrative officials except the governor and the lieutenant governor, and to enable the selection by the legislature of the auditor of public accounts." A true merit system for administrative employees, other than department heads and policy officials, was advocated.

State-local Relations

In the field of state-local relations it was recommended that the constitution be amended to permit the legislature to determine which county officers should be elected and which appointed. The legislature was urged to enact liberal home rule legislation for cities. The committee recommended the strengthening of the office of state-local finance officer in the Department of Revenue, making his services available to cities as well as counties and giving him supervision of all revenue debt issues of cities and counties. A finance officer was also urged for each county, to be appointed by the county judge with the approval of the "fiscal court" (composed of justices of the peace); but it was further recommended that the fiscal court be superseded by county commissioners elected at large; also that each county be empowered to decide whether to retain the fee system or to compensate officers by salaries—the justices of the peace to be paid salaries rather than fees, however.

Legislative encouragement of consolidation of counties, school districts and other units of government, for economy and functional efficiency, was recommended.

Among numerous other recommendations the following may be noted:

The constitution should be amended to permit distribution of the entire common school fund on other than a census pupil basis (as is now required for all but 25 per cent) so as to promote equality of educational facilities and opportunities in all localities; to permit appointment of a qualified superintendent of public instruction—now elected for a four-year term; and to permit appointment of members of boards of colleges and universities for terms of six years or more.

Local tax commissions should be appointive rather than elective.

The Department of Highways should develop an over-all program balanced as to through routes, county roads and city streets and, as a long-range objective, should obtain authority over all roads in the state.

The legislature should create a Youth Authority to which all juvenile offenders would be committed.

A separate department of mental hospitals should be created.

Recognizing the wide scope of the task given the committee, and the desirability of further and more exhaustive study, the committee stressed a recommendation that another similar citizens advisory committee be appointed to work with the Legislative Research Commission and to make recommendations to the governor and legislature "for the continued improvement of the government of the commonwealth."

New Mexico Reorganization Committee Makes Studies

Created by the legislature in 1951, the New Mexico State Reorganization Committee has completed background surveys of the state and its administrative structure, the office of governor, several less important offices, state police, adjutant general, numerous funds, financial administration generally and the bureau of revenue in particular, public school administration, state land office, penal and reformatory institutions, and so on.

The function of the committee is to study the state executive branch and to submit by June 30, 1952, a report with recommendations for reorganization. Economy and efficiency are to be promoted and attention is to be given to "coordinating and streamlining the powers, functions and duties of state agencies and elective officers, within the constitutional limitations."

Other subjects of investigation are the budget system, personnel, corporation commission and other means of economic control, oil conservation commission and other agencies designed to conserve and develop natural resources, higher education, mines and mining, labor and employment, agriculture and rural problems, health and welfare, reorganization by departments and many possible improvements in organization and management.

The committee has already agreed on certain basic principles as a result of the research done to date. These include, among others, approval of a merit system for state employees, reorganization by departments, revision of present budget system and establishment of an improved system of accounting and reporting.

The committee is composed of seven members—three appointed by the governor, two by the president of the Senate and two by the speaker of the House. The act required that in selecting the committee "the appointing officers shall consult with each other and, if possible, appoint at least one member of said committee having theoretical and practical knowledge of state government generally and the functions and duties of state agencies and elective officers, one member of the state bar familiar with state agencies and elective officers, one member familiar with the budgets and fiscal affairs of state agencies and elective officers, one member experienced in office management and personnel supervision, one auditor or accountant and two members at large."

Chairman of the committee is Earl L. Moulton, president of the Charles Ilfeld Company of Albuquerque; its secretary is Dr. Thomas C. Donnelly, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of New Mexico; and its work is directed by Dr. Frederick F. Blachly and Dr. Miriam E. Oatman, both formerly with Brookings Institution. Consultant services are provided by Princeton Surveys. A small staff of research workers is investigating special topics.

Georgia Outlaws Popular Vote for President

A bill barring the names of candidates for president or vice president from Georgia ballots in the national elections was signed on February 4 by Governor Herman Talmadge. It is claimed that the new law will give him virtually complete control over Georgia's twelve electoral votes this year.

Besides attempting to remove moral as well as legal obligations of individual electors to vote for specific candidates, the law creates a three-member board consisting of the governor, the secretary of state and the attorney general, with sole power to rule on any disputes arising under the act. It also makes it much more difficult for minor parties to get representatives on the ballot by requiring petitions to be signed by at least 200 voters in each of 100 out of Georgia's 159 counties.

An amendment in the Senate makes the law effective for only four years.

Permanent Registration Furthered in N Y. State

A report on virtues and defects of permanent personal registration was forwarded on February 4 to the New York legislature by Governor Thomas E. Dewey without recommendation. The report was based on research conducted by Dr. Robert F. Ray, director of the Institute of Public Affairs at the State University of Iowa, who was appointed last June by Governor Dewey to make an objective study of P. P. R. from the standpoints of cost and fraud. It found that although the first cost is high the systems in operation elsewhere have proved less costly than the periodic system prevalent in New York and that P. P. R. provides more safeguards against fraud. No marked effect on the extent of voter participation in elections was found.

Although favored by the Democratic party in New York State, P. P. R. is not endorsed by legislative leaders of the dominant Republican party. However, a bill for P. P. R., sponsored by the League of Women Voters of New York State, has been introduced by prominent Republicans —Senator Pliny W. Williamson and Assemblyman John R. Brook.

The Ray report contained 22 recommendations as to safeguards for a permanent registration system. Governor Dewey commented that the present bills do not contain all of these.

Providence Solicits Voters' Registration

Local boards of canvassers in Providence, Rhode Island, are stimulating voter enrollment under the state's new permanent registration law. A large trailer has been made available to the canvassers and will cover the city, street by street. The trailer is large enough to accommodate about a dozen persons besides the two clerks who man it during the registration drive. Primary emphasis is on getting voter-housewives registered. Schedules of the route of the mobile registration unit, including shopping centers, are well advertised.

Under Rhode Island's new permanent registration law, voters must sign the lists before July 1 to be able to vote in this year's primaries.

Southwestern Civil Defense Compact Signed

The governors of Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas have signed a six-state civil defense and disaster compact. Subsequent ratification by the Kansas legislature was necessary for that state to join. The compact is reported to be in substantial accord with the civil defense compact developed initially in the northeast in 1950.

Wisconsin Redistricting Referendum Challenged

The right of the Wisconsin legislature to condition state reapportionment on an advisory referendum concerning partial use of an area basis[1] has been challenged in a test suit. The citizen group bringing it seeks to require use of the legislative districts, tentatively established on a population basis by the 1951 legislature, in the 1952 fall election of state officials.

The State Supreme Court on January 11, 1952, refused to hear the suit without prior action by the circuit court.

The Wisconsin constitution provides that representation in both houses of the legislature shall be based on population. Use of area would therefore require amendment. Both houses of fifteen other states are also apportioned on the basis of population. All other states depart from population as the basis of apportionment either in the upper house, the lower house or both.

Wisconsin's state representation is based on the 1930 census, but in that reapportionment the districts were merely shuffled slightly within counties. Wisconsin, therefore, really belongs in the list of seventeen states which had their last reapportionment of both houses before 1930.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the 1920 census—the basis for Wisconsin's latest comprehensive reapportionment—was the last to report Wisconsin as having a predominantly rural population. The urbanization has continued and the 1950 census indicates 58 per cent of the population living in urban territory.

The legislature has had the maximum number of members authorized in the constitution since the reapportionment of 1862, 100 in the Assembly and 33 in the Senate. Each assembly district should therefore have about 1 per cent of the state's population and each senatorial district about 3 per cent.

According to the 1950 census Milwaukee, Wisconsin's largest city, is entitled to eighteen state assemblymen and six senators. Wards cannot be divided in the formation of assembly and senatorial districts. Milwaukee has had 27 wards since 1931. The 1949 legislature set a 90-day deadline after the official population census became known for the redistricting of the city's wards by the common council.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1951, page 423.

Assembly districts in Milwaukee County are also the districts for the election of supervisors to the county board. In February 1950 the common council of Milwaukee adopted a formula which provided that the city's wards are to be automatically redistricted after each federal census on the basis of having each ward as nearly 1 per cent of the state's population as possible. Three wards would then be a "natural" senatorial district, and each ward would be a "natural" assembly district and a county supervisor district as well. Thus, a single redistricting would assure fair representation in the common council, the county board and the legislature.

The council appointed a committee of city employees and representatives of civic groups to redistrict the city's 27 wards into eighteen wards—each to have about 1 per cent of the state's population. The director of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau was chairman.

In November 1950, the council accepted the committee's plan, prepared by combining census tracts into eighteen wards according to the 1 per cent formula. The reapportionment passed by the legislature—contingent on the outcome of the statewide referendum—also accepted the eighteen wards as the districts for the election of assemblymen, and combined these wards into groups of three to form Milwaukee's six senatorial districts. Possibility of a referendum caused the Milwaukee council to postpone the effective date of the eighteen-ward plan. The April 1952 aldermanic election will be held on the basis of the old 27 wards.

Paula Lynagh

Citizens' Governmental
Research Bureau, Milwaukee

Puerto Rico Convention Approves New Constitution

On February 4 the Puerto Rico constitutional convention, by a vote of 88 to 3, approved in final form a home rule constitution, scheduled for submission to the voters in March. If approved by the voters it will go to the United States Congress for final action.

The document, including a bill of rights, closely follows the form of the United States constitution.

A serious dispute arose over a proposed clause defining the island's relationship to the United States. Rewritten to read, "To form a more perfect association with the United States," by substituting "association" for "union" to satisfy nationalist sentiment, the change was not acceptable to statehood advocates and the clause was deleted entirely.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

On February 11 a council-manager charter was adopted in **Vancouver, Washington,** (1950 population 41,644) by a vote of 4,313 to 2,023. The total vote was 34 per cent of the registration. Seven council members were also elected, to take office March 6 under the new charter. The council is elected at large; the three members receiving the largest vote in the 1952 election serve until 1956, the other four until 1954.

The voters of **Marine City, Michigan,** (1950 population 4,270) adopted a council-manager charter on December

10, 1951, by a vote of over two to one, and elected a commission (council) of seven, to take office immediately and initiate the new form of government. The latter replaces a 50-year-old charter.

Recent adoptions of the council-manager plan have taken place in **Mountain View, California,** (6,536) and **Uvalde, Texas,** (8,674).

In the town of **Stoneham, Massachusetts,** reported last year (April, page 212) as adopting the manager plan by a majority of two, a recount showed 1,415 votes in opposition and only 1,408 in favor and 369 blanks. Legislation provides, however, that the question must be placed on the ballot again this year and, if not successful, again next year. A 1950 vote favoring the plan 1,682 to 1,413 was declared illegal.

Newport, Rhode Island, voted for a charter commission on January 29. It is now at work on a council-manager charter to be presented to the voters next November.

In **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** at a special election of a charter commission on January 29, all nine candidates supported by the Citizens League were elected. Although these candidates advocated no particular type of charter their opponents, who favored the strong mayor type, had charged that the Citizens League candidates were for the council-manager plan. The voters were not dismayed.

In **Bristol, Rhode Island,** officials of the rubber workers' union arranged an open forum for discussion of the council-manager plan, as part of the union's educational program. M. A. Tamburro, union field representative and a council-manager advocate, stated that the decision to hold the forum did not constitute union endorsement of the manager plan, and that the union members would vote as they pleased. The forum was reported to be the first move toward public discussion of the plan. A charter election is scheduled for the near future.

In **New York City** the *Herald Tribune,* in commenting editorially on the recurrent municipal financial crisis, suggested overhauling of the city's governmental structure, with the possibility that a city manager, "free of politics and solely devoted to business administration, could bring results."

The **Ellenville, New York,** Taxpayers Association is investigating the pros and cons of the manager plan.

The **Hoboken, New Jersey,** charter study commission is planning to send a ballot to every citizen for a straw vote on preferences as to type of charter. The *Jersey Journal* will present digests of the four proposed types—council-manager, strong mayor and council, commission as at present, and commission revised.

The **Miami, Florida,** city commission has appointed a committee to draft a new charter.

Chattahoochee, Florida, on February 5 rejected 179 to 104 a proposal to substitute a commission-manager plan for its existing mayor-council government.

Marysville, Michigan, which has had the manager plan since 1920, has voted two to one for a charter revision commission of nine to draft a modern council-manager charter.

In **Moline, Illinois,** a committee of seven has been exploring the manager plan, preparatory to submitting recommendations to the Association of Commerce.

The city council of **Highland Park, Illinois,** has appointed as city collector a former administrative assistant to the city manager of Portsmouth, Ohio, with the intention of making him a city manager to a considerable extent, after six months experience under the present city clerk and acting collector. The new appointee would then have charge of all departments except those of the city clerk, city treasurer and corporation counsel. At the council meeting, on December 28, 1951, much opposition to the move was expressed by representatives of civic organizations, chiefly on the score that the so-called manager would not have adequate authority such as under a true council-manager plan — adoption of which would require a referendum election.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Olney, Illinois,** particularly by the local radio station, WVLN.

Three of the five city commissioners of **Phenix City, Alabama,** announced support of the manager plan after it was endorsed at a meeting of 225 women on January 25, following the bombing of the home of an anti-vice crusader.

The **Biloxi, Mississippi,** Business Men's Club is sponsoring an educational campaign as to the council-manager plan, with the cooperation of ten other civic clubs.

A proposal to adopt the council-manager plan in **Cape Girardeau, Missouri,** was defeated on February 19 by a vote of 3,190 to 660. The plan was vigorously opposed by labor unions.

In **Topeka, Kansas,** the League of Women Voters has initiated a campaign for the manager plan.

Maine University Produces More Managers

That "the proof of the pudding is in the eating" seems to be indicated by the favorable reception accorded graduates of the University of Maine's city manager training program. The town of Bethel, Vermont, has hired three in succession. Its first manager, Paul Hermann, moved on to Bennington after three years and was followed by William Hatch in 1950; Hatch was recalled to military service late in 1951 and was followed by Theodore Nelson. Similarly, Mars Hill, Maine, hired Jerry Haynes in 1950 and when he was recalled to service in 1951 engaged Donald Waring as his successor. Leonard Bishop, Jr., became the first graduate to manage two communities simultaneously when he took on Levant in 1951, while continuing with nearby Carmel.

Eight graduates of the University of Maine's manager training program are now serving second communities in Maine or elsewhere; ten are managing their first towns; five hold other municipal jobs such as purchasing agent; four are serving in the armed forces and one is continuing his studies at the University of Pennsylvania. The remaining eight graduates have gravitated to private business—four of them directly. Managerial salaries have lagged sadly behind inflation and consequently some graduates decide that the combination of uncertain tenure, long hours, heavy responsibilities and low pay more than offsets the fascinatingly varied aspects of a career in local public service.

Basic features of the university's manager curriculum remain unchanged since its inauguration in 1945: an undergraduate program open to arts and technology students gives a special degree in public management at the end of four years, an M.A. for a fifth year. Accounting, surveying, highway and sanitary engineering, municipal government and administration, personnel management—these are typical courses.

Success of the program is due largely to veteran managers who take one or more "interns" and put them through a course of sprouts—which may include drafting financial reports, writing the annual report and acting as a substitute for the tax collector, purchasing agent, welfare officer or even the manager, while they take their annual vacations. Undergraduates are carefully screened for character, personality and ability—currently 40 students are enrolled, ranging in age from 17 to 53 years.

Leo Morency, a senior, is enjoying the unusual opportunity of seeing his future job from both sides of the table, for he is a member of the city council in his home town and chairman of the junior chamber of commerce. Here is one future manager who will never forget the public point of view as represented by the city council!

EDWARD F. DOW, *Director,*
Manager Training Program
University of Maine

Seventeen Washington Cities in Civil Defense Pact

King County, Washington, and seventeen cities and towns in the county—the largest of which is Seattle—have entered into a mutual aid civil defense agreement. It provides that each party to the agreement shall furnish the King County Office of Civil Defense an inventory of its facilities, equipment and man power available for civil defense use. If any municipality in the agreement suffers a disaster requiring aid from the others, such aid will be supplied, at its request through the county office, in the maximum amount of equipment, facilities and man power that the assisting governments can reasonably spare. It is also agreed that all possible facilities for receiving and caring for evacuees will be furnished.

Whiteville, N. C., Has Radio Program for Year

Using time donated by a local radio station for a weekly radio program, Whiteville, North Carolina, has presented its municipal problems and accomplishments to its citizens for a year. City officials report a changed attitude toward the city government—even complaints show more understanding of local government.

Conference on Legal Problems of Local Government

The University of Buffalo School of Law has sponsored for the first time an annual conference on legal problems of local government, held at the school February 5 and 6. The conference was opened with a talk by Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore of New York State. Municipal bonds were discussed by Arnold Frye of New York City. On February 6 the topics were special districts and tort liability of local governments.

Upson Fellowships Offered for Third Year

The Citizens Research Council of Michigan (formerly the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research) announces for the third year the offering of five Lent D. Upson fellowships, in honor of the late director of the bureau, for graduate training in public administration. Instruction is given at Wayne University, with on-the-job training in the Research Council. They are for twelve to fifteen months beginning in July or September 1952. Information may be secured from Loren B. Miller, executive director of the Research Council, 810 Farwell Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Recommends Business Methods for County

Oneida, N. Y., Survey Calls for Appointive Executive

IN response to a resolution adopted last summer by the Oneida County, New York, Board of Supervisors, there has been released an exhaustive study of the county's government.[1] The Municipal Research Bureau of Utica contributed its efforts as a public service.

The survey committee of 25 concludes that Oneida County is engaged in big business and that it should be organized along business lines. It emphasizes that the first requirement is for a single executive responsible and accountable for the management of administrative activities. The committee urges that the county executive be appointed by the board of supervisors solely on the basis of his training, ability and experience as an administrator, asserting "politics and residence should have no part in his selection." It suggests a term of at least four years, but believes that the administrator should be removed at any time for reasons and by procedures outlined in the law.

The committee observes that, "Present functions and activities of an administrative nature now dispersed among 76 separate departments, boards, commissions and committees would be consolidated." It recommends creation of departments of finance, law, public welfare, public works, public safety, records and licenses, and public health. "These seven departments," the committee continues, "each with a head appointed by the county executive, would constitute the administrative system of the county government. All county activities would be brought into the framework of these departments and each county function would be placed in the department that could most economically and effectively perform that particular function. . . . The consolidation of all administrative activities into seven departments under the unified control of a county executive would provide Oneida County with a modern administrative structure organized to meet the present and future needs of a county destined to assume an increasingly important role as a unit of local government."

Nevada Discusses County Consolidation

Consolidation of counties is a subject of continuing interest and discussion in Nevada. Current arguments in its favor center mainly on the drastic shifts in population which have taken place in recent years. Proponents declare that consolidation would undoubtedly save considerable sums in cost of administration. In a few instances, the staffs of the new counties might require additions but, they assert, the new total would be considerably smaller than the present staff in all counties.

In 1948 the Nevada Legislative Bureau issued a bulletin suggesting consolidation of the present seventeen counties into nine new ones.

Consolidation would require legislative action under section 36 of article IV of the constitution, which states:

---

[1] *A Study of the Government of Oneida County,* Oneida County Survey Committee, Utica, December 1951, 80 pages.

"The legislature shall not abolish any county unless the qualified voters of the county affected shall, at a general or special election, first approve such proposed abolishment by a majority of all voters voting at such election.

"The legislature shall provide by law the method of initiating and conducting such election."

The Nevada Taxpayers Association recently declared:

"Even those who are opposed to any county consolidation plan will agree that the legislature should comply with the implied request of the constitution in setting up the necessary laws for county abolishment. While it is true that the constitution does not specifically state that the legislature *must* provide such a law, nevertheless, the intent of the wording 'shall provide' would appear to be that such a law would be forthcoming.

"It is hoped that the legislature will take such action in its next session. It is a strange anomaly to have a constitution set up the method by which the citizenry may exercise their will, and then to have such action thwarted by the failure of the legislature to provide the enabling law."

Maine Paper Recommends Abolition of County

The *Sentinel* of Waterville, Maine, has expressed itself in favor of abolishing all county government in the state. Its editorial commented:

"The statement from the attorney general's office of irregularities in the accounts of some county officials and the arrest of one such gives another reason why this unnecessary branch of our government should be abolished. It has been known for a long time that the county organization serves no good purpose and that all of the functions of its officials could easily be taken over at the state or town level, but people are very slow to change especially if something in the line of office holding is concerned. Those in office do not like the idea of a change and those who hope to obtain a county office are of course against any such move."

King Co. Charter Commission Defeats Opposition

The work of the Board of Freeholders of King County, Washington, is meeting with opposition. Leaders of both major political parties have attempted to prevent the allocation of funds necessary to employ a charter draftsman. At a public hearing before the county commissioners, the charter board chairman explained that the county law was voluminous and, since King County was the first in the state to draft its own charter, "it presents a tremendous legal job in an uncharted field." The attempts of the chairman of the King County Democratic Committee and the president of the Young Men's Republican Club failed when the county commissioners unanimously approved the request of the freeholders for $3,240 with which to employ an attorney to draft the charter.

Opponents then attacked the action of the county commissioners in approving the request by bringing a taxpayers' suit in the Superior Court, where they were once again defeated. On February 16 Judge Henry Clay Agnew declared:

"The court is of the opinion that it is King County that is framing a charter. The fifteen freeholders are merely the agency created by the amendment for the purpose of acting for the county. In the opinion of the court they are either officers, agents or employees of the county.

"It is true that the amendment does not specifically provide that the county shall pay the expense necessarily incident but, inasmuch as it provides that the county may frame a home rule charter and that such home rule charter is for said county, I cannot see any other ruling possible than that the expense incident to it is a governmental expense."

Colorado Counties and Cities Exchange Cooperation Pledge

Both the president of the Colorado State Association of County Commissioners, speaking before the convention of the Colorado Municipal League, and the league's president, addressing the convention of the county commissioners, stressed the need for cooperation between county and municipal governments.

Milwaukee County Welfare Reorganized

As a result of a law passed by Wisconsin's 1951 legislature, Milwaukee County has established a single public welfare board to replace its two boards of public welfare—one in charge of institutions and the other responsible for non-institutional public assistance. The director of the central administrative agency will be appointed by the public welfare board from a civil service list, and he will be responsible for managing, operating, maintaining and improving the county institutions and "home relief." He will appoint the heads of the institutions and major units from a civil service list, with the approval of the board.

Texas to Study Its Counties

The Texas Legislative Council has initiated action to study the changes believed needed in county government. It is contemplated that some changes may require constitutional revision.

County Highway Techniques Advance

According to a recent issue of *Better Roads,* county highway construction techniques have made marked advances in the past two decades. One article describes the progress in soils investigations by Oneida County, New York, and another describes the use of air photos by Ingham County, Michigan, for highway construction work. The soil surveys help determine the location and design of important county roads and extend the life of bridges and pavement. Air photos are especially valuable in determining natural drainage contours as well as in locating potential gravel pits. They greatly reduce the amount of time needed by ground crews for these activities.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

State-local Debt Reaches New Peak

1951 Figure Runs Eleven Billion Over Low of 1946

STATE and local debt in the United States reached a new peak of $27,040,000,000 on June 30, 1951, according to the annual estimates of the Bureau of the Census (*Governmental Debt in 1951,* Washington, D. C., December 1951). The total was $2,849,000,000 above that of a year earlier and $11,118,000,000 above the low registered following the close of the war, in 1946. At the 1951 date the obligations of the states amounted to $6,373,000,000 and those of local governments to $20,667,000,000.

The increase from 1950 to 1951 was less than during the preceding year, before credit restraints and material shortages arising from the Korean conflict slowed down construction schedules, but it reflected a continuation of postwar improvement programs at all levels of local government. Borrowing for these programs had by mid-1949 wiped out all the debt reduction accomplished during the war years, when state-local improvement work ground to a virtual halt, as shown by a summary of the estimated state-local debt from 1940 to 1951 set forth in the table below:

By far the larger part of the local indebtedness, as in earlier years, is the obligation of the cities. Cities represented $11,721,000,000 or 43.3 per cent of the 1951 total. School districts accounted for $3,257,000,000 or 12.0 per cent, while county debt was $1,875,000,000 or 6.9 per cent of the total. Townships represented $411,000,000 or 1.5 per cent, and a variety of special districts accounted for the remaining $3,403,000,000. Indebtedness incurred for water, electric, gas and transit systems accounted for $4,373,000,000 of the total city indebtedness and $1,035,000,000 of the special district debt.

Percentagewise, the largest increase in local indebtedness from mid-1950 to 1951 was shown by the school districts, with a gain of 20.2 per cent. Cities and special districts each registered increases of 7.5 per cent, while the county debt rose by 9.8 per cent. State debt in 1951 was 18.9 per cent higher than in 1950.

Significantly, while state-local debt has risen to successive new peaks the last several years, the cost of servicing it is still below that of prewar years. Interest payments by cities for the fiscal year 1950 were estimated at $313,000,000 compared with $419,000,000 in 1932 when city debt was less than ten billion dollars. Interest for all state-local debt in 1950 was an

STATE-LOCAL DEBT (*In Thousands*)

June 30	*State Debt*	*Local Debt*	Total
1940	$3,526,000	$16,720,000	$20,246,000
1946	2,358,000	13,564,000	15,922,000
1947	2,978,000	13,847,000	16,825,000
1948	3,722,000	14,980,000	18,702,000
1949	4,024,000	16,851,000	20,875,000
1950	5,361,000	18,830,000	24,191,000
1951	6,373,000	20,667,000	27,040,000

estimated $615,000,000 compared with $840,000,000 in 1932 when the state-local debt was about two-thirds as large as at present. The situation reflects the relatively low interest costs prevailing since the late 1930s and especially since the war.

Officials Hail State Grants of Taxing Powers

Reviewing the action taken by states in 1951 to relieve the needs of cities for additional revenues, the Municipal Finance Officers Association found that at least fourteen states enacted legislation extending new grants of taxing power to their municipalities.

Notable among the new authorizations was the permission granted by Tennessee for a local 10 per cent tax on beer. During the second half of 1951, according to the association, 85 cities and counties took advantage of the enactment to impose local levies. A use tax on liquor sales was authorized in California and West Virginia allowed cities to impose taxes on motor vehicles and domestic animals as well as a per capita tax.

Washington granted authority to its counties to levy a 1 per cent tax on real estate sales, proceeds of which must be allocated to the support of local school districts. New York granted New York City permission to increase its sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent. Montana okayed a 2 per cent city tax on punch boards. New Mexico authorized a 1 cent per pack cigarette tax for recreational purposes.

North Dakota became the 48th state which uses the state administered-locally shared tax device. It added 1 cent to its cigarette tax, the proceeds of which are to be distributed to the cities. Nebraska imposed a new tax on insurance companies which it halves with its municipalities. Wyoming imposed a 2 cents per pack cigarette tax, proceeds of which are to go to all local government units in the state, less a charge of 2 per cent for administration.

Licensing powers of cities were increased by several states: Illinois cities may tax amusement and vending machines; Minnesota municipalities can license elevator operators, cigarette dealers and mechanical amusement devices; South Dakota cities may now retain liquor license fees which formerly went to the state; and Texas doubled the license rate for juke boxes.

Several states permitted or extended the authority of their cities to use sewer service charges, including Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York and West Virginia. North Dakota now permits the imposition of garbage refuse collection charges.

Oregon has allocated part of the state liquor revenue to its cities and Kansas increased the cities' share of the state motor fuel vehicle tax.

Dutch Cities Find Borrowing Costly

Sharply contrasting with efforts in the United States to combat inflationary influences by stiffening interest costs to borrowers is the situation in the Netherlands, where the Dutch government is fostering a "cheap money" policy which has all but barred municipalities from the capital market.

The story is told in a dispatch to the *New York Times* on February 3, 1952, describing the efforts of Dutch municipalities to raise funds for housing construction in the face of a government regulation prohibiting them from paying more than 4 per cent interest. (The *Daily Bond Buyer's* latest index of municipal bond yields here stood just a shade over 2 per cent!)

Four per cent loan issues ac-

(Continued on page 171)

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Minneapolis Citizens League Organized

Formation Follows Study by Investigating Committee

LED BY prominent members of the community, citizens of Minneapolis, after several months of study and investigation, have organized the Citizens' League of Greater Minneapolis. At an organizational meeting on February 14 a 27-member board of directors, including leaders in various civic activities, was elected and by-laws adopted. Hereafter the board will comprise eighteen directors elected for three-year staggered terms.

As set forth in its articles of incorporation, the purposes of the league are: To investigate, study and disseminate information concerning governmental affairs of Minneapolis and the surrounding metropolitan area; to promote the honest and efficient performance of governmental functions; to encourage the choice of competent officials; to promote the welfare of the citizens.

Within a two-weeks period during late February and early March the new organization held some 38 evening "fireside" meetings with attendance between 15 and 30.

Leaders of the committee which investigated the feasibility of forming such an organization included members of a group which led a 1951 campaign to reduce the membership of the Minneapolis city council from 26 to 13. Their success prompted them to consider establishment of a continuing organization which would deal with many civic problems.

Meetings arranged by the committee were addressed by Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League, and C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League. For three days both men spoke before a series of meetings—from breakfast until evening. Audiences included the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, 100 business leaders, 200 interested men and women, a group of representative women including officers of the League of Women Voters, the Council of Community Clubs and a group of liberal leaders.

New and Old in Civic Organizations

A group of men and women in Briarcliff Manor and Briarcliff School District, New York, has formed the Briarcliff Civic Association. The organization is intended as a forum for discussion of village affairs as well as a means of sounding out public opinion for the guidance of elected officials. It is planned as "a permanent citizens organization available at all times to our local boards for communicating facts and enlisting public support of important plans and projects." The association will work through standing committees each covering a different phase of village affairs.

Leaders of the Committee of 100 of Yonkers, New York, long inactive in civic affairs, are considering a revival of the organization to deal with pressing public problems. Since 1938, when it began operations in connection with the city budget discussion, it has worked for charter improvements, more adequate public information on tax lien compromise applications, reorganization of city pension systems, etc. One of its major achievements was its aid in the fight of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* for open sessions of all municipal council, school board and other public group meetings.

What Goes with the Voters in 1952

With a presidential election looming in 1952, many organizations are urging voters to register and get out to the polls on primary and election days.

"You *can* nominate a president," says Miss Janet Uren in *Forward*, bulletin of the League of Women Voters of Wisconsin. "Wisconsin is one of sixteen states in which delegates to national party conventions are elected directly by the people in a presidential preference primary. . . . The Wisconsin voter, casting his ballot in the spring election on April 1, has an opportunity, through his choice of convention delegates, to affect the action of the convention and participate in the process of nominating his party's candidate for the highest office in our government."

In its *Voters Guide to the 1952 Elections,* the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana asks, "Your candidate—will he measure up to the need of the office he seeks?" Pointing out that, since Louisiana has a one-party system, the primaries are of particular significance, voters are called upon to register and to "size up the candidates." "Participation by citizens in the election of officials is the key to the success of a democracy." The pamphlet lists candidates for state offices with biographical material. It makes no recommendations.

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, in its *Municipal News* for February 2, lists local candidates for the February primary election, with biographical material and league "comment," prepared after interviews with candidates. In the same city the League of Women Voters held a "Candidate's Merry-go-round" to which all voters were invited to hear those seeking election to local office.

"1952 Election Facts" is a four-page folder issued by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy. It lists the number of officials to be voted on in Philadelphia this year, present officials of the city, shows ward boundaries and population, lists dates on the election calendar and qualifications for voting.

The League of Women Voters of New York State and its local branches are once again striving to secure passage of a permanent personal registration bill by the legislature.[1] The league has been joined in its efforts by the Democratic and Liberal parties as well as the newly formed Election Reform Committee, headed by Bruce Bromley, Republican, former associate judge of the State Court of Appeals. The League of Women Voters believes that under permanent registration: "more people will be able to vote, money will be saved, registration lists will be more accurate, voters will have increased protection, party work will be more effective."

Those 'Hoover' Commissions

The city of Chicago now boasts a "Little Hoover Commission," appointed by Mayor Kennelly to investigate city expenditures. Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago and a member of the Chicago City Club, which endorsed the proposal, has been named staff director. In supporting the proposal, John A. Lapp, president of the City Club, commented: "The club believes that the results obtained by the Schaefer commission in Illinois and the Hoover commission in Washington justify a similar commission for Chicago. . . . The City Club is convinced that such a study will disclose poor administrative organization in some departments, overlapping of functions by departments, and some unnecessary municipal functions and expenditures."

---

[1] See also page 148, this issue.

The Detroit Citizens League's *Civic Searchlight* publishes a story on Michigan's "Little Hoover Commission," which recently rendered its final report.[1] The article describes the part played by the 45 citizens from various sections of the state who provide "the reaction to the recommendations made by the research staff. Such reaction is reported to the joint committee in the form of approval, disapproval or amendment. . . . The Citizens Advisory Committee has been industrious and faithful to the trust reposed in it . . .," says the story. "All in all, a vast amount of time and effort has been contributed by the members . . . in this matter of governmental reorganization."

Apropos of securing passage of legislation before Congress to complete reorganization of the federal administration in line with recommendations of the Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report sets forth "A Plan." "You are part of a Plan," says a recent circular, "to secure action on one of the BIG SIX bills by May 31."

The committee's lists for each state have been divided into six parts, each sixth is asked to concentrate on only one of the six bills, writing senators and representatives. Members of the proper Senate and House committees are reported. "Each mailing is being geared to a special action by our BIG SIX committee chairmen," says the committee. "The effectiveness of the PLAN therefore depends on each task force member writing at the specified time."

* * *

Strive for Merit System

A coordinating committee on government personnel has been established by 27 representatives of citizen organizations in Illinois, reports the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Its chief aim is to educate citizen groups and the people as a whole to recognize the part that effective personnel practice plays in good government. Specific problems will be studied in cooperation with the Illinois Civil Service Commission. The radio program, "Know Your Illinois," devoted one of its broadcasts to why good personnel administration should be of concern to the citizen.

The Connecticut Merit System Association published its "Annual Report 1950-1951," by William E. C. Bulkeley, president, in January's *Merit Man.* During the past two years the organization, which covers local governments as well as the state, increased its membership by 320. Numerous projects were accomplished during 1950-1951:

The association aided materially in securing passage of an amendment to the New Britain merit system act concerning the civil service commission and adoption by the New Britain city council of the compensation and classification plan which had waited two years for passage. It reviewed the New Haven civil service system and has investigated complaints arising under it. It drafted and submitted three bills affecting the state merit system: a modernized enabling act for municipalities, an act making the personnel department an independent government unit and a constitutional amendment providing for the merit principle in making government appointments, working unsuccessfully for their adoption. The report lists numerous other activities.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 57.

* * *

News on Manager Front

In its study of the council-manager plan, the Chamber of Commerce of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, mailed a questionnaire to some 56 manager cities of approximately the same size. Results are tabulated in a seven-page mimeographed pamphlet. Of 46 replies from cities where the plan has been in effect for some time, 45 replied yes to the question, "Is it efficient?", one replied no. On the question, "Is it popular?", 42 replied yes, three said no, and one made no comment. The questionnaires were sent to the executive directors of chambers of commerce in the cities concerned.

The League of Women Voters of Hoboken, New Jersey, is continuing its efforts to secure council-manager government for that city. It has urged local citizens to attend meetings of the local commission charged with recommending a new charter for the city.

A revised version of its proposed new council-manager charter for Long Beach, California, on which it has been working for several years, has been published by that city's Civic League. Aiding in the revision is Dr. Edwin A. Cottrell of the Haynes Foundation, professor emeritus of Stanford University.

The text of a report on the town government of Wethersfield, Connecticut, prepared by a special committee, was unanimously adopted by the Businessmen's and Civic Association early this year. As a result, a town meeting may be called to act on choosing a charter commission. The report favors adoption of the town manager plan as against a proposal to make the town's first selectman, an elected member of the governing body, a full-time employee. "It is the opinion of your committee," says the report, "that the town manager offers greater assurance of sound government. . . . Your committee recommends that the association go on record in favor of council-manager government . . . and for the appointment of a town committee to prepare a charter providing for this form of government to be submitted to the town for approval at town meeting and to the next session of the General Assembly for enactment into law."

A citizens meeting in Wethersfield, sponsored by the Charter-Council Manager Association, was addressed by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, and Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Governmental Research Institute of Hartford.

* * *

Community Councils

Community councils in Michigan are listed in the December 1951 *Michigan Community News Letter,* published by the University of Michigan's School of Education and the Extension Service "in the interest of community adult education." Forty-seven communities, ranging from Mesick with a population of 359 to Detroit, with 1,838,517, have such councils. In Detroit a Federation of Community Councils is made up of some fourteen neighborhood groups. Short histories of each organization are reported.

The same organization has published an attractive leaflet, *What Some Communities Have Done for Themselves—A Catalogue of Community Activities* (31 pages). It covers reports on community cooperation, community service, adult education, recreation, youth activities and self-surveys.

The story of community clinics and developments councils in Arkansas is told by C. Hamilton Moses, president of the Arkansas Economic Council and State Chamber of Commerce in *The American City* for January. The community leadership program has been at work in Arkansas since 1943. Sponsored by the Arkansas Economic Council, an organization of 1,200 citizens, and the State Resources and Development Commission, it is designed to encourage communities to solve their own problems. It provides community counsellors and stimulates citizenship interest in local problems by the conduct of community clinics.

Community development councils formed as a result of the plan, representing local civic clubs, churches, veterans' groups, labor unions, farm agencies and women's clubs, furnish the leadership for community action, reports Mr. Moses. "Great emphasis is placed on the 'Build Your Home Town' aspect of the program—to make it a better community in which to live and raise children, and to maintain the interest of high school graduates and young people so that they will not leave the community and the state for other areas. It is recognized that the quality of schools, hospitals, recreation, streets, churches, etc., is an important factor considered by the industrialist in locating a new plant or relocating an old one."

More than 500 community meetings have been held since the program started, says Mr. Moses. In the past two years community clinics have been held for the first time in 171 communities and repeat performances in 40.

Apropos of community development is an illustrated pamphlet by the Industrial Committee of the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce. Titled *Start Now . . . A Community Development Program to Make Your Town and County More Prosperous,* it sets forth a proposed organization chart which can be tailored to fit the needs of different communities. An analysis sheet covers many phases of community life and a planned program and objectives gives suggestions for committee work.

* * *

NACS Plans History

Chester J. Morse, executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, has agreed to serve as historian of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, to collect and compile a summary of its history. A resolution adopted at the association's annual meeting[1] requested Miss H. Marie Dermitt, NACS secretary for many years, to lend her aid to the project. The resolution read:

WHEREAS Honorary Member H. Marie Dermitt was the first woman member of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, and

WHEREAS Miss Dermitt is now with us in spirit as demonstrated by and in her communications,

NOW, THEREFORE, we request her assistance and special knowledge so that the history of this association may be gathered, compiled and narrated by Historian Chester J. Morse, and

WE HEREBY make note of the kind, able, loyal and valued services of a 32-year active and now honorary member—these past six years—and send our most sincere and best wishes.

* * *

On the Job Day and Night

"League Days" with luncheon and "League Nights" with dinner are being scheduled by the League of Women Voters of St. Louis. The first two this year—League Day January 10 and League Night January 23—were devoted to a Voters School. "Party Organization — State and

---

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 53.

Local," was discussed, in each instance, by Aloys P. Kaufmann, former mayor of St. Louis, and Mrs. LuRene Kaiser and Miss Cleta M. Smith, Democratic and Republican committeewomen, and Dr. Paul G. Steinbicker of St. Louis University, the latter talking on "Our National Election."

The February meetings discussed Scrambled Administration or Streamlined Organization? with particular reference to conservation agencies. Robert Leach of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and a discussion panel covered the subject.

* * *

'Cease Smoke'

Across from City Hall, monthly digest of civic affairs issued by the Citizens Union of New York City, illustrates its latest report on efforts to secure smoke abatement in its "fair" city with the Navy signal flags meaning "cease smoke."

* * *

Tracing Its Ancestry

"Everybody is celebrating Seattle Centennial," says the *Seattle Municipal News,* "so we'd better get into the act." The Municipal League of Seattle "can't go back 100 years but we can trace our ancestry back to March 17, 1894, when the first Municipal League of Seattle was formed." Securing legislative approval of a bill for first class cities to "alter, change, revise, add to or repeal their respective charters," in 1895, this first Municipal League closed shop. The present organization was founded fifteen years later; first number of the *Municipal League News* was published in June 24, 1911.

In 1910 the Seattle league began with 120 charter members. Today it boasts 4,728 as of the end of the year. The league's latest promotion leaflet —black on white with blue trimmings— gives a capsule description of its work, inviting prospects to "join with your fellow citizens who, through the Municipal League, are making democracy work . . . at home."

* * *

'The People Act'

Beginning early in January, to run for 26 weeks, a new citizen program is being aired over CBS. Titled "The People Act," each radio broadcast tells of the efforts of one community to solve problems of community living. The programs are presented by the TV-Radio Workshop, established by the Ford Foundation, each Sunday evening, from 10:05 to 10:30 P.M., eastern standard time.

The New York State Citizens' Council has brought the programs to the attention of its members, suggesting organization of listener groups, getting more CBS local stations to carry the program, utilization of the ideas and suggestions heard, etc.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Commonwealth Club of California, a statewide organization numbering some 7,000 members, has elected Justice Maurice T. Dooling, Jr., a member of the California District Court of Appeals, as its 1952 president. Twenty-third president since the club was founded in 1903, Justice Dooling succeeds Ray B. Wiser.

Mrs. John A. Hogan of Durham, first vice president of the League of Women Voters of New Hampshire, has succeeded Mrs. Harris Thomas, president, who has resigned.

Harris A. Reynolds, an attorney, has been appointed executive secretary of the Massachusetts Civic League, to devote a major part of his time to league activities.

Succeeding Francis A. Harrington, Thomas S. Green, Jr., has been elected president of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture

Objectives, Publicity, Money, Official Relations Reviewed

WHILE the earliest statewide civic research agencies date back about 40 years, this phase of the citizens governmental research movement is still in an experimental stage. This fact, pointed out by Charlton F. Chute, director of the Pennsylvania Economy League's Southeastern Division, was illustrated by the variety of experiences and methods related in a discussion of statewide research and action at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati, November 28.

Mr. Chute presided over the panel which included Hubert Stone of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Loren B. Miller of the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, Kimbrough Owen of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, John P. Reynolds of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, Vernon G. Wahlberg of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, Mrs. Maurice Noun of the Iowa League of Women Voters and Robert O'Hare of the Citizens League of Pawtucket. Members of the League of Women Voters of Ohio participated, Mrs. Roger Humphries of the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati serving as reporter.

The discussion brought out that objectives as well as methods of financing and of dealing with the public and with governmental agencies and the extent to which the organizations move from research to action differ so widely that there is as yet no basic pattern for statewide civic research. This is apparently due partly to the fact that much of the research at this level is an incident of the programs of such diverse membership organizations as state chambers of commerce, taxpayers associations and leagues of women voters.

While the research of such agencies as the Pennsylvania Economy League, Citizens Research Council of Michigan and the new Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana is all done by staff members, leagues of women voters and to some extent chambers of commerce are likely to involve active participation by a considerable number of lay members serving on committees. Mr. Wahlberg reported that in the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce 750 business executives are actively serving on committees gathering information in many fields such as social security, personnel relations, education, state and local taxation.

How LWV Works

Mrs. Noun pointed out that the League of Women Voters finds it necessary to work extensively on a limited number of projects requiring a good deal of fact-finding. She reported that several years ago the Iowa league did a handbook on Iowa government while in 1950 it studied the problem of the legislative council and in 1951 had been studying home rule. Since the Cincinnati conference, the home rule study has been mimeographed and issued under the general title, *Study of the Relationship Between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa with Special Emphasis on Local Home Rule.*[1]

---

[1] Part one, "General Discussion of Home Rule," 9 pages, 11 cents; Part two, "Relationship Between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa," 19 pages, 13 cents.

The study includes a clear concise statement on legislative and constitutional home rule, the difficulties of achieving home rule, the arguments for and against it and the rather unusual history and nature of the relations between state and municipal government in Iowa with a critique of the present system of local legislation. This is an excellent example of work of professional caliber done wholly or mainly by volunteers.

The Pennsylvania Economy League, founded in 1933, is a statewide organization that has decentralized its operation and consequently its dealings with local government by setting up four regional offices and seventeen county branches in the more populous areas, each of which has its own county secretary. The Economy League stays away from action programs. Its dealings, for the most part, are directly with public officials.

The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council is an example of a statewide organization that does not maintain local branches but does, through its municipal counsellor, work closely with local officials and local citizens.

Both the Pennsylvania and Connecticut organizations do a good deal of work at the state level.

The Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance is a research organization with a staff of twenty. It does not lobby but its staff is available for consultation. They frequently serve as advisors to state committees and officials and make studies for local groups at low cost. The alliance reaches the citizen directly through regular radio programs and publications, including its annual dictionary of all state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin, with convenient income tax guide.

The Citizens Research Council of Michigan was recently formed through merger of the Bureau of Governmental Research of Detroit and the Michigan Public Expenditure Survey because the two groups found that their programs were becoming more and more similar and overlapping. This merger is a logical outcome of the increasing importance of state-local relations. Ninety per cent of the effort of the council during the past two years has been on the Michigan Little Hoover Commission for which the council has served as principal staff agency with its director, Loren B. Miller, serving as director.

While chambers of commerce and leagues of women voters are themselves frankly action organizations, other groups that put principal emphasis on research and information draw the line beyond which they will not go toward direct action in the light of their own experiences and evaluation of the climate in which they operate.

A New Group

Mr. Owen of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana remarked that his group was just six months old and consequently he did not know how it will work out the relation between research and action. He pointed out that the stated purpose of the council is research and distribution of information and that, for the present at least, the problem in Louisiana is an absence of information on governmental matters.

The panel recognized that there are situations in which it is necessary to set up *ad hoc* groups for particular purposes as, for example, to campaign for a constitutional convention or revision. Mr. Miller of Michigan said he felt the need for such a group to put over the Little Hoover report because up to now the work has been only with the legislators. Mr. O'Hare said that in

Rhode Island it had been found necessary to establish a special Rhode Island home rule organization in order to secure the 1951 home rule amendment and, since then, to assist local groups in working for home rule in their communities.

In Illinois, on the other hand, it was the State Chamber of Commerce which, during 1951, coordinated the efforts of other existing statewide and local groups to secure adoption of the state council-manager enabling act.

Philadelphia's Charter

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research has been using its weekly publication, *Citizens' Business,* to acquaint its readers with changes brought about by the new city charter. Among the topics discussed are newly created offices and agencies such as the city representative and the administrative board, and changed status of certain of the agencies. The December 31, 1951, number contains a chart showing the new setup.

* * *

Bureau Notes

The Municipal Technical Advisory Service of the University of Tennessee, in a recent *MTAS Report,* presents *A Post-Conference Roundup,* by George S. Blair and Wendell H. Russell, the story of the first annual Tennessee Conference on Municipal Government.

On February 4 the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research published its 2,000th issue of *Citizens' Business.* The bureau presents a review of its aims and methods in its December 24 number.

The Danger Point in Taxes is a four-page promotional pamphlet of the Waterbury (Connecticut) Taxpayers' Association, "a non-partisan, non-profit, citizen-sponsored organization, serving municipal officials through research in local government."

Steps toward the reorganization of the Washington State Taxpayers Association were initiated at the annual business session of its trustees and executive committee as a result of the tremendous growth in membership during the past year. "Under the new plan, the organization will be incorporated as a non-profit corporation stressing research into problems of state and local government." The association's executive board, in its January 23 issue of *Your Tax Facts,* outlines its research program for 1952. Subjects to be analyzed include state finance, pre-audit, excess levies, welfare, etc.

A new organization, the Howard County (Iowa) Taxpayers' Association, has been formed, because of the continued increase in taxes. Members elected seven directors who in turn chose Howard Walker as president.

* * *

Bureau Reports

Several research bureaus have issued reports on their past activities and accomplishments. These include:

Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau, *For the Record 1949, 1950, 1951,* a statement to its membership on activities since it was organized in January 1949;

New Bedford Taxpayers Association, *A Quarter Century of Civic Activity,* indicating accomplishments for the years 1926 to 1951;

Citizens Budget Commission of New York, *Chart for Good Government,* twentieth anniversary report;

San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, *Annual Report for 1951,* a review of major bureau activities;

Waterbury (Connecticut) Taxpayers' Association, *Report of Activities for 1951;*

Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, *1951 Annual Report,* including a list of all publications issued during the year.

* * *

New Publication

The Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council is issuing a series of two-color, one-page mailing pieces titled "As a Citizen of Oklahoma You Should Know." Among the subjects recently covered are state income and sales taxes, state expenditures and the growth of public debt.

Research Reports and Articles

Bibliographies

Bibliography on State and Local Government in New England. Boston 15, Boston University, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952. 233 pp.

Budgets

1952 County Budget. 1952-53 Capital Budget. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* December 6, 1951, and January 10, 1952. 4 pp. each.

Statements at Public Budget Hearings on Chicago Park District, Sanitary District of Chicago, City of Chicago, Chicago Board of Education and County of Cook. Chicago 2, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* December 1951. 3, 5, 9, 8 and 11 pp. respectively.

Charters

Many Amendments, Few Major Charter Changes in Twenty Years. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* January 25, 1952. 2 pp.

Model Charter for Oregon Cities: Mayor-Council Form of Government; Council-Manager Form of Government. (Revised.) Eugene, University of Oregon, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service in cooperation with the League of Oregon Cities, 1951. 37 and 40 pp. respectively. $1 each.

Debt

They Pay Their Own Way—Loans Which Are Self-Supporting Are Exempt from City's Constitutional Debt Limit. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* December 17, 1951. 4 pp.

Directories

Directory of Agencies and Officers of the Territory of Hawaii. (Includes organization chart and brief description of agencies.) Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 64 pp.

A Directory of Mississippi Municipalities. Edited by Carl D. Mullican, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 85 pp.

Education

Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns Including Data for the School Year 1950-1951. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1952. 33 pp.

Report of the Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities. (Devoted entirely to a study of the State Education Department.) Legislative Document No. 77. Albany, Williams Press, 1951. 473 pp.

Whither Educational Costs? Hartford 3, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* January 1952. 3 pp.

Elections and Voting

The Changing Louisiana Electorate, 1940-1952. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report,* January 14, 1952. 4 pp. Tables.

Election Returns and Voting Machines. (With study of cost of voting machines.) Springfield (Massachusetts), Taxpayers' Association, 1951. 16 pp.

Local Legislation

The Supreme Court and Special Legislation. By Nick Kronenberg-Kittrie. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* December 15, 1951. 3 pp.

Motor Vehicles

Survey of Road User and Property Taxes Imposed on Five Different Trucks by Each of the 48 States. Rochester 4, New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Highways, Canals and Revenues, 1951. 10 pp.

Municipal Government

Cudahy—A Report on the Organization and Administration of the City Government. Prepared at the Request of the Mayor and Common Council of Cudahy. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1951. 70 pp.

Municipal Philosophy. (According to Mayor Grover Cleveland, 1882.) Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 31, 1952. 4 pp.

Natural Gas Systems

Natural Gas Systems: A Tale of Three Cities. By Anders O. Hustvedt. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* November 1951. 5 pp.

Parking

Parking Meters—Philadelphia Operates 4,865 Meters; Another 12,495 Will Be Installed in Near Future. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 12, 1951. 4 pp.

Pensions

Proposal to Modify Municipal Railway Dual Pension Systems. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* December 12, 1951. 1 p.

Planning

Capitol Environs—A Neglected Opportunity. Lincoln 8 (Nebraska), Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* 1951. 4 pp.

Master Plan Highlights Presented. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* November 1951. 2 pp.

Planning Assistance for Small Municipalities. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* December 1951. 3 pp.

Population

Final 1950 Population Detroit Region with Recent Growth. Detroit 26, Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, 1951. 14 pp.

Public Health

Oregon Mental Health Laws—Supplement to Oregon Mental Health Laws Report. Portland, City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* November 16, 1951. 2 pp.

Public Utilities

Tax Subsidy of $92,772 for Seven Months' Operation of California Cable Railroad. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* November 16, 1951. 1 p.

Public Welfare

Erie County Relief. County Relief in 1952. Secret Relief Rolls. State Welfare Study. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 15 and December 13, 1951, January 17 and 24, 1952. 3, 4, 4 and 4 pp. respectively.

Relief Spending Doubles in Five Years. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* December 1951. 1 p.

State Relief Rolls and the Jenner Amendment. ("Disclosure of Information Legislation Must be Carefully Planned.") By Leonard Calhoun. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* November 1951. 4 pp.

Public Works

New Haven's Program for Public Improvements 1952-1957. New Haven, Capital Budget Programming Committee, 1951. 16 pp.

State Building Program—Money Comes From Various Sources; Building Finance Program Outlined. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* November 1951. 2 pp.

Reapportionment

Legislative Appointment in New Jersey. A Survey of Modern Methods Available. New Brunswick, Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 25 pp.

The Reapportionment Struggle in California in 1948. By Thomas S. Barclay. Salt Lake City, University of Utah, Institute of Government, *Western Political Quarterly,* June 1951. 12 pp. $1.50.

Recreation

Leisure Hours. State Administered Recreation Facilities and Services in Tennessee. By Luther Johnson and John C. Gill. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, in cooperation with the Tennessee Interdepartmental Committee on Recreation, 1951. 49 pp.

Reporting

Tips on Town Reports. By John E. Dever and Joan Davis. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1950. 16 pp. Illus.

Salaries

Iowa Municipal Salaries in Cities over 5,000 Population 1951. Compiled by Edith T. Baikie. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1951. 32 pp.

Massachusetts Mayors' Salary and Expense Data. Brockton 8 (Massachusetts), Taxpayers Association, December 27, 1951. 4 pp.

Municipal Officials' Salaries. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* December 20, 1951. 3 pp.

Ninth Salary Survey Under Way. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* January 9, 1952. 2 pp.

Upward Swing in Employees' Pay Apparent in Towns, Cities in 1951. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Connecticut Government,* November 1951. 2 pp.

Service Charges

Revised Sewer Service Charge Ordinance. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* November 27, 1951. 2 pp.

State Government

County Health Program. Kentucky Highway Systems and the State Department of Highways. Taxation — License and Privilege. Taxation — Selected Sales-Gross Receipts. Welfare — Mental Hospitals. Welfare — The Training Home. Staff Reports to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 17, 98, 15, 21, 27 and 15 pp. respectively.[1]

A Layman's Guide to the Texas State Administrative Agencies. (1951 Supplement.) Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 90 pp. 75 cents.

Streets and Highways

State and Local Highway Finance—No Painless Cure-All for Troubles. By Richard M. Zettel. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* December 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

The Utah Highway Program 1951. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* December 1951. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The City of Milwaukee Should Re-

---

[1] See also page 146, this issue.

tain its Present Automatic Formula for Administering the Tax Stabilization Fund. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 25, 1951. 2 pp.

County Revenues and Expenditures in Mississippi 1949—A Graphic Portrayal With Descriptive Analyses. By Gordon K. Bryan. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, 1951. 174 pp.

Here Comes the Bad News. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Newsletter,* October 22, 1951. 2 pp.

Here's a Tax Cut For You—But You Need to Act Now to Bring It About! Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey (bulletin), October 1951. 5 pp.

Major State Taxes 1939 and 1950. New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1951. 28 pp. Tables.

Municipal Finance Administration—An Outline Summary of New Jersey Practice. By George C. Skillman. New Brunswick, Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 33 pp. $1.

The 1950-1951 Fiscal Record. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), December 1951. 2 pp.

Taxes. (1952 Edition.) An up-to-date dictionary of all state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin — **State and Federal Income Tax Guide.** Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1952. 64 pp. 25 cents.

These County Cost Tables. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* December 3, 1951. 5 pp.

Use and Distribution of County Sales Tax. Syracuse 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Research Memorandum,* December 20, 1951. 12 pp.

What Is Happening to Boston's Tax Base? (It is "becoming more and more constricted" because of "swelling of the tax-free lists, . . . public building of large scale projects, and the relatively small volume of taxpaying new construction.") Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* December 27, 1951. 4 pp.

Traffic

Providence Plans Ahead in Traffic. By Dwight T. Myers. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), November 1951. 3 pp.

Unemployment

Unemployment Compensation System Revised. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Taxtalk,* October-November, 1951. 2 pp. 5 cents.

Veterans

Cash Bonuses for World War II Veterans—a State-by-State Analysis as of October 1, 1951. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, 1951. 8 pp.

Vital Statistics

Life Opportunities. An Analysis of Differential Mortality in Mississippi. By John N. Burrus. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 58 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 158)

companied by appeals to the public for support have reportedly had little effect, and a variety of devices has been invented to provide the lender with a yield above 4 per cent or special features of equal attraction. Evasion has been accomplished by lottery loans, by offering no interest during the first half year and high interest during the second half, by issuing loans at 4 per cent accompanied with the right to large subscribers to move into houses constructed under the loan, by marketing 4 per cent loans below par with the municipality paying the discount and by issuing 4 per cent paper callable at the option of the lender rather than the borrower.

Books in Review

American Forest Policy, A Study of Government Administration and Economic Control. By Luther Halsey Gulick. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1951. 252 pp. $3.50.

As the subtitle indicates, forestry was selected merely as a pioneer instance of a governmental excursion into an economic situation. The idea was to learn how this well matured program has fared and find lessons therein for the conduct of the government's more recent and bewildering programs in economics.

This lucid little volume is the essence of an immense review and a great array of unpublished mimeographed studies by the staff of the Institute of Public Administration, with emphasis on method. In the 40 years since Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt, our forest cover has been saved and will not again be in danger. The progress toward that end is recorded and vindicates the seemingly hectic and disorderly American process of wide public education and legislation, fortified and kept on the rails, as are many other programs—public health, welfare, education and city management—by the development of a profession with its own high standards of integrity and public purpose.

In a previous book, *Administrative Reflections from World War II,*[1] Dr. Gulick similarly justified the American way of running an army, wherein abundant back talk from the front lines greeted every new weapon or regulation issued by the top command, resulting in swift and continuing corrections, whereas German soldiers died and lost without daring to send criticisms back up the line. R.S.C.

Fifteen Years of County Manager Government in Virginia. An Experiment in Local Government. By George W. Spicer. Charlottesville, University of Virginia Extension Division, 1952. 145 pp. Paperbound 50 cents, cloth $2.50.

This is a painstaking field study of the operation of the county manager plan in Henrico, Albemarle, Arlington and Warwick Counties by the best informed local authority. It brings down to date the author's prior study under similar title covering ten years experience up to 1945. In all cases these are counties of vigorous growth and with increasing burdens of municipal-type functions, and the benefits of introducing full-time appointive, technically equipped executives into these counties is abundantly demonstrated. Economies, efficiencies and good business management are exhibited in marked and detailed contrast to prior conditions. A bright picture which should influence other counties in that state and elsewhere.

R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Adult Education

Group Processes for Adult Education. By Paul Bergevin and Dwight Morris. Bloomington, Indiana, Community Services in Adult Education, 1951. 86 pp. 75 cents.

Air Pollution

Smoke Control. A Report of the Joint State Government Commission to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, the Commission, 1951. vii, 41 pp.

Tacoma Air Pollution Code Establishing a Division of Air Pollution Control. Tacoma, Washington, City Council, 1951. 12 pp.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1948, page 465.

Ambulance Service

Emergency Ambulance Service in New York City. New York 17, Hospital Council of Greater New York, 1950. 95 pp.

Annexation

Comparison Between Cost of Owning Property in the Tuxedo Country Club District in San Joaquin County and Cost of Owning Property Within the City Limits of the City of Stockton, California. (Including comparison of service and capital outlays and annexation resolution of the Stockton City Council.) Stockton, City Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Auditing

Report on Costs and Characteristics of the Audit Program in Enforcement of the California Sales Tax. Sacramento, California, Office of Legislative Auditor, 1951. 126 pp.

Conferences

How to Have a Successful Conference. Edited by Edgar Dale and Seth Spaulding. New York 10, National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, 1951. 34 pp. 60 cents.

Council-Manager Government

The Commission-Manager Form of Government—Its Makeup and How It Has Worked in and for Emporia. A report prepared and presented to the Emporia Current Club. By Walter F. Johnson. Emporia, Kansas, Office of the City Manager, 1951. 23 pp.

Education

Education in Connecticut. A Highlight Summary Report to Governor Chester Bowles. By the Governor's Fact-finding Commission on Education. Hartford, the Commission, 1951. 47 pp.

The Financing of State Departments of Education, with 48 Statements on Financial Practices Prepared by the Departments. By Fred F. Beach and Clayton D. Hutchins. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1951. vii, 83 pp. 45 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Employment

Underemployment in American Agriculture. A Problem in Economic Development. By Arthur Moore. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1952. viii, 91 pp. 75 cents.

Federal Government

Saving $$$. An Analysis of What the Hoover Commission Discovered About Our Sprawling Government. (Reprinted from the Charlotte, North Carolina, *News.*) By Vic Reinemer. New York City, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, 1951. 31 pp. $5 per hundred.

Metropolitan Areas

Growing Pains in the Suburbs. The Story of Metropolitan Pittsburgh's Building Boom. (Reprinted from Pittsburgh *Press.*) By Edwin H. Beachler. Pittsburgh, The *Press,* 1951. 40 pp. Illus.

New York's Commuters. Trends of Commuter Transportation in the New York Metropolitan Region 1930-1950. New York City, Regional Plan Association, *Regional Plan Bulletin,* July 1951. 12 pp. $2.

Old Age

Social Contribution by the Aging. Edited by Clark Tibbitts. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* January 1952. vi, 258 pp. $2.

Planning

Fairless Hills. (A short study of planning and development of new town in Pennsylvania, built because of location of Fairless mill of United States Steel Corporation in Philadelphia-

Trenton area.) Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* January 1952. 3 pp.

Planning Inventory — 1951. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* January 1952. 3 pp.

Population

Projections of the Population by States: 1955 and 1960. By Helen L. White and Jacob S. Siegel. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 7 pp.

Price Control

The Citizen's Stake in Price Control. By Robert A. Brady. Paterson, New Jersey, Littlefield, Adams & Company, 1952. 161 pp. $1.50.

Public Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for April: **Child Pedestrian and Bicycle Safety.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Recreation

Off-Post Recreation for the Armed Forces. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1952. 31 pp.

Recreation Leadership as a Profession. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1951. 8 pp.

Special Districts

Special Districts in California. Organization and Procedure Governing Those Districts Formed and Operated under the Jurisdiction of County Boards of Supervisors. By Harold "Tony" Zenz. Sacramento 14, County Supervisors Association of California, 1950. 9 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1950. The 474 Cities Having More Than 25,000 Inhabitants in 1950. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 134 pp. 40 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Total Government Expenditures in 1950. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* November 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic

Program of Action for 1952. Policies Adopted by 49th Annual Meeting of Delegates, American Automobile Association, Kansas City, Missouri, October 25, 1951. Washington 6, D. C., The Association, 1951. 14 pp.

Training for Public Service

Directory of Public Service Training Films. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1950. 23 pp. $2.

Urban Redevelopment

Redevelopment of Blighted Areas. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1951. 63 pp. Illus. $1.

A Selected Bibliography Relating to the Legal and Financial Aspects of Urban Redevelopment. By Charles F. O'Brien. Columbus 10, Ohio State University, College of Law Library, 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

INITIATIVE IN RESERVE

(Continued from page 145)

the diminution in the number of proposals submitted as the years have passed. However, we must never minimize its potentiality for securing needed reform when an aroused electorate goes into action. Ohio's experience has proven this.

Whatever the future holds for direct legislation, we need not expect any radical departure from its use as demonstrated up to this time. We can view it as keeping to a middle-of-the-road course, ready to serve the electorate at any time when the need arises to make manifest the popular will.

Gallup Sees Revolt Against Labels

Philadelphia civic leaders filled the Burgundy room at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel February 13 for a luncheon at which Dr. George H. Gallup presented the "All-American Cities of 1951" award. Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., who was swept into office with his ticket last November, accepted the certificate "on behalf of all the good citizens of Philadelphia" and expressed the hope that the city would still merit national applause after he had been in office for a year.

Dr. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and a member of the National Municipal League's Council, served as foreman of the jury of distinguished authorities which chose eleven cities "in recognition of progress achieved through intelligent citizen action."

Dr. George H. Gallup presenting "All-American Cities" certificate to Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Philadelphia as Donald C. Rubel, chairman, Committee of Seventy, looks on.
—Photo by The Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia

In his presentation, Dr. Gallup interpreted the almost unprecedented election of Democrats to top positions and to fourteen of the seventeen places in the city council as a "declaration of independence of old party labels" and a demand by the voters for local elections "on a frankly no-party-label basis as citizens already have in more than half of all cities of the country."

Mayor Clark, in his reply, said he preferred to believe that disillusioned voters were deserting the other party for his own and had in effect asked him and his party to assume responsibility for bringing good government to Philadelphia.

Donald C. Rubel, chairman of the Committee of Seventy, one of the civic organizations which led the fight for a new city charter and a change in the administration, presided.

(Continued from page 126)

Vernon citizens voted five to one for the plan, the first Illinois city to take advantage of the new law. (See also page 130 this issue.)

Mr. Childs, one of the jurors who selected the cities to be honored for "progress achieved through intelligent citizen action" in 1951, predicted that Mount Vernon's example would "set off a chain reaction" among cities of the state.

Mr. Childs also spoke recently in other Illinois communities — Chicago, Bloomington, Galesburg, Lincoln, Geneva, Calumet City and Springfield—and presented the "All-American Cities" certificate at a ceremony in Kansas City, Missouri.

—*Photo by The Providence Journal*

Mayor Lawrence A. McCarthy (left) receiving certificate from James M. Osborn, member of the Council of the National Municipal League, on behalf of Pawtucket citizens.

"Political bossism which has contributed to the downfall of Pawtucket remains a municipal plague," *The Pawtucket* (R. I.) *Times* said editorially recently, but Pawtucket was chosen an "All-American City of 1951."

James M. Osborn, Yale research professor and member of the League's Council, explained at a Business Chamber dinner February 4 that the award "is not for the present state of your municipal affairs but for energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen action."

He cited the Citizens League's part in gaining home rule for Rhode Island cities and electing a charter commission over the opposition of both political parties. (See editorial, page 128.)

In accepting the award, Mayor McCarthy, who favors a strong mayor form, learning that Dublin has the council-manager plan, remarked, "That sort of puts me on the spot."

Mayor John B. Hynes (center) of Boston did the honors recently when, on a visit to New Orleans, he presented the "All-American City" award of 1950 to Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans. Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, is at right.

—*Photo by Photography Unlimited*

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

PRIL 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO.

PERIODICAL DEPT. ... LIBRARY Kansas City, Mo.

NEWS for League Members 177

Why People Don't Vote .... *Editorial*

Atlanta Pioneers in Merger .... *Lynwood M. Holland*

Cities Urged to Reach Out .... *Ben B. Ehrlichman*

U. S. Governors 1940-1950 .... *Samuel R. Solomon*

Urge Legislative Changes in Massachusetts 198

Cuyahoga County Gets Administrative Officer 205

Puerto Rico Has Modified P. R. System 209

New York City Meets Budget Crisis 211

How to Conduct a Successful Campaign 214

Bureau Mission Is to Promote True Economy 219

APR 15 1952

PUBLISHED BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor

ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD, Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

Pick San Antonio for '52 Conference

The 1952 National Conference on Government will be held November 17, 18 and 19 in San Antonio, it was decided by the executive committee of the National Municipal League at a meeting held March 12 in New York.

Delegates to the Cincinnati Conference were given a rather broad hint of the "get-up-and-go" of this booming city when at the annual dinner an 80-foot streamer shouting "SAN ANTONIO NEXT!" was found hanging from the rail of the ballroom balcony.

An invitation was presented at the meeting of the League's Council and local civic leaders, in addition to six of the newly elected nine San Antonio councilmen, did a job of lobbying which, while unusual at League meetings, succeeded in demonstrating that the Texas city genuinely wanted to play host to the Conference in 1952.

It was not this artful politicking nor the fact that San Antonio is charmingly unusual among American cities that persuaded the executive committee to take the Conference farther south than it has ever before gone during the 58 years it has been held, however. The decision was influenced chiefly by San Antonio's dramatic civic rebirth.

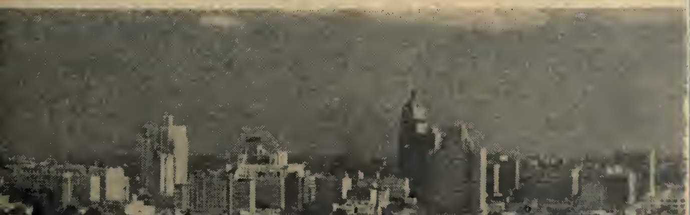
For more than a generation, as League correspondence files tragically show, San Antonio was dominated almost continuously by spoils politicians.

The change began when, after the war, the Bureau of Governmental Research was established under the able direction of Edward G. Conroy, member of an old San Antonio family, who had gone back home after distinguished service in the Navy and years of experience elsewhere with governmental problems.

Gradually Conroy's fact-gathering and analyses armed the natural civic leadership of the city. Came the day in 1949 when a reform candidate, on a dare, ran for mayor and snowed under the machine boss four to one, beating him in every precinct. Last spring the voters added four more non-politician business and professional men to the governing commission of five and, at the same time, elected a charter commission.

A Citizens Committee for Council Manager Government, under the leadership of Alex R. Thomas, now an NML regional vice president, was formed to

(*Continued on page* 227)



Ancient missions like (right) the Alamo, shrine of Texas liberty, mingle in San Antonio with the modern skyline (below) of a booming city.

Left to right, Russell E. McClure, Dayton city manager; Henry S. Stout, president, All-Dayton Committee; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, NML regional vice president; and Harland Bartholomew, noted city planner.

Dayton Praised for Self-reliance

Dayton "pulled itself up by its own bootstraps" instead of running to the state capital or to Washington for help, Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, regional vice president of the National Municipal League, told a meeting of the All-Dayton Committee March 6, when she presented the 1951 "All-American Cities" award to Henry S. Stout, president of the committee.

Recalling that Dayton had become famous among American cities nearly 40 years ago as the first large city to adopt the council-manager plan, Mrs. Judd, a former president of the Grand Rapids League of Women Voters, said the Ohio city's newest claim to fame was based on the vote of its citizens, by a 74 per cent majority, to impose a local income tax on themselves to finance an improvement program.

She paid tribute to the "courage to look to yourselves to do the job, the old pioneer spirit with which you long ago launched the new council-manager plan, the spirit that made America, the spirit that became the beacon light in this era when the cry for security is louder than the cry for liberty."

Mrs. Judd contrasted Dayton's record of accomplishment as "an example of what the council-manager plan can do for a city" with that of Grand Rapids which, after years of being a manager plan city "in name only," had recently experienced a great revival of citizen interest. Grand Rapids, as well as "cities all over the United States," she said, "look to Dayton once more for advice and ideas, for inspiration and leadership, as they did a generation ago when you made the great experiment with the council-manager plan of city government."

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 4 **Total Number 420**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for April 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 177

EDITORIAL COMMENT 180

ATLANTA PIONEERS IN MERGER .... *Lynwood M. Holland* 182

CITIES URGED TO REACH OUT .... *Ben B. Ehrlichman* 187

U. S. GOVERNORS 1940-1950 .... *Samuel R. Solomon* 190

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 198

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 205

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 209

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 211

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 214

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 219

BOOKS IN REVIEW 224

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Why People Don't Vote

GET OUT the vote! This call will come from millions of printing presses, loud speakers and platforms between now and November. It is good advice, as far as it goes, but how far will it go?

At best, pre-election exhortation can be expected to produce only momentary and minor improvement in the admittedly disgraceful American record of non-voting. The only indoctrination that is likely to produce substantial improvement must begin in improved methods of civic education in the schools and in such character building organizations as the Scouts, the Ys and the like. Fortunately, since the war, more attention has been paid to this problem than ever before. If the experiments being carried out and the tools being developed pay off, Citizenship Day could become more and more significant.

But if civic education or any crusade to increase the percentage of habitual voters is to be really effective, it must show the voters how they can simplify and clarify their task and make it meaningful. A major reason for non-voting in American elections is the difficulty, in many instances the impossibility, that confronts a conscientious citizen when he attempts to discover what he can accomplish by marking his ballot.

Most ballots are still too long and cluttered up with candidates whose qualifications, if any, for the multifarious jobs listed no individual can ascertain.

In many elections rigged nominating systems leave the independent minded voter with little better than Hobson's choice. This commonly is the result of the deliberate perversion of primary laws and procedures by party organizations that are themselves so managed that it takes citizens with tough minds, and sometimes strong stomachs, to attempt to reform them from within.

The confusion of national, state, county and municipal issues is another stumbling block for voters lacking the mental and moral agility to be Democrats or Republicans, as the case may be, for everything from city constable or county sheriff to president of the United States.

These are some of the reasons why many citizens who journey to the polls only once in four years ignore many of the candidates for state and local office. A further reason lies in the fact that most county governments and many municipal governments are so badly set up it is difficult or impossible to get real competition among high-grade candidates interested in serving the public rather than themselves or a machine. This leaves many voters feeling that, while they may have two candidates to vote against, they have no candidate to vote for.

Get out the vote? By all means. But let us not delude ourselves by supposing that non-voting is as simple as sin or the remedy as easy as a hell-fire and damnation sermon. Pathological or dangerous non-voting is a symptom of a more fundamental illness. A real cure can be achieved only by treating the causes, not by deploring the symptom.

A Good Step Backward

CONGRESS, by joint resolution, has changed the name of "I Am an American Day" to "Citizenship Day" and has also changed the date from the third Sunday in May to September 17, the anniversary of the signing of the constitution.

Citizenship Day was the name originally chosen for ceremonies which in 1939 were held to honor new citizens in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, to welcome those reaching voting age or becoming naturalized citizens.[1]

This was the name proposed when Congress first considered setting aside a day for national observance. While the matter was being debated, someone who thought "oomph" the all-important ingredient sold a committee on the more elaborate and somewhat confusing name.

Just how much the name contributed to the rather superficial character of most observances during the last decade may be open to question. Programs generally included patriotic oratory by a person or two in public life and by motion picture stars, if available, plus a solo by a prominent singer.

As the REVIEW has pointed out on previous occasions, the original idea of Citizenship Day was much more substantial than "Just another orgy of Fourth of July oratory." In Manitowoc and elsewhere in Wisconsin, the celebration was only part of the whole affair. It culminated weeks of study and discussions in which those about to achieve full citizenship had an opportunity to develop a real understanding of the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship.

There was much more dignity and sense of purpose in this program, which was worked out carefully and thoughtfully with the cooperation of the University of Wisconsin.[2] There was a conscious effort to recapture some of the values of early tribal customs in which youths reaching maturity were required to demonstrate their fitness and readiness to assume full-fledged membership in the tribe.

Just as group singing is more beneficial to the participant than merely listening to a trained performer, the coming to grips with fundamentals by all can show us why "the American way" is something to cherish better than can any amount of oratory.

The bitter ideological struggle in which we are engaged calls for knowledge, understanding, conviction. Now that the original Citizenship Day has been regained, let us take the next step and regain the tribal training period. This is bigger than any ceremony. It calls primarily for work and effort.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, July 1939, page 499.

[2] *Citizenship Training and Induction for New Voters.* A Guide to the Wisconsin Citizenship Program. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1939.

Atlanta Pioneers in Merger

City area tripled and services are divided with county in award-winning movement to solve metropolitan problem.

By LYNWOOD M. HOLLAND*

THE selection and public support of a local commission to study and make plans for improving the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia, was a pioneer step in the south, if not in the United States. For the first time, a locally appointed government group from two counties took the initiative not only in making a plan but also in securing its adoption.

The excellent work of the commission, and its overwhelming support by the voters, was recognized when the city of Atlanta was selected by the National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Tribune* as one of the eleven "All-American Cities" for 1951. The citation described the plan as "one of the most helpful examples of progress in meeting metropolitan area problems" in recent years and as "the best accomplishment of its kind in half a century."

On January 1, 1952, Atlanta tripled its geographic area from 35 to 118 square miles and added 96,985 new citizens to its population of 331,314, thereby moving the city from 32nd to 23rd in rank of cities according to population. In the newly expanded area Atlanta took over 39 public schools formerly operated by Fulton County and with them 17,000 pupils.

But the expansion of Atlanta's city limits was just one phase of the plan of improvement mapped by the Local Government Commission of Atlanta and Fulton County. The commission was formally created by law in 1949. It was composed of twelve men—six from Fulton County and six from DeKalb County, appointed by the members of the Georgia General Assembly from those counties. Although DeKalb County was not included in the study, it was given representation because Atlanta lies partly within its boundaries.

The commission began its meetings in March 1949. Its members held conferences and hearings with both private individuals and public officials in an effort to determine what plan would best fit the needs of growing metropolitan Atlanta. Two outstanding research analysts were employed and to them is due much of the credit for the final project.

The commission studied plans which had been used by other metropolitan communities as well as those suggested by previous surveys of Atlanta and Fulton County.[1] It analyzed the geography and population of the area, the distribution of governmental services, the tax structure in city and county, and the impact upon revenues of possible

---

*Dr. Holland, author of *The Direct Primary in Georgia* and other publications and articles in the political science field, is chairman of the Department of Political Science at Emory University.

[1] See, for example, *The Governments of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia,* by the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, Thomas H. Reed, Director. New York, 1938. 619 pages.

changes in boundary lines and departmental consolidations, and made a department-by-department study of the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County.

To understand the plan of improvement which was proposed, and later adopted with some minor modifications, one must be familiar with the geography of Fulton County and Atlanta as well as the various governmental functions which were performed prior to the adoption of the program. Fulton County is shaped like an old continental dowager of the nineteenth century, with a high comb in her hair and a sweeping dress. The county is 60 miles in length but varies in width from two and a half to twenty miles. Its land area is approximately 523 square miles. The central part is predominantly urban but the northern and southern parts are strictly rural. In terms of farms and farm population it is the fourth largest agricultural county of the state but at the same time has the largest urban population of any county.

The city of Atlanta and its heavily populated suburbs are located in the middle of Fulton County, but approximately 20 per cent of the city's area and 10 per cent of its population is in DeKalb County, east of Fulton. In addition to Atlanta there are nine incorporated municipalities and 63 unincorporated towns and villages in Fulton County. Atlanta is fortunate in comparison with other major cities in that it is not circumscribed by incorporated municipalities. The largest municipalities are the tri-cities of Hapeville, College Park and East Point, south of the city.

Although the population of the city has increased 64 per cent within the past 30 years, the suburban areas have increased 167 per cent during the same period. In other words, the big population growth has been in the unincorporated areas adjacent to the city limits.

County Provided City Services

One of the major results of the phenomenal population growth outside Atlanta was that Fulton County was compelled to provide city services. Gradually since 1920 Fulton County and Atlanta have been performing similar services and functions. This resulted in duplication of effort, cost, personnel and organization. Earlier efforts to remedy such conditions resulted in the formal cooperation of Atlanta and Fulton County in welfare (the Fulton County Department of Public Welfare made its services available to county residents both inside and outside the municipalities), water, sewers, courts, library, fire, police, schools, bond programs, planning and hospitals.

Probably the two most important cooperations were, and still are, in planning and hospitals. The Metropolitan Planning Commission is jointly supported by Atlanta, Fulton County and DeKalb County and is engaged in physical planning on a broad area-wide basis. In hospital cooperation the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority was especially established to operate charity hospitals in the area. It is a joint enterprise supported by county-wide taxes in both counties. The governing board is composed of representatives of Atlanta, Fulton County outside of Atlanta and DeKalb County outside of Atlanta, and supervises the running of Grady Hospital, including the Steiner Clinic.

In addition there have been numerous instances of informal cooperation among departments and officials of all governments in the area.

Tax Burdens Unequal

Previous studies had revealed the complexity of administrative and financial problems in both Atlanta and Fulton County. Added to these was the inequality in the tax burden resulting from expansion of the county government, which added new services without asking the people who received these services to pay for them directly because a county does not have power to create tax districts. A survey revealed that only one area in Fulton County outside Atlanta paid as much in taxes as it received from the county. Other areas failed to carry their proportionate share of the cost of services received. This resulted in taxpayers, particularly in Atlanta, paying hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly for the benefit of other communities. Studies further revealed inequality in the assessed valuation of property in different areas of the county as well as sharp differences in valuations in the same area.

One of the major barriers to the people who made previous studies was that since the county government performed municipal services for residents in the suburbs, these residents resisted all moves to extend the city limits because their needs were met. Many people were getting municipal services and paying little, if anything, for them. Inability to extend its city boundaries meant that the over-all cost of government increased in Atlanta, while at the same time its revenue was reduced as residents migrated to the suburbs. City services were used during the day by persons employed in the city who returned to their homes outside the city at night.

In attempting to work out its plan of improvement the commission had to consider several complicated local factors that made solutions difficult. One was that Atlanta spread across into DeKalb County. But DeKalb County and Decatur, the county seat, opposed any further expansion of Atlanta in their areas. Added to this was the fact that the unincorporated areas in northern DeKalb County were the fastest growing areas of the two counties. The pride of a county in its boundaries automatically prevented any cession to another.

The Local Government Commission made three major recommendations. The first provided for extension of the city limits to include adjacent unincorporated urban and suburban neighborhoods in Fulton County, but the boundaries of no municipality other than Atlanta were to be disturbed. From the newly annexed areas two new wards were to be created. These by special election would choose two councilmen, one alderman and one member of the board of education who would serve until the end of the terms which began in 1950. In addition, the plan included a detailed procedure for the future extension of the city limits.

The second major recommendation was the allocation of service functions between the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County. The following functions were to be consolidated under the Atlanta government: police protection, fire protection, refuse collection and disposal, inspections, parks and recreation, and airports. Fulton County's power to exercise these functions through its own personnel and facilities was to be withdrawn by law.

The following functions were to be retained by the city government: water distribution, sewage disposal, library service, auditorium and traffic engineer. In water distribution, however, the commission recommended that the Atlanta Water Department adopt a considerably more liberal policy in the adjacent areas outside the city limits.

County's Duties

All public health service was to be consolidated under the county government and the administrative board was to be expanded to include four additional representatives from the city of Atlanta—the mayor and three others appointed by the Atlanta service council. In addition Fulton County was to continue to provide the following services: courts, public welfare, almshouse, agriculture, sheriff, coroner, ordinary (probate judge), and surveyor.

The commission further recommended that the schools and street and road construction (public works) continue to be handled by the separate departments in both the city and the county governments. The only change was the transfer of 39 schools in the newly annexed territory from the county to the city. It advocated that the planning and zoning function be a consolidated operation of both the city and the county and that the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority and the Metropolitan Planning Commission continue to be jointly supported operations.

To protect the rights of the employees affected by the consolidation or curtailment of services and to assure the taxpayers that unnecessary positions would be eliminated, the commission recommended that the following specific policies be adopted: a complete transfer to new payrolls of the regular full time employees as of the date of consolidation or curtailment of the function in which they were occupied; protection of the seniority pension fund rights and other personal rights of the transferred employees; and assignment of the transferred employees to positions similar to those which they previously held. The commission recommended that a definite procedure be set up to determine the number of unnecessary positions and the termination of employees, provided the employer's right of dismissal for cause—inefficiency, incompetence, etc.—was not affected by it.

The commission also recommended that personnel administration in Atlanta and Fulton County be improved by these governments taking the necessary steps to establish uniform pay and classification plans, standards of selection, employee rights and privileges, basic operating procedures and uniform pension plans.

To improve tax administration, area-wide appraisal of all property in both Atlanta and Fulton County was recommended. Also proposed was a physical merger of the boards of tax assessors offices of the city and county and the consolidation of the county offices of tax receiver and tax collector into an office of tax commissioner. It was further recommended that the several tax collection functions in Atlanta be consolidated into the office of the treasurer.

The third major proposal was a detailed procedure for putting the plan into operation. This included a joint performance committee, an advisory referendum on the plan, and three specific legal steps to put it into effect. The referendum was held on June 28, 1950, when the plan was overwhelmingly endorsed by a vote of 23,927 to 6,761. In Atlanta the vote was 17,367 to 1,945 for endorsement and in the fourteen unincorporated suburban districts of Fulton to be annexed, 6,560 to 4,816. The legal steps dealt with getting the plan through the General Assembly and approved by the people.

The plan of improvement followed the proposed procedural steps throughout 1950 and 1951 and, with only a few minor changes made in the General Assembly, went into effect on January 1, 1952. It passed successfully the hurdles of the General Assembly, the polls and a legal fight by a vociferous minority. Many problems must still be worked out, such as the details of the fire department agreement and the dead animal collection service in unincorporated areas of Fulton County; and the fear of discrimination by the transferred county personnel must be alleviated. However, these are being worked out and they will be minimized and remedied "by good will and by a sincere desire on the part of public officials and citizens alike to make the plan work as it was designed to work."

Cities Urged to Reach Out

Annexation of outlying areas proposed as best way to keep suburban development on orderly, planned basis.

By **BEN B. EHRLICHMAN***

THE change from public transportation to the use of private automobiles represents the power behind suburban development. This inexorable trend, which became clearly apparent in the early '20s, has rolled up such huge force as to endanger real estate values in the heart of our great cities and is causing a revolutionary shifting of tax sources to a dangerous degree. As the private automobile grew in number, the buying habits of the people commenced to change—a change imperceptible at first.

The important retail buyer is the housewife. A few years ago her shopping trip was an important event for the whole family. The children went along on the great adventure. There was nothing casual about it. The items to be purchased were planned in advance and the return trip on the street car or interurban was carefully timed.

Today, mother puts the clothes in the washing machine, slips into her car, drives to her favorite shopping center to buy perhaps a single small item—a head of lettuce, a loaf of bread. No advance planning — no budgeting of time. The shopping expedition could be a daily or twice-a-day occurrence. She is home again within the hour, relaxed and with a sense of pleasure and satisfaction at the convenience, and perhaps with more purchases than she had intended.

Convenient parking space becomes one of the first considerations of the housewife in choosing her shopping district. She would rather travel several miles further for that convenience and, of course, free parking has an additional lure—a greater attraction than the dollars and cents saved.

By the late 1920s the changed buying habits had become sufficiently impressive to encourage architects and business planners to design shopping centers, and many astute businessmen commenced working on plans for outlying business districts in order to avoid the problems of haphazard development. The crack-up in the country's business structure, however, which started with the financial panic in 1929, stopped virtually all new sizable developments.

In the middle '30s sufficient recovery had come about to again warrant such planning. A few small projects were actually completed and many large ones were ready for financing when the world equilibrium was upset by Hitler and Mussolini. It was only after the close of the war in

---

*Mr. Ehrlichman, president of the United National Corporation and chairman of the board of United Pacific Insurance Company, is a member of the council of the National Municipal League and president of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington. This article is Mr. Ehrlichman's address at the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

1945 that sufficient funds for this purpose became available on reasonable terms.

Meanwhile, with the rapid increase in numbers of automobiles on our streets and with few planned shopping centers available to fulfill the growing need for this type of service, other problems arose of even greater importance than that of insufficient parking.

Highways By-pass Cities

The traffic increase in the center of our cities brought about a trend toward the building of highways bypassing our city centers. Today, we see traffic, which formerly flowed into the center of our cities to keep those centers alive, flowing in increasing proportions around, over or under our large cities, carrying car occupants to a suburban business center where they may buy with convenience and in leisure. Yes, I am convinced that the automobile is here to stay and that the trend toward suburban business districts is just commencing.

These suburban business developments, thus far, have with a few exceptions been hit-or-miss propositions. A fringe of stores on a main highway, an intersection for good retail locations, then additional retail units added to this center extending outward from the intersection. Every evil which goes along with a non-planned district is present. Traffic hazards are intensified, fire hazards, sanitation problems, and costly administration by municipal and county governments.

Municipalities at considerable expense create new access highways. These highways are designed to carry the traffic from the center of town outward and possibly radially around the city.

Suddenly it dawned upon the municipalities that the highways designed to do this job have been ruined by the fringe business development. In other words, retail establishments have created such traffic congestion that a new kind of highway has been forced into existence—the limited access expressway. Unplanned suburban developments have wrecked the highways as far as their original purpose was concerned.

What of the future? Must we allow this destruction of our municipal wealth, as represented by our municipal highway system, to continue? It seems obvious to me that every possible effort should be made by municipal governments to recentralize suburban development. Instead of hit-or-miss intersections becoming suburban developments, every means should be taken to centralize them into a few large well planned centers and to stop the continued multiplication of highway business intersections.

If the planning commissions and governing bodies of municipalities would take a direct turn-about-face from the general attitude toward these suburban developments, they would still be able to accomplish this result. In almost every large city, there is one—or more—sizable shopping development at its fringe either projected or already under way.

Steps should be taken to encourage well planned suburban business districts. City utilities should be made available to them cheerfully and fairly. Access roads and directional signs should be eagerly and intelligently provided. Thus, alone, will they be able to stifle the fringe and crossroads developments which are creating such grave problems.

Accepting the point that municipal governments should provide services to encourage decentralization of cities, we are confronted with the question, what municipal government should do this? One choice is that the existing city government should extend its limits. It is only logical that these cities extend their services to take in these developments.

Another choice is to encourage the establishment of new municipal governments. It seems almost juvenile to discuss these two alternatives, for the question comes down to this, do we want two police chiefs, two fire chiefs, two city halls, two mayors—or only one?

City Must Extend Limits

The obvious answer is that existing municipal governments must extend their boundaries to annex the new areas in which suburban business development is taking place. They must reach out to take in these areas and to provide appropriate municipal services. Short-sighted city governments may say they do not care to do anything to assist decentralization of their cities. They do not wish to be parties to encourage suburban development. How many times in recent years have we heard this statement by city officials?

You will see it is very poor logic, if you think it through, for our cities are already providing many services without charge to people living beyond the city limits. It is only logical that these cities extend their limits to include those people in order to get their property on city tax rolls.

Experience has proved that, with the lapse of a little time, the tax income from the annexed areas is more than sufficient to pay for the municipal services provided and, furthermore, that the advantages to the outside property owners more than outweigh the additional taxes. Municipal services, such as water, lights, sewer, police and fire protection, and other facilities must be merchandised to those not now enjoying these services.

To summarize, let me point out the impossibility of stopping the trend toward suburban development. The automobile is largely responsible for this trend, and the automobile will be with us in increasing numbers.

Municipal governments should take every step possible to encourage recentralization of cities rather than to permit crossroads development that has and is ruining many of our existing highways.

Municipal governments should so merchandise their services to areas existing outside present city boundaries that such outlying areas are taken into the municipalities. Existing city governments can more economically provide the services required by these new areas than these

(Continued on page 223)

U. S. Governors 1940-1950

State reorganizations of past decade have brought to chief executive added prestige and real responsibility.

By SAMUEL R. SOLOMON*

IN A survey of "American Governors 1915-1930,"[1] made 21 years ago, this author noted the emergence of the state executive as the outstanding personality in state politics and administration. The article suggested that, with the continued movement for state administrative reform, the position of governor would continue to increase in political and social prestige and that the governor's mansion would beckon more invitingly than ever to leading professional and business men.

In a sequel study for the 1930-1940 decade,[2] John A. Perkins pointed to the contention made by some commentators in 1933 that "the states as vital units of government were finished, and 'that only the federal government could solve our state and national needs'." With the major interest focused on the national stage, he commented that "the American governors as the outstanding personalities in the states, like the states themselves, seemed for a time of secondary importance."

Dr. Perkins also noted, however, that the states' rights doctrine had subsequently been reasserted and he anticipated that the states would probably continue to function very much as they had in the past, with unabated interest in the governor as the focal interest of state politics. He concluded: "The composite picture of the last 178 governors . . . is a favorable one. They stand high in comparison with their predecessors. They outrank the average citizen in their states. Many of them have already gone on to further useful governmental service upon completion of their terms."

What can we say of the men who became chief executives of their states during the next ten years? Are they still the "outstanding personalities" in the states, and has the position of governor continued to increase in prestige and influence? The answer is a positive affirmative.

During the 1940-1950 decade, state reorganization progressed slowly but surely. In three states the term of governor was increased from two to four years and in New Jersey the three-year term was increased to four. Reorganizations usually gave increased administrative powers to the governor. To cite one example:[3]

> In New Jersey, the revision commission first enunciated and the con-

---

*Dr. Solomon is professor of social science at the State University of New York Teachers College at Brockport. He was, until recently, a teacher of political science at Syracuse University. Dr. Solomon is author of a similar study of American governors for the years 1915-1930.

[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1931, page 152.

[2] The REVIEW, March 1940, page 178.

[3] See "Price of a New Constitution," by James Kerney, Jr. The REVIEW, January 1952, page 14.

> stitutional convention later adopted certain principles. First, the governor was given authority. He was made responsible for the various state departments and given authority to name their administrators, who form his cabinet. To focus attention on his responsibilities as the general manager of the state government, he was the only state official elected. All the other officials in the executive branch are his appointees. As a result of the new constitution we have for the first time cohesive, responsible administration of state government in New Jersey.

The 1940-1950 decade was highlighted also by the expanding growth and influence of such interstate organizations as the National Governors Conference and the Southern Governors Conference, which in 1948 exploded into the Dixiecrat movement and saw the nomination of two southern governors to oppose the regular Democratic candidacies of President Truman and Senator Barkley.

If the last decade could be stretched one more year, this resurgence of the states' rights movement was climaxed in 1950 by the return of ex-U. S. Senator, ex-Supreme Court Justice, ex-Secretary of State James F. Byrnes to campaign successfully for the governorship of South Carolina on a states' rights platform in opposition to policies of the national administration.

The 1940s also included such bizarre happenings as the case of "the three governors" in Georgia, and a flurry of "hill-billy" bands and candidates who literally sang their way into the state capitol. But these were the exceptions rather than the rule. More often, the voters concentrated on the candidate rather than the campaign, frequently splitting tickets to pick the man of their choice. What caliber of men did they choose and how do they compare with their predecessors?

Where They Come From

Of the 161 governors of the 1940s, 45 were not native sons. Two of these were born abroad: John Moses of North Dakota in Norway and Julius Heil of Wisconsin in Germany. Two of the newer states, New Mexico and Wyoming, had governors all born in other states. Only nineteen chose their executives exclusively from native sons and even the proud state of Texas elected one "outsider," from Ohio.

The percentage of governors who have attended institutions of higher learning has gradually increased in the last 35 years. In the 1915-1930 period, 64 per cent had attended college, in the next decade 77 per cent had college training. In the 1940-1950 period, only twenty are listed as not having attended college, leaving 141, or almost 88 per cent, with some kind of collegiate schooling. Some 105 earned college degrees, the great majority of them in law. Forty earned two college degrees and five earned three. At least six were elected to Phi Beta Kappa.

Among the 36 who attended college but did not receive degrees were nine law students, two business college students and one medical student. Of those who did not attend college, thirteen list themselves as having gone to public school, four to grade or common school and three to high school.

As previous surveys indicate, the majority of governors were lawyers by profession, but vocational classification is difficult because many have engaged in two or more occupations before their election as governor. The following classification is based on what appeared to be the major vocational interest of the men covered:

Lawyers	85
Educators	11
Newspaper publishers	5
Farmers	4
Bankers	3
Engineers	3
Insurance	3
Drug store owner	3
Advertising	2
Pharmacist	2
Leather business	2
Automobile agency	2
Oil producer	2
Career public official	2
Physician	2
Dentist	1
Accountant	1
Musician	1
Rancher	1
Editor	1
Treasurer	1
Mill company	1
Flour miller	1
Sales engineer	1
Tractor business	1
Cashier	1
Farm agent	1
Air transport	1
Naval officer	1
Shoe business	1
Lumber business	1
Electrical business	1
Marble business	1
Optical business	1
Railroader	1
Cotton exporter	1
Realtor	1
Public engineer	1

As in previous years, the 1940-1950 governor is a marrying man. Only eight of the 161 were bachelors at the time they moved into the governor's mansion; one of these, J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, later dictated a letter of proposal to his secretary, who thereupon typed a letter of acceptance. Only seventeen have had no children; the rest have families ranging from one to eight children.

Average Age Is 51

Since it still seems to take about twenty or more years of private and/or public experience to achieve the prominence necessary for election to the governorship, the average age of the state executive when inaugurated is 51, about what it was twenty years ago but with a tendency for younger men to be elected. As in the 1930-1940 survey, the record for being the oldest governor is still held by Lurin Dickinson of Michigan, who was 80 when inaugurated. Likewise, Harold Stassen still holds the youngest governor title, taking office at 31, although there were two who became governor at 36, two at 37, two at 38 and three at 39.

Summarizing the respective ages when inaugurated, ten of the men were in their thirties, 63 were in their forties, 57 in their fifties, 28 in their sixties, two in the seventies, and one in the eighties.

Many governors were born at a time which made them eligible for service in World War I and some for World War II. The number of veterans, therefore, is much larger than in previous decades; in fact, at least 78, or almost half, had some military experience before their election. Most of them joined veterans' organizations, in some cases becoming post or state commanders. While it is difficult to evaluate the effect of military service as political appeal, having a war record certainly did not hurt these candidates with the millions of veteran voters. With the nineteen million men and women currently veterans, and with more to come, it is safe to assume that governors of the next twenty or thirty years will also include a high percentage of veterans.

Party Affiliation

Of the 161 men who held the governorship during the 1940s, 94, or 58 per cent, were Democrats and 67 were Republicans. Thus the Democrats maintained almost the same edge they had over the Republicans in the 1930s, when they held 60 per cent of the governorships. This contrasts with the practically even honors enjoyed by the two parties in the 1915-1930 period.

Fourteen states, including those in the solid south, elected Democratic governors exclusively,[4] while nine states sent only Republicans to the state capitol.[5] As previously noted, however, there is an increasing tendency to split tickets when it comes to the governorship and it is no longer uncommon to have a governor of one party and the rest of the administration and/or the legislative majority representing the opposition. Some states like Connecticut, Idaho, Ohio and Massachusetts seem to have acquired the habit of alternating parties in successive gubernatorial campaigns.

Public Offices Held

As indicated below, the public and political offices held by governors-to-be represent a varied range of local, state and federal experience. Most of them received their apprenticeship in two or more offices, while only five were elected without previous political experience.

Since a large percentage of the governors were lawyers, it is natural to find many seeking a post with governmental law agencies. At least 35 had their first taste of public office in the county or city attorney's office and several skyrocketed into the governorship on the strength of the fame acquired as successful prosecutors. Another port of entree has been the legislature, with 25 members in the lower house and eleven in the senate. The city mayoralty has been the first stepping-stone for ten governors, while five won their first spurs as lieutenant governor. On the federal level, three served their first public apprenticeship as government attorneys, two as assistant U. S. district attorneys, while four entered public life by way of Congress.

Of the final public offices held before election as chief executive, that of lieutenant governor holds top place with 25; the state legislature is second with 22 (senate, fifteen; lower house, seven); and state attorney general third with twelve. Others were judgeships, eleven; U. S. House of Representatives, seven; mayoralty, seven; secretary of state, five; U. S. Senate, three; U. S. district attorney, three.

---

[4] In 1950 Arizona, normally a Democratic state, elected the third Republican governor in its 39-year history when Howard Pyle defeated Mrs. Ana Frohmiller. Had she won Mrs. Frohmiller would have become the third woman governor in U. S. history

[5] One of these states, Wisconsin, elected a Progressive, Orland Loomis, in 1942, but he died before taking office. Also Earl Warren of California was elected in 1946 on both the Republican and Democratic tickets.

While the lieutenant governorship appears the most popular steppingstone, it is not necessarily the most positive. In many states this office possesses a political anonymity akin to that of the national vice presidency—pre-Barkley, that is—and unless the lieutenant governor can remain in the limelight by becoming chairman of an important statewide committee, project, etc., he may find the position a blind alley—unless, of course, the governor dies or resigns. At least eight of the 25 lieutenant governors mentioned above became governor via the latter route.[6]

The following table lists the public and political offices held by governors-to-be, classified by federal, state and local level.

Federal Government

House of Representatives	12
U. S. Senate	3
U. S. district attorney	6
Presidential elector	6
Internal Revenue Bureau	4
Assistant district attorney	3
Special assistant to district attorney	2
NRA	2
WPA	2
Postmaster	2
Assistant secretary of navy	1
Undersecretary of interior	1
Special assistant to secretary of navy	1
Federal food administration	1
OPA administrator	1
Deputy director, OPA	1
Chairman, Economic Stabilization Board	1
Special counsel, AAA	1
Assistant to secretary of state	1
Chief, Foreign Economic Administration, Italy	1
War Department mission, Europe	1
Attorney, Social Security Board	1
Adviser, U. S. Delegation, UN	1
Appraiser, Federal Land Bank	1
Agricultural Credit Corporation	1
Referee in bankruptcy	1
Department of Agriculture	1
Farm Debt Administration	1
Delegate to UNESCO	1

State Government

Member, lower house		43
(Speaker	13	
Page boy	2	
Clerk	2	
Committee clerk	3)	
Member, state senate		35
(President or president pro tem	9)	
Lieutenant governor		27
Attorney general		16
Bench		15
Secretary of state		8
Delegate, Democratic National Convention		6
Delegate, Republican National Convention		6
Assistant attorney general		5
Governor's counsel		5
Chairman, Republican state committee		4
Public Utility Commission		4
Liquor Control Commission		3
Democratic National Committee		2
Executive secretary, state Democratic committee		2
Delegate, state constitutional convention		2
Commissioner of agriculture		2

---

[6] To cite an unusual instance, Governor Dickinson, octogenarian from Michigan, was elected lieutenant governor seven times, but only succeeded to the governorship upon the death of Governor Fitzgerald.

Assistant superintendent of education	2
State highway commissioner	2
Attorney, highway commission	2
Executive secretary to governor	2
Railroad commission	2
Keynoter, state Democratic convention	2
Republican National Committee	1
Republican district chairman	1
Special assistant to attorney general	1
Commissioner of public Works	1
State rationing administration	1
Deputy commissioner of agriculture	1
State board of education	1
State school supervisor	1
State planning board	1
Inheritance tax collector	1
Counsel, public service commission	1
Board of state bar examiners	1
Chairman, state corporation commission	1
Chairman, interstate oil compact commission	1
Attorney, public utility commission	1
Attorney and secretary, RR commission	1
State bridge inspector	1
State university president	1
State engineer	1
Deputy engineer	1
Legal assistant, power commission	1
State treasurer	1
Auditor general	1
Adjutant general	1
Chairman, state code commission	1
Railroad tax commission	1
Executive assistant to governor	1
Secretary, state tax commission	1

Local Government

Attorney (prosecuting, county, district, etc.)	29
Mayor	16
City attorney	15
Councilman	10
Superintendent of schools	9
Bench	6
Board of education	5
Sheriff	3
Deputy city attorney	2
Special counsel to city attorney	1
Town attorney	1
County treasurer	1
School district assessor	1
City drain commissioner	1
Town treasurer	1
City treasurer	1
Secretary to mayor	1
City water commission	1
City recorder	1
County clerk	1
County surveyor	1
County board of supervisors	1
County Republican committee	1
Draft board	1

Reelection to Office

In two-year-term states the tendency still is to reelect the incumbent, 48 governors having won two terms (in at least two cases after one term out) and fourteen winning three terms. In the four-year states which do not forbid their governors to succeed themselves, six executives have been reelected to a second term and two, Governors Thomas E. Dewey of New York and Earl Warren of California, have won three terms. Governor Herbert H. Lehman is the only four-term governor in this period, but the first three of his elections were for two years.[7]

In states where the governor, elected for a four-year term, cannot succeed himself, at least three executives have been reelected after waiting the necessary term out of office. In New Jersey, which was the sole state with a three-year term forbidding its governors to succeed themselves, A. Harry Moore was the first to win three terms, in each case after one term out. Alfred E. Driscoll was the last three-year governor (1947-1950). He was reelected for four years under the 1947 constitution, which permits two successive terms with at least one term out before election for a third time.

---

[7] Governor Lausche of Ohio has recently announced his candidacy for a fourth term; if he succeeds, he will be the first four-term winner in the state's history.

The story seems to be that once the people like a governor, he can remain as chief executive almost indefinitely, as limited by the constitution, unless he chooses to try for federal or other offices. As indicated in previous studies, an ex-governor is usually a potential candidate for reelection, no matter how many years out in private or other public office. To cite New Jersey again, Governor Edge was first elected for the 1917-1920 gubernatorial term; was then elected to the U. S. Senate (1919-1925); was reelected for 1925-1931 but resigned from the Senate in 1929 to become ambassador to France (1929-1933). In 1943 he successfully campaigned for the New Jersey governorship after some 23 years out of that office.

Where They Go

The United States Senate still seems to be the favorite spot sought by governors with the exception, of course, of the presidency. At least 27 of the decade's executives went on to the national capitol and several others were defeated in campaigns for the Senate. In fact, that body seems well on its way to becoming an ex-governors' club; at least a fourth of the current Senate membership consists of former governors.

The cabinet is another attractive post and there are two ex-governors currently holding such positions, Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin from Massachusetts and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath from Rhode Island.

Ambassadorships have gone to three governors, while the foreign military and economic aid commitments occasioned by World War II have provided, and will no doubt continue to provide, opportunities. Governor Lehman resigned in the last month of his tenth year as New York's executive to head UNRRA, became a member of the Public Advisory Board, ECA for European Aid, and then, in 1949, was elected to the U. S. Senate and reelected to a full term in 1950.

Murray Van Wagoner of Michigan and Dwight P. Griswold of Nebraska were appointed to the Military Government in Germany. Mr. Griswold later became chief of the American Mission to Aid Greece and had as his deputy chief Robert L. Cochran, his predecessor as Nebraska's governor. The present administrator of the Civil Defense Administration is Millard F. Caldwell, governor of Florida from 1945 to 1949.

Harold Stassen resigned as governor of Minnesota in 1943 to enter the Navy, was a delegate to the UN Conference at San Francisco in 1945, a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1948 and currently president of the University of Pennsylvania and a candidate for the 1952 Republican nomination. Another governor who served in the Navy during World War II was Arthur Langlie of Virginia; the latter went on active duty shortly after his term expired in 1945 and then was reelected to the governorship in 1949. Colgate Darden, Jr., whose term as Virginia's executive expired in 1946, was appointed vice-chairman of the Navy's Civilian Advisory Committee in 1947 and later the same year became president of the University of Virginia.

Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia, (who figured in "the three governors" case) was recently appointed director of the Office of Price Stabilization.

And, of course, there were the presidential candidates, Dewey 1944 and 1948, and Thurmond 1948; and the vice presidential candidates, John W. Bricker 1944 and Earl Warren and Fielding Wright 1948. Governor Warren is campaigning for the 1952 Republican presidential nomination; Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois has been prominently mentioned as a possible candidate for the Democratic nomination, as has Senator Robert S. Kerr, former governor of Oklahoma.

Twenty-seven of the 161 governors are still incumbents, nine died in office and at least three have died since relinquishing the governorship. Others have only recently left office so that more can be expected of them politically in the future.

While the office of governor has provided a proving ground for federal office, as in previous years, the increased luster and prestige of the governorship is becoming more and more attractive to federal officeholders, to senators, congressmen, administrators, ambassadors, etc., and, in the unique case of James F. Byrnes, even a former U. S. Supreme Court justice and secretary of state.

The state governorship has apparently become a shuttle-platform. It is not only a stepping-stone to federal office but also an office to which ex-governors and national office-holders may return, because they find the governorship more desirable or to point for higher federal or other posts or, as in the case of Mr. Byrnes, to provide a vantage point from which to scrutinize policies of the federal government.

In 1931 the author's study on the state executive concluded:

> As the years pass, and more of the state governments are reorganized to correspond with the governor's new power and position in state politics, the governorship will in all probability become more and more a "stepping-stone to fame" and less and less a "toboggan to political oblivion." Indeed, governors of the future may well be satisfied with the fame attached to gubernatorial success.

The record of the state governors for the past twenty years seems, on the whole, to have warranted that estimate, and to justify one equally as optimistic, if not more so, for the executives of the next two or three decades.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Massachusetts Body Urges Legislative Changes

Suggests Ways of Reducing Law-making Branch's Work

HAVING made various reports on the executive branch, the Massachusetts Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government[1] has announced suggestions resulting from its studies of the legislative branch, in a 25-page memorandum. This was submitted not to the legislature but to the recently created Recess Commission on Legislative Procedure.

After praising four aspects of the Massachusetts legislative system—its joint committees, the right of free petition, public hearings for all bills and the reporting out of all bills—the commission suggested methods of reducing the volume of legislative work and improving legislative procedure.

Extension of greater home rule was urged as a means of eliminating much unnecessary and undesirable legislation. Public hearings on duplicate bills in successive sessions of the same legislature were decried. Consideration by one legislative house of bills defeated in the other house after adverse committee reports was deemed illogical; a bill favorably reported but defeated in the first house is not considered by the second. Action on these three points, together with installation of electric voting in the House of Representatives, was expected to enable shortening of sessions by several weeks.

The commission suggested establishment of a legislative council, which could supervise or conduct legislative research, aid in correlating committee schedules and study the possibilities of reorganizing the committee system in the interests of better distribution of work among committees and legislators.

Suggestions were also made as to a simpler form of legislative budget and the printing of bills so as to show changes from existing legislation.

Kentucky Legislature Reduces Committees

At the start of its regular 1952 session the Kentucky House of Representatives reduced the number of standing committees from 70 to 44. It created a new committee on committees, consisting of the speaker, majority floor leader and majority caucus chairman, to appoint the members of all other standing committees, refer all bills to such committees and exercise control over employees of the House. The Senate has had a similar committee for several years.

Washington State Has Reorganization Committee

The Committee on State Government Organization, set up in Washington last fall by joint action of Governor Langlie and the legislative council, has decided upon a course of action looking toward concrete proposals for consideration by the 1953 legislature. The Washington State Taxpayers Association reports that the committee has established two major subcommittees to study:

1. The state government's fiscal and so-called "staff" functions—budget control, purchasing, personnel, accounting procedures, auditing controls, etc.
2. The basic pattern of state

---

[1] See the REVIEW, October 1951, page 482.

government as a whole—whether the number of elective officials should be reduced, whether the state's several dozen boards, commissions, bureaus and committees can be consolidated for more efficient operations.

Each of these major subcommittees will name smaller groups to work on specified problems.

Subcommittees are to be guided by these general principles when they prepare their recommendations:

(1) Administrative authority, in so far as possible, should be integrated and unified; (2) major departments should be organized according to broad functional purposes; (3) single-headed departments are generally preferable for administrative work (for some purposes, boards, commissions and advisory councils may have their place); (4) Uniformity in intra-departmental organization should be achieved where feasible; (5) Accounting and post-auditing services should be separated, with accounting under the chief executive and post-auditing independent of the chief executive.

These decisions came after 23 state officials appeared before the committee, in a series of 60-minute sessions in a period of three days, to explain the functioning of their departments and to discuss the efficiency of state government.

Puerto Rico Constitution Overwhelmingly Approved

On March 3 citizens of Puerto Rico voted 373,418 to 82,473 to ratify the constitution recently drafted by a convention.

The constitution abolishes the power of Congress to repeal laws adopted in Puerto Rico, and takes from the president the power of appointing auditors and supreme court justices. The island's governor, already an elected official, will no longer supervise the judiciary or have power to suspend the right of habeas corpus. He can proclaim martial law but the legislature can repeal it. The governor's veto can be over-ridden by the legislature. The president can still order armed forces to Puerto Rico in case of invasion or rebellion.

The structure of government provides for continuing local election of governor at large and a two-house legislature, each house of which is elected partly by districts and partly at large. The Senate has 27 members, two elected from each of eight senatorial districts, plus eleven at large; the Assembly has one member from each of 40 districts and eleven at large. By a novel provision, it is arranged that if more than two-thirds of the members of either house are elected from one political party or from a single ticket, as both are defined by law, the number of members shall be increased to provide for better representation of minorities by seating candidates having the next highest votes, thus enlarging the size of the house concerned.[1]

Legislators serve for four years and the governor for four years. The governor appoints secretaries as heads of departments and succession to the governorship is by the secretary of state.

A unified judicial system is provided, headed by a supreme court whose members shall be appointed by the governor subject to confirmation by the Senate. Other courts may be created and abolished by the legislative assembly and presumably can be made elective.

No home rule for cities is provided.

Amendments may be proposed by concurrent resolution of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of both houses and must be submitted at a separate election unless carried in the houses by a three-fourths vote, in which case a referendum can be held at a general election. Not more than three amendments can be submitted at one time. Ratification is by a majority of the electors voting thereon.

---

[1] See also page 209, this issue.

The constitutional convention supplied itself with copies of the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution.*

The constitution was submitted to Congress on February 12 by Hon. A Fernos-Isern, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico, in advance of the popular vote of March 3 and requires passage by Congress.

Merit System Now Required by Ten State Constitutions

Alabama has become the tenth state to provide for the merit system in civil service as a constitutional requirement. The voters of that state on December 11 approved a merit system amendment to the state constitution by a vote of almost two to one. Chief provisions of the amendment are that appointments and promotions shall be made according to merit, fitness and efficiency determined, so far as practicable, by competitive examination; and that the legislature shall provide adequate financial support for a positive program of personnel management. Civil service status acquired by employees under existing statutes will not be affected by the amendment.

The other states with constitutional civil service provisions are New York, Kansas, Colorado, Ohio, California, Georgia, Michigan, New Jersey and Missouri. Many other states have adopted the merit system by statute.

Courts Uphold Redevelopment Laws

The way is being cleared for more cities to get urban redevelopment programs under way as a growing number of state courts uphold the constitutionality of urban redevelopment laws.

Out of four state supreme court rulings since January 1951 on the constitutionality of such laws three have been favorable, bringing to seven the number of states in which the high courts have upheld the laws, according to the National Association of Housing Officials. Meanwhile, test cases are planned or are pending in four other states—Ohio, Rhode Island, Florida and Minnesota.

The Michigan Supreme Court recently upheld the power of Detroit to condemn slum property and sell it to private builders for redevelopment. A decision by the Illinois Supreme Court affirmed an earlier decision upholding constitutionality of the state's 1947 blighted areas redevelopment law. Last year, the Tennessee Supreme Court upheld on all counts the constitutionality of legislation empowering Tennessee housing authorities to condemn slum areas and, after clearance, to sell or lease them to private redevelopers.

The Texas Supreme Court refused last year to review a court of appeals ruling that housing authorities have no power under the state's housing law to acquire and clear slum areas for sale to private developers as contemplated under the 1949 housing act.

Urban redevelopment laws were held constitutional in Pennsylvania and Alabama in 1950, in New Jersey in 1948 and in New York in 1943.

Michigan Anti-strike Law Constitutional

The so-called Hutchinson act in Michigan, under which the city of Detroit sought an injunction restraining employees of the city-owned transit system from striking, was held constitutional by the Michigan Supreme Court in January. The court declared that the act, which applies only to public employees, was applicable to the city's transit employees. The act provides that an employee, by striking, terminates his appointment or employment, restricts the public employer in regard to rehiring such employee, and provides for mediation on application of either party.

Virginia Employees under Social Security

The Virginia legislature early in February adopted laws permitting nearly 70,000 employees of the state and some local governments to be covered by the Federal Social Security program, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The state's retirement system is concurrently abolished and its funds are used to supplement the federal system. Local governments without retirement programs were given freedom to decide whether to come under the system; however, if no action has been taken by April 1 their employees are automatically covered.

Oregon and Washington Make Civil Defense Compact

An interstate civil defense compact has been signed by Governors McKay of Oregon and Langlie of Washington, providing for exchange of emergency supplies, rescue equipment and personnel. It establishes an operational basis for coordination of the civil defense organizations of the two states.

Provincial-municipal Committee in Manitoba

Studies are in progress in the province of Manitoba, Canada, by the Joint Provincial-municipal Committee, set up last year by the provincial government after requests from the Union of Manitoba Municipalities and the Manitoba Urban Association. A thorough review of all aspects of the relations between the provincial and local governments was sought.

Projects for study include the relative size and rate of increase of expenditures by the federal, provincial and municipal governments; analysis of municipal and provincial expenditures in Manitoba; sources of provincial and municipal revenues, viewed from the standpoints of equity and efficiency of collection; and the basis of grants currently being paid by the province to local governments.

Reorganization of Primaries Proposed in New York Bill

A bill providing for drastic improvements in New York City's primary system was introduced in the legislature (Senate 2712) by Senator Seymour Halpern, Republican. Drafted by a committee of the Citizens Union of New York City, after a three-year study, the bill embodies all the principles of the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System* of 1951. No action was taken by the 1952 legislature before it closed. The bill will be circulated among party leaders for their study during the next year and reintroduced at the 1953 session.

The bill provides for simplification of party structures in New York City, compelling the discarding of the preposterous city committee of over 38,000 members in the Democratic party and the corresponding one of about 13,000 members in the Republican party. The county segments of those committees for the five counties within New York City are likewise hopelessly unwieldy and so are many of those in the State Senate and Assembly districts where they run above 1,000 members in some cases.[1]

---

[1] See "How Tammany Keeps Its Power," by Justin N. Feldman, the REVIEW, July 1950.

The Citizens Union bill makes the assembly district leaders and women co-leaders directly elective in each assembly district and they serve also as members of the city and county committees with weighted votes corresponding to the prior party vote for governor in their respective districts.

For the less-than-county districts for election of United States representatives, state senators, assemblymen and certain judges, party committees are made up of a captain and a co-captain elected from each voting precinct and voting without weighting. So voters at primary elections will have to select for party officers only an assembly district leader and co-leader and an election district captain and co-captain instead of the long lists of county committeemen now elected by precincts, who, in most counties, choose the district leaders.

The committees, thus consisting of the active party managers, are authorized to designate candidates for public office and for their own successors as party committeemen. The names of these designees are to be printed first on the primary ballot under each office followed by the words "designated by party committee."

The "designating certificates" of a party committee shall be filed not later than the eighth Tuesday preceding the primary and contesting designating petitions can be filed thereafter within the next three weeks. Accordingly, responsibility for selection of party nominees and of successors in party office is put on the party managers instead of on hit-and-run conventions in the case of judges or on unregulated meetings of the county committeemen of each constituency, most of whom never attend. The party managers submit designees under conditions which leave time for insurgency to arise and start a contest if the managers' designations inspire rebellion.

This principle, first advocated by Charles Evans Hughes when he was governor of New York, is untried to this day; Rhode Island alone goes part way in its primary law by letting candidates "endorsed" by the party managers be identified as such on the primary ballots.

R. S. C.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The borough council of **Schuylkill Haven, Pennsylvania,** (1950 population 6,597) passed an ordinance on March 10 establishing the council-manager plan.

Holden, Massachusetts, (1950 population 5,975) adopted the council-manager plan on March 3 by a vote of 1,207 to 991. The question on the ballot was adoption of a town charter passed by the 1951 legislature.

The town of **Phillips, Maine,** (1,088) adopted the council-manager plan at its town meeting in March.

The small communities of **Bonwood** and **Ducktown, Tennessee,** have incorporated as cities under state enabling legislation providing for the manager plan.

Dedham, Massachusetts, voting on March 3, defeated a proposal to adopt a council-manager charter. **Amesbury** defeated a similar proposal as did **Stoneham.**

A proposal to make it easier for **Massachusetts** towns to have managers has been presented to the state legislature as a Republican measure. It would establish a "standard" form of manager administration within the present framework of town government.

The **Warwick, Rhode Island,** Municipal League has been circulating petitions for election of a charter commission in November.

The **Newport, Rhode Island,** Charter

Commission held an organization meeting on February 11 and voted seven to two to draft a council-manager charter. Seven of the nine members had announced themselves in favor of the manager plan prior to the election.

On March 25 voters of **Takoma Park, Maryland,** defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, 824 to 227.

The Chamber of Commerce and various civic clubs of **Moundsville, Virginia,** are interested in securing the council-manager plan for their city.

Voters of **Columbia, South Carolina,** on March 25, defeated a proposal to abandon the council-manager plan. The vote was 5,535 to 1,647. The vote on September 6, 1949, for adoption was 1,222 to 650.

A council-manager charter drafted by the charter commission of **Acworth, Georgia,** was defeated at a recent election. The mayor vigorously opposed it.

The voters of **North Miami, Florida,** will ballot on April 15 on election of a nine-man charter commission, which will decide whether to draft a council-manager charter, adopt the commission plan or continue the mayor-council plan as at present.

Petitions have been circulated in **Marietta, Ohio,** for a vote at the next regular election on adopting the manager plan.

A group of citizens in **Rockford, Illinois,** is planning to begin an educational campaign for the council-manager plan. In **Quincy, Illinois,** the Chamber of Commerce is actively promoting the idea. Other **Illinois** communities showing interest in the plan include **Wilmington** and **Elmhurst.**

A campaign for council-manager government is under way in **Kirksville, Missouri.** Petitions for an election on the question have been circulated.

Voters of **Dalhart, Texas,** on February 23, sustained the manager plan 945 to 380.

Petitions for a vote on the council-manager plan have been circulated in **Carlsbad, New Mexico,** and have been submitted to the city council. It is expected that a vote will be held at the April municipal election.

Des Moines Adds In-service Training

Des Moines, Iowa, which adopted the council-manager form of government in 1950, has recently instituted two training programs for various city employees.

A sixteen-weeks course for municipal officials in management positions covers techniques of municipal administration. Attendance is based on the city manager's invitation to department, division, agency or office heads. In addition to lectures by authorities in the field of public administration, there are panel discussions led by prominent officials in city government, private industry and professional organizations.

The Des Moines police department is conducting a course in human relations in police administration, intended to promote better understanding of police problems and to improve the supervisory skills of the city's police supervisors—enrollment being limited to supervisors, appointed by the chief of police. Classes are being held at Drake University and lectures are delivered by regular college faculty plus outside experts in police administration. The course is given in two sections so that men working on all shifts may attend.

Two New Jersey Communities Merge

Citizens of Vineland borough and Landis township in southern New Jersey voted by large majorities at a special election on February 5 to form a single city, which will have the largest area—64 square miles—of any in the state. Vineland is a square-mile municipality of 8,100 population, surrounded by Landis township with 22,000 population. The unofficial figures showed votes of 2,797 to 185 in Vineland and 6,429 to 699 in Landis for the merger.

A special election will be held on May 13 to select a mayor and five members of a city council, to take office in July.

Florida City Doubles Area by Merger

The city of Fernandina, Florida, has recently doubled its area and added 1,200 to its population by merging with it the town of Fernandina Beach and intervening territory. The merger was made possible by an act of the 1951 state legislature and approval by popular vote in all three areas.

Cities Cooperate for Sewage Disposal

The adjoining cities of Bristol, Tennessee, and Bristol, Virginia, have nearly completed a sewage disposal plant to be administered by Bristol, Tennessee, under a joint agreement made in 1949. Two Oregon cities—Tumwater and Olympia—have recently entered into a similar agreement to construct a joint sewage disposal system, according to the American Public Works Association.

Steps have been taken toward the construction of trunk sewers, ocean outfall, and treatment plant by seven sanitation districts which will serve all but two cities in Orange County, California. Late in 1951 California's East Bay Municipal Utility District began the collection and treatment of sewage from the outfalls of six East Bay cities: Albany, Alameda, Berkeley, Emeryville, Oakland and Piedmont. In Kentucky, the cities of Covington, Newport, Bellevue, Dayton, Fort Thomas, Ludlow, Bromley and about eight smaller places have formed a metropolitan sewer district.

Inter-American Municipal Congress in Montevideo

The Inter-American Municipal Organization (headquarters in Havana, Cuba) has announced that the fourth meeting of the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities will be held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in the first two weeks of February 1953. The agenda will include discussions of planning, low-cost housing and other problems of urban areas.

U. S. Mayor's Conference Meets in New York

The twentieth anniversary annual conference of the U. S. Conference of Mayors will be held in New York City at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, May 14-17. Registration on the 14th will be followed by a late afternoon reception. Business sessions, luncheons and social events will occur on the 15th, 16th and 17th.

Civil Service Assembly Holds Regional Meetings

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada has announced four regional conferences in April and May.

The western conference will be held at the Hotel Sainte Claire in San Jose, California, April 3-5; the southern conference at the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans, April 24-26; the central conference at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago, April 28-30; and the eastern conference at the Mount Royal Hotel, Montreal, Canada. The annual conference of the assembly will be held in New York at the Hotel New Yorker, October 20-23.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Cuyahoga County Gets Administrative Officer

First County in State to Provide Expert Management

THE county commissioners of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, have created the post of county administrative officer and promoted the budget officer to it. He will receive an annual salary of $13,500.

Because of the limitations of state law, the position had to be set up as an assistant to the clerk of the board of county commissioners to be "referred to and known as the county administrative officer." The resolution of the county commissioners provided for the assignment of a number of specific duties to this officer to be appointed by the board and to serve at its pleasure.

The general function of the administrative officer will be to assist the board of county commissioners in carrying out its managerial and administrative duties. State laws do not permit the delegation to him of authority reposed in the board of county commissioners or in any other county officers or commissions. His work will be in the nature of that of an administrative assistant to the board.

Despite the confining provisions of state law, Cuyahoga County now has an executive head who, with the full support of the county commissioners and with the cooperation of the other elected officers such as the auditor, treasurer, coroner, engineer, etc., can be a potent integrating force in strengthening the management of the county government.

The Citizens League of Cleveland comments:

"County services have been steadily and inevitably expanding. The cost of activities directly administered by the board of county commissioners has risen from $1,256,560 in 1930 to $13,474,532 in 1952, and the commissioners have in recent years taken on such additional responsibilities as the construction and operation of a hospital for the chronic ill, the planning and operation of a county airport, the administration of veterans housing, civilian defense and welfare and relief.

"Furthermore, the commissioners are expected to take the leadership in meeting the need for more adequate and progressive county-wide control of municipal services. In addition, they must adopt an annual budget and appropriate funds and authorize purchases for all county departments.

"These are full-time administrative obligations which cannot be discharged by a part-time board without proper staff assistance. The new officer will aid and assist the board in the administrative supervision and control of budgeting, purchasing and contracts, the welfare department, the dog warden, the department of buildings, the office of sanitary engineer, the custodian of buildings, airports, veterans housing and civilian defense. He will have the right to confer with the heads of said departments, to receive reports from them regarding operating problems, and to report to the county commissioners concerning said departments, and he will assist the board in administering, enforcing and carrying out its policies and resolutions.

"Cuyahoga County for the first time in its history has an executive officer and is the first county in the state to have such an officer. This evidence of the intent of the county officials to reorganize in the direction of tighter control and improved county management will result in greater public confidence in the county as the logical agency to handle metropolitan government functions."

Another Virginia County Adopts Manager Plan

The county commissioners of Elizabeth City County, Virginia, on March 12, adopted an ordinance giving the county "executive secretary" the full administrative powers of a county manager. This action makes the county the sixth in Virginia with the manager plan. The others are Albermarle, Arlington, Fairfax, Henrico and Warwick. Under the county's special charter, adopted in 1942, the executive secretary, appointed by the county commissioners, has only such authority as the commissioners may grant.

Civic Group in Maricopa County Wants Manager Plan

The Better Government Association of Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, has been organized "to seek drastic revision of Maricopa County government." Approximately 45 business and civic leaders from all parts of the county met in an organizing meeting and elected officers. Recurrent incidents of waste, graft and scandal in county government have prompted the reform drive.

The four-point program adopted by the organizing committee is as follows:

1. Expansion of the board of supervisors from three to five members, all to be elected at large. The supervisors now are elected from three districts. Proposed legislation to make this change has been introduced into the state legislature.

2. Nonpartisan election of supervisors to eliminate "control of the supervisors by a party boss" and "patronage control of appointments throughout county government."

3. Installation of the county manager plan, under which a trained man would be hired to run the administrative affairs of the county without interference from the supervisors.

4. Adoption of a civil service plan for all county employees.

The present movement for county improvement parallels the Phoenix Charter Government Committee's drive which led to improvements in the council-manager system three years ago. A member of the organizing group commented that the city had "set a wonderful precedent and demonstrated that we can have clean, efficient government if we work for it."

Arlington County to Vote on Manager's Tenure

The Virginia legislature, on February 27, passed a bill providing for a vote in Arlington County on the tenure and powers of the county's manager. Two questions will appear on the November ballot: (1) Shall the county manager be appointed for an indefinite term, subject to removal at any time by the county board? (2) Shall the heads of county departments be appointed by the county manager?

At the present time the manager is appointed for a one-year term, which is renewed automatically unless he is notified by the board of his removal 60 days in advance. Heads of departments, except police, are now appointed by the county board.

Oneida County Reorganization Receives Support

The reorganization plan for Oneida County, New York, proposed by a special committee of 25,[1] has gained editorial support in local newspapers.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1952, page 154.

The Rome *Sentinel* recently commented in part:

"The committee points out that in the 268 years since the formation of the first county in this state little has been done to alter the basic structure of county government.

"To strengthen county government and rid it of the inefficiency of an archaic system faced with the complexity of governmental responsibilities, the state in 1935 passed a county home rule amendment to provide optional forms of county government.

"Only three counties, . . . Monroe, Nassau and Westchester, . . . have availed themselves of the opportunity of such self-government.

"The Oneida County Survey Committee places the responsibility upon the citizens in these words: 'Since counties now have the power to change their form of government to conform with modern and efficient procedures, the responsibility for retaining at the present time a governmental structure designed for eighteenth century service lies squarely with the electors of each county and their representatives on the board of supervisors.' "

Louisville Paper Urges County Consolidation

A feature article in a recent issue of the Louisville, Kentucky, *Courier-Journal* emphasizes the need to reduce the number of counties in the state. Reasons for the present number of counties, says the paper, have ceased to be valid and the people can no longer afford to support this outmoded relic of the past. It proposes that the present 120 counties be reduced to 49, but concludes: "Perhaps a good idea would be for the General Assembly next year to authorize the governor to appoint a regrouping commission which, with expert advisors, would make a study and recommendations for some such scheme as this, in whole or in part."

California Cities Continue Study of County Relations

The directors of the League of California Cities, meeting recently in Los Angeles, continued their probe of city-county relations. They have requested the Senate and Assembly interim committees investigating city-county relations to include in their studies the possibility of legislation requiring incorporation or annexation whenever an unincorporated community reaches a certain standard of urban development. Furthermore, the directors agreed that favorable league action on a county sales tax was contingent upon more general agreement on an over-all city-county program. In order to indicate a sales tax program which the league probably could support, the directors endorsed a stabilization program embodying a uniform 4 per cent sales tax throughout California.

According to *Western City,* the following general and specific items constitute the program of the League of California Cities. The league will:

1. Continue to work with the Senate and Assembly interim committees and in every other way carry out vigorously the league program to eliminate the use of general county funds for municipal-type service to unincorporated urban areas;
2. Prepare and distribute a report setting forth the legal problems which arise in connection with incorporation and the way to handle them, together with a positive statement of the advantages of incorporation;
3. Review carefully the law of annexation in California and in other states and other factors affecting annexation, not only in order to prepare a league report designed to be helpful in connection with annexation

but also as a basis for consideration of desirable changes in the annexation law;

4. Make a comprehensive survey of services provided outside of cities by the cities, the bases on which they are provided and the implications of such practices;

5. By a sampling process, attempt to measure the extent to which municipal services and facilities are used within the city by persons living outside;

6. Cause a comprehensive study to be made of subdivision regulation both inside and outside cities not only to achieve a sounder policy within the cities but also to point up the effect of lack of or inadequate subdivision regulation in unincorporated areas on development within the cities; and

7. Cause a study to be made of building standards within and outside the cities.

Cook County Government is Studied

The complex government of Cook County, Illinois, is brought under scrutiny in a recent publication of the Cook County Council of the League of Women Voters.[1] Cook County, with a 1950 population of over 4,500,000, is the largest in the United States. The number of governments operating in the area is also large, totaling 375 active taxing areas according to the report. To operate these many governments, the voters of Chicago elect approximately 125 officials while county residents outside the city generally elect more than 70.

The task of describing such a complex governmental structure is not an easy one. This pamphlet, however, presents an outline which is understandable, although necessarily somewhat complicated. Emphasis is placed upon the county government but there is discussion also of the municipalities and special districts in order to provide the reader with a complete picture of local government.

The booklet first describes the principal elected offices of the county including the board of commissioners, president of the board, county clerk and numerous others. These descriptions are followed by briefer sketches of appointive offices, boards and commissions.

There is also a description of the sources of county revenues, agencies engaged in revenue collections and the techniques of controlling the expenditures of county funds. The collectors in Cook County, incidentally, are still paid by the fee system, their compensation being 2 per cent of the first $200,000 collected.

The booklet describes the various functions performed by the county government such as law enforcement, health, welfare, road construction and maintenance, sanitation, education and recreation. Finally, in the summary, the distribution of functions among the various governments in the county and the areas of joint responsibility are discussed concisely.

This is Cook County is profusely illustrated with sketches, maps and diagrams. It contains many explanatory and summary tables. In brief it is a booklet which should be of interest not only to residents of Cook County but to all persons interested in the condition of local government in the United States.

---

[1] *This is Cook County,* by Ruth E. Baker. Cook County Council of the League of Women Voters, Chicago 1951. 76 pages, 35 cents.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Puerto Rico Gets Modified P. R. System

New Basic Law Provides Minority Representation

THE new constitution of the commonwealth of Puerto Rico, approved by constitutional convention on February 6 and adopted by the voters on March 3,[1] makes two provisions for minority representation in the commonwealth legislature. Like the German election system, these provisions begin with a district system and superimpose a proportionalizing process. The Puerto Rican system, however, limits to a greater extent the scope of the proportionalizing arrangement. Also it provides two such features, one on the basis of votes for individual candidates and one on the basis of party tickets.

The legislators chosen on the district system number sixteen senators (two from each of eight districts) and 40 representatives (one from each of 40 districts). There is also provision for the concurrent election at large of eleven senators and eleven representatives, with each voter permitted to vote for only one candidate for each house. This is in effect the single non-transferable vote, used on a wider scale in Japan.[2] It provides minority representation, although not necessarily on a proportional basis, and is to be distinguished from the block vote election at large in which the voter may vote for as many candidates as there are places to be filled, a system which usually provides no minority representation.

In Puerto Rico the number of senators and representatives at large may be increased, in order further to proportionalize the election results, if more than two-thirds of the members of either house are elected from one political party or from a single ticket. If in such case the preponderant party or ticket obtained less than two-thirds of the votes cast for the office of governor, the number of seats at large is to be increased by declaring elected a sufficient number of candidates of the minority party or parties to bring its total to nine in the Senate or seventeen in the House of Representatives, as the case may be.

If the preponderant party or ticket obtained more than two-thirds of the votes cast for the office of governor, additional minority candidates, not more than nine in the Senate or seventeen in the House of Representatives, are to be declared elected in number sufficient to bring representation of minority parties as nearly as possible up to the proportion of votes cast for such party in the governorship election.

Such additional candidates elected at large are to be selected first from the non-elected members of at-large tickets, and then from district tickets in the order of votes obtained (proportion of votes in the case of district candidates). Apportionment among minority parties is to be in proportion to votes cast in the election of governor. When one minority party attains representation equal to or greater than its proportion of votes in the governorship election, it may not be apportioned any more legislators until the representation established for each of the other minority parties under these provisions shall have been completed.

---

[1] See page 199, this issue.

[2] See the REVIEW, September 1951, page 434.

The use of the vote cast for the office of governor, instead of votes cast for candidates for legislative office, as a yardstick of proportionality may reflect an effort to avoid excessive political divergence between the legislative and executive branches of government, which are independent under the Puerto Rican constitution in accord with the usual United States plan.

Massachusetts Legislators Snipe at P. R.

Bills to repeal P. R. in the cities of Medford, Quincy and Cambridge have been introduced in the Massachusetts legislature. Since they appear to have been submitted under a Massachusetts procedure for entering a bill upon the petition of any private citizen, it is not clear whether any appreciable backing either by legislators or by the public exists for these measures. Representative Michael F. Skerry of Medford, upon receiving criticism for filing such a bill, explained that he had merely acted to permit the private petitioners to exercise their constitutional right to have their measure presented.

On the other hand, the Committee on Cities prepared a composite P. R. repeal bill and reported it favorably on February 22. Every proposed measure must be reported out of committee in some form, with or without recommendation, under Massachusetts procedure.

The bills would provide for a referendum at the next election. Supporters of P. R point out that the system can be dropped by any of these cities without legislation in the same manner that it was adopted: by placing the issue on the ballot through petitions carrying the requisite number of signatures. They feel that the legislation gives opponents of P. R. an unfair advantage, allowing them to secure a referendum without the necessity of collecting signatures. In this connection, the House, by the narrow margin of three votes, reduced the number of signatures necessary to place the question of retaining P. R. on the ballot from 10 to 5 per cent of the registered voters.

"The politicians in Massachusetts who have been trying to do away with the P. R. method of voting are ready to launch their biggest campaign," announced the December *News Letter* of the Worcester Citizens Plan E Association. "Our greatest effort this next year must be directed toward saving P. R.," it commented. The *News Letter* outlines the advantages of P. R.:

> It is the most democratic method yet devised for picking candidates for office. It eliminates primaries and their costs. It reduces ward rivalries. In elections of municipal size it gives representation to minorities but guarantees majority rule. It makes each voter's ballot potent, assuring the election of one of his choices.

A copy of the Worcester association's color film strip on P. R. was recently sent to Germany for education purposes at the request of the U. S. State Department on behalf of the High Commissioner of Germany.

Certain Worcester members of the legislature have introduced a bill to require full election figures to be made public on a ward and precinct basis in Worcester elections. Although other Plan E cities have made such figures available, the applicable law forbids it. The drafters of the Plan E law regarded it as inconsistent with the at-large nature of a P. R. election but most proportionalists consider it legitimate information, of understandable interest to all candidates and analyzers of elections. It is required in most

(Continued on page 218)

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New York City Meets Budget Crisis

State Legislature and Local Officials Reach Agreement

THE usual intricate and stormy negotiations between New York City's Democratic government and the Republican state administration and legislative majority apparently came to an end the third week in March when city and state leaders reached agreement on a taxation program designed to raise the estimated $200,000,000 needed to balance the city's 1952-53 budget. The program includes temporary expedients to meet the current problem and a longer range proposal for a constitutional amendment to raise the city's real estate tax levy.

With the real estate tax presently limited by the constitution to 2 per cent of the average assessed valuation of the preceding five years, the city had originally proposed that authority be granted for an addition of ½ of 1 per cent to be levied by the individual counties (of which there are five) comprising the city. Opposition to this was vociferous, especially in Queens where a considerable part of the residential property is owner-occupied, and the compromise adopted is for enactment by the 1952 legislature of a constitutional amendment to raise the city limit to 2½ per cent. This amendment must be reenacted by the 1953 legislature and then submitted to statewide referendum.

To meet the immediate problem for 1952-53, the city sales tax, which was raised to 3 per cent for the period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1952, was reenacted at the 3 per cent permissive rate instead of being allowed to lapse to 2 per cent. This will retain about $60,000,000 of revenues needed to make up the approximately $200,000,000 required to balance the 1952-53 budget under existing revenue authorizations.

In addition, the city may impose a whole series of "nuisance" taxes, some of which it presently has the power to use but which have not been levied. They include an additional 1 cent per pack tax on cigarettes, a $60 per year fee for on-street parking privileges, an increase in liquor package store licenses, an auto use tax of $5 to $10 per car, and a 15 per cent admissions tax to race tracks within the city limits.

Finally, also to meet the budget crisis, the city has been authorized by the legislature to borrow $100,000,000 to cover potential deficits in the next three years. This would apparently be done by issuing three-year notes, which could then be retired from real estate taxes levied outside the 2 per cent rate limit, which does not apply to taxes levied for debt service.

The state's first offer to the city for remedying the crisis had been to go to the core of the matter by demanding that the transit system, which has been estimated to involve a $67,500,000 deficit for 1952-53, be placed on a self-supporting basis through fare increases and improved management to effect operating economies. The present ten-cent fare, one of the few fares remaining at this level among the larger United States cities, fails by an estimated 3.5 to 4 cents per ride of covering actual cost of operating the system, and it was estimated that for 1952-53 the deficit would equal about 5 cents per ride.

The state urged that the transit system be placed under the jurisdiction of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel

Authority, the revenues from parking meters and parking facilities to provide it with additional revenues sufficient to cushion the transit operation. This setup was violently opposed by the spokesmen for the Transport Workers Union and was categorically turned down also by Robert Moses, chairman of the authority, who serves also as the city's park commissioner and construction coordinator.

While the outlook for authority operation of the subways was evidently doomed by the city-legislative agreement in the closing days of the legislature, the proposal emphasized the need for a comprehensive revamping of the city's policy on transit system operation. The *New York Times* on March 6, in an analysis of transit costs, noted that New York City was one of the few places remaining where the ten-cent ride was in effect. Of 25 large cities which it compared, fifteen had fares of fifteen cents and four had fares above fifteen cents. Few transit systems, either publicly or privately owned, are not involved in financial difficulties as a result of the postwar rise in costs and decline in traffic, but only in Boston, where the basic fare is fifteen cents, is the problem of the magnitude of New York's.

Roanoke Voters Veto Assessment Reform

Going to the polls in an advisory referendum in February, voters of Roanoke, Virginia, decisively defeated two proposals to amend the city charter. One, to provide an annual revision of assessed valuations instead of a quadrennial revaluation, would have made the city board of assessors a permanent body. It was defeated 5,965 to 1,570.

Even more emphatic was the vote against a proposal to remove the present $2.50 per $100 tax rate limit from the city charter. It was snowed under, 6,692 to 867.

At the same election, the voters approved a suggested increase in the number of city councilmen from five to seven, 3,986 to 3,655, and the city council has begun preparations to submit proposals to the state legislature for a charter amendment to that end.

New York Truck Tax Is Upheld

New York State's weight-distance truck tax, enacted last year but not yet applied because of litigation, was upheld March 10, 1952, by the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court in Albany. The tax, applicable to New York and out-of-state trucks weighing 18,000 pounds or more, moves on a sliding scale from 6/10 of a cent to 2.4 cents per mile. Exempt from the tax are trucks used exclusively for local deliveries, trucks operated only in the "commercial zone" around a city, buses, mail trucks, all government trucks and farm trucks.

Purchasing Procedures Revised by Cities

In an attempt to encourage competitive bidding for municipal business during the current material shortage, cities are streamlining procedures for bid deposits required of sellers. A recent survey of 33 U. S. cities by the Municipal Finance Officers Association shows that nine cities no longer require bidders to enclose deposits with bid quotations while seven other cities have hiked the amount of purchase for which formal bids must be obtained. This latter action, the association observed, has been prompted in part by the fact that the rise in cost of materials because of inflation makes bids necessary on smaller quantity orders.

Under bid deposit procedures, firms bidding for business must accompany their bid with a certified check, cash or bond as a guarantee that they will accept the order or contract if awarded it. The amount of the bid deposits required ranged from 2 per cent of the bid in Baltimore, Jacksonville and Minneapolis to the full amount of the contract in Boston.

Typical of the revised procedure is that of Phoenix. There, effective the first of the year, bid deposits are no longer required of Arizona firms submitting bids of less than $5,000. Previously bid deposits were required on all bids over $500.

In Milwaukee firms bidding for city business must fill out pre-qualification forms on which they must list the type of business they are engaged in and the names of their officers. This form serves as an authorization to banks and other organizations to furnish financial and credit information to the city purchasing agent. In addition the prospective bidder must furnish a financial statement and references to other agencies he has done business with.

For many purchases Milwaukee stipulates only a nominal deposit to assure that the city is dealing with a responsible firm, and the city purchasing agency may decide the amount of bid bond or may eliminate it entirely. No performance bonds are required for purchases up to $5,000 except on term agreements or when the city has had no previous experience with the contractor.

Six Cities of Alaska Collect Sales Taxes

At least six Alaskan cities have adopted sales taxes in recent years, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Many of Alaska's residents go north only for the summer construction and fishing season and, as a result, pay no taxes there. With adoption of a sales tax, however, the cities have been able to require the migrant population to pay a portion of the bill for city services.

The cities levying sales taxes are Ketchikan, Juneau, Sitka, Wrangel, Nome and Fairbanks. These cities have experienced phenomenal growth in the last decade and population increases have far outstripped utility installations. Fairbanks, for example, has grown 62.8 per cent—from a prewar population of 3,455 to 5,625 according to 1950 population figures.

Offer Fourth Big Block of Housing Authority Bonds

The fourth large block of housing authority bonds to be issued under the 1950 amendments to the federal housing law was scheduled for April 15, with the offering of bonds of 73 local housing authorities aggregating $167,093,000. Heretofore, some $467,786,000 of the bonds have been issued: $171,300,000 on July 17, 1951; $162,700,000 on October 23, 1951; and $133,786,000 on January 15, 1952.

The bonds have been taken at prices progressively more favorable to the local housing authorities as their security became better known to investors. Under the 1950 law, the federal government makes unconditional agreements with the local housing authorities covering grants sufficient, with other authority income, to pay the bonds and interest. The arrangement has been described as coming as close to a federal guarantee as it is possible to come without actually using the term.

How to Conduct a Successful Campaign

Peoria Activities Provide Pattern for Civic Action

THE campaign to secure council-manager government for Peoria, second Illinois city to adopt the plan since passage of enabling legislation in 1951, is a challenge to citizens everywhere to "go and do likewise." This story is based on a report prepared by Bernard B. Burford, manager of the Public Affairs Council of the Peoria Association of Commerce, a leader in the campaign.

Aside from a certain amount of preliminary planning by a few people, the campaign was a whirlwind affair occupying only twenty days. Interest in the council-manager form for Peoria had followed a statewide conference on the subject, arranged by the State Chamber of Commerce and held in that city. Led by the Peoria Association of Commerce, circulation of petitions to place the question on the ballot began on Friday evening, November 24. By Monday evening, the 26th, 180 volunteers had secured 4,265 signatures. These were accepted by the county judge as valid and the election was set for January 22.

During December a citizens committee was set up and tentative plans laid. In addition to the Association of Commerce the following organizations joined in as endorsing groups: Women's Civic Federation, Junior Chamber of Commerce, League of Women Voters, Council of Churches, Association of University Women, Y.W.C.A., Business and Professional Women's Club and the Methodist Church Board of Trustees. Except for labor groups, which were either neutral or against the manager plan, the committee was a cross-section of the community.

During December a question-and-answer brochure, *Shall the City of Peoria, Illinois, Adopt the Managerial Form of Government,* was prepared by Mr. Burford and mailed to some 3,000 members of the Association of Commerce. It was used extensively by campaign speakers.

Headquarters were opened in the Hotel Jefferson on January 2, with but one paid employee, a stenographer. Four of the committee's members gave full time to the campaign: Joseph C. Gasperich, chairman; Charles C. Schlink, campaign manager; Byron DeHaan, publicity manager; and Mr. Burford. Other members of a committee of 30 also gave considerable of their time.

As reported by Mr. Burford, activities shaped up in this way:

Funds for the campaign were raised through letters sent to 2,500 people and from coupons inserted in newspaper advertising.

The speakers bureau of 30 members set a new record for Peoria, addressing 142 organizations in a two-week period.

The publicity man continually fed stories to the two local newspapers. Both were in favor of council-manager government and did a great deal on their own. They published articles on experiences in other cities and used cartoons, editorials and letters to the editor. One carried a column on how Peorians felt about manager government, with photographs of the persons interviewed, and the other published comments by local people who had formerly lived in council-manager communities.

An advertising agency was hired

which assigned a man full time to the campaign. This agency helped on copy for advertisements and their layout and gave assistance on brochures, posters, radio spot announcements, etc.

In addition to spot announcements, the committee bought radio time on the five local stations.

The committee's brochure, *Mess or Management,* was mailed to every home in the city.

A leaflet of the National Municipal League, *City Employees and the Manager Plan,* went to all city employees and its *Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan* was mailed to a thousand labor union members. The League's *Story of the Council-Manager Plan* and *Facts About the Council-Manager Plan* were distributed at meetings.

All Voters Reached

Over 31,000 post cards were mailed to every home with a registered voter. The addressing was done by 70 women in about two days. In addition to women from the sponsoring organizations, assistance was given by the Newcomers' Club, the Entre Nous Club and the Junior League.

Some 600 window display cards were distributed.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce invited Mayor William Kemp of Kansas City, Missouri, as its founder's day banquet speaker. His remarks did much to counteract the story of Kansas City circulated by the opposition and received good coverage by newspapers and radio stations.

Seven of the eleven wards had captains who did a fine job of organization. These wards had their own car pools to take voters to the polls. In addition, there was a car pool manned by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, which answered over 1,300 telephone calls and dispatched 90 cars with volunteer drivers who carried over 2,600 people to the polls.

The day before the election 50 volunteer women called every voter in Peoria urging them to get out and vote. In most cases they urged a "yes" vote.

Over 200 volunteers served as poll watchers and checkers at all 137 election precincts.

The "Get Out the Vote" parade of the Jaycees was called off because of bad weather. There was a terrific sleet storm the night before election and on election day the streets were like glass. Even so, the voters cast the largest vote ever recorded in a special election, 15,872 to 7,095.

Despite an opposition which became somewhat vicious at times, the campaign for the manager plan was kept on a high level, reports Mr. Burford. "All in all," he comments, "the campaign was an example of wonderful cooperation with hundreds of volunteer workers. . . . At the same time we realize that our job is only half done and the Citizens Committee will stay organized to the extent of interesting qualified individuals to run for the jobs of mayor and councilmen."

Citizens and Schools Work for Better Communities

Public schools and public-spirited citizens feature a two-way road of civic action. There are the activities of the good citizens who strive to improve the school systems in their communities, and there are the public school systems which strive to awaken the civic conscience of their pupils. In the first category, among many, falls the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools.

The "Citizens Assembly on Education," third annual conference of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, was held in St. Louis, January 25 and 26, to "make the best information on school improvement available to the greatest number of participants." Sessions discussed The Commission and Its Program, Schools Are News, Citizens Organize for Better Schools, School Boards—Democracy in Action, Citizens Study the School Program, National Organizations Work for Better Schools. At the dinner on January 25 speakers included George Gallup, public opinion statistician; Mrs. Eugene Meyer, journalist and social worker; Leo Perlis, labor leader; and Charles Allen Thomas, industrialist and scientist. At the second day's dinner representatives of some 50 national organizations discussed further methods of cooperation at the national level to enlist local unit support for school improvement.

Support Taxes for Schools

Ten of New Jersey's largest and most active statewide organizations believe the state should assume a larger share of the costs of its school system, reports the New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation. Only two of the twelve groups to which the foundation submitted a questionnaire failed to express strong approval of increased state aid for education. To get the money for this and other programs eight groups favor, while one opposes, a personal income tax; eight favor, four oppose, a general sales tax exempting food and medicine; six groups favor, three oppose, a corporate income tax; and nine favor, none oppose, a mileage tax on heavy trucks.

The state organizations questioned included the League of Women Voters, Bankers Association, State Council CIO, Farm Bureau, State Grange, Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, State League of Municipalities, Education Association, State Conference of the National Council of Jewish Women, Association of Township Committeemen, Exempt Firemen's Association and State Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee. The Manufacturers Association also replied, but felt that "until the overwhelming federal burdens are reduced, there should be no increased burdens of taxes levied either at state or local levels."

The Stephenson Community School Service Program, sponsored by the public schools and the Stephenson Community Coordinating Council, representing the mid-county area of Menominee County, Michigan, has issued a report covering its fifth year. Included also is a resume of activities for the entire five-year period. The report gives an excellent account of the part the Stephenson public school system and the program have played in securing constructive citizen participation in community affairs.

The organization works generally through study committees on such problems as health, religion, community services, farm and land use, education, recreation, and home and family living. It was designed by "local people five years ago as a mechanism to help themselves improve their quality of living." It is difficult to evaluate the results, says the report, "since many of the most valuable improvements are intangible."

The Indiana State Chamber of Commerce is making available to Indiana educators, at special rates, its 1951-52 revised and enlarged edition of *Here Is Your Indiana Government*. Previous editions, reports the chamber, have been used by more than 350 Indiana high schools and colleges.

A Chart on Michigan State Government, "designed to give students an over-all picture," has been prepared by the University of Michigan's Institute of Public Administration for distribution to superintendents and principals of Michigan high schools. The charts are offered at ten cents per copy for less than 50 copies, eight cents for more.

Good Government Day, or Student Government Day, as it will be known henceforth, held under the auspices of the Massachusetts State Department of Education, was scheduled for March 14. High school boys and girls, elected by their fellow students, assumed the roles of senators, representatives, governor, etc., meeting at the State House in Boston. Since the legislature provides no funds for the program, the department has again sought the aid of civic organizations. For the past three years the "day" has been planned largely by the Massachusetts Civic League, which has prepared and distributed some 5,000 copies of *Your Massachusetts Government* for student use. The league is continuing its assistance this year.

Student bodies of fourteen universities and colleges in Oregon will participate in a mock national party convention on May 10. More than two hundred delegates are expected to attend the sessions at Willamette University.

The American Legion Post at Big Stone Gap, Virginia, will again sponsor a Youth Government Day in that community—the second event of this nature. High school and town officials will cooperate.

"How a Bill Becomes a Law" is the center spread attraction of the March 1951 issue of the *Journal* of the National Education Association. Tiny blue footsteps trace the course of the bill, led by its sponsor, from its introduction, to committee hearings, to the floor of the house and senate, to rules committee, finally to the White House. The spread is well illustrated with pen and ink drawings.

'Citizenship Day'

By joint resolution of Congress, the former "I Am an American Day" is now designated "Citizenship Day,"[1] and the date for its celebration has been changed from the third Sunday in May to September 17, anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. In this connection the seventh annual National Conference on Citizenship, sponsored by the Office of the Attorney General and the National Education Association, will be held September 17-19 in Washington, D. C.

* * *

Newspaper Gets Award

The 1951 Polk Memorial Award for outstanding reporting and "continued militancy in behalf of civic betterment" has been awarded to the *Herald Statesman* of Yonkers, New York. Oxie Reichler, long a civic leader in his community, is editor. The award, conferred by Long Island University and its journalism faculty, memorializes George Polk, one of America's distinguished newspapermen, who was slain in Greece in the line of duty.

* * *

Coffee and Tea

Telephoners' teas and block workers' coffees were part of the program of Citizens Action, good government organization of Grand Rapids, in its campaign to get out the vote for its candidates at the city election in February.

* * *

Conferences

The eighth annual Institute of Community Leadership of the New York State Citizens' Council will be held June 25-26 at Cazenovia Junior College, Cazenovia, New York.

The Council of National Organizations, arranged by the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A., held its organization meeting in Washington

---

[1] See page 181, this issue.

February 22 and 23. Orientation and buzz sessions, panels on vital questions, and work groups marked the meetings.

Community Services in Adult Education of Indiana and Purdue Universities, in cooperation with the Indiana Association for Adult Education, will hold its fifth annual meeting on April 17-18 at Bloomington.

The National Citizens Conference on Planning and Resources, sponsored by the American Planning and Civic Association, will meet in Louisville, Kentucky, May 18-21. The principal theme will be "The Great Water Controversies and the Best Solutions for the City, State and Nation." Another matter for discussion is "Current Problems of Metropolitan Growth and Dispersal and Perennial Need for Citizen Action."

* * *

Recent Reports

Inventory of Municipal League Accomplishments from 1945-52 and Basic Services Rendered to Community (three pages), issued by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, is an impressive array of civic endeavor.

The Annual Report of George H. Palmer, Executive Secretary of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League, was presented at the league's February meeting. The league has been active on numerous fronts. It has held several public meetings over the past year and completed the 150th program on its weekly television series, "Cincinnati Town Meeting of the Air." Its representatives have attended all important meetings of the Cincinnati city council, the county commissioners and the board of education. A number of standing committees are active.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 210)

American P.R. provisions, including those of the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League.

Southwest German State Elects by P. R.

Election of a constituent assembly in the newly organized Southwest German state of the West German Federal Republic, under a modified form of P. R., resulted in a distinct victory for the two-party regime which governs the federal republic under Prime Minister Konrad Adenauer. It reversed the trend by which the Social Democratic party had registered considerable gains in the same area in the 1950 elections.

The Christian Democratic party obtained 36 per cent of the vote and its allies, the Free Democrats, 18 per cent. Together they obtained 73 of the 121 seats in the state assembly. Their opposition, the Social Democrats, had 28 per cent of the votes and received 38 seats. No seats were won by the Communists, who had 4.3 per cent of the votes, or by the Socialist Reichs party, which had 3.9 per cent of the votes in the area in which it put up candidates. A refugee organization polled 9 per cent of the votes and obtained the remaining ten seats.

The election system used in Germany provides for election of a certain number by single-member districts, rounding out the results by a party list form of P. R. applied at large, with a requirement of a 5 per cent poll for any party to participate in the P. R. stage of the election.[1]

Compared with the 1950 federal parliament elections in most of the same area, the present results show a gain of 3 per cent in popular vote by the Christian Democrats and a loss of 3 per cent by the Social Democrats. The policy of these parties on the rearmament issue was prominently featured in the campaign.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1949, page 298.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureau Mission Is to Promote True Economy

Courage Needed to Advocate Spending for Future Saving

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article consists of the major part of the talk by ERIC HARDY, director of the Citizens Research Institute of Canada, in the session on Financing Cities Today at the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 28, 1951.

VOLUNTARY agencies are organized for the specific purpose of increasing efficiency and economy in the administration of public services. Our job is often thought of as an organized effort to keep taxes down. Yet we are surely expected to do more than this. Unless we are to work for intelligent savings, we have no need for a research staff at all. Anyone can make a plea to hold the line on taxes. Supporters can always be found for such a rallying cry.

Heavy emphasis is usually placed on combating waste and extravagance in civic services and I don't question the need for it. The job of municipal research workers is to select and promote those savings which are compatible with true economies in the long run.

It is always harder for public departments than for private enterprise to justify spending a dollar now that will save two dollars later on. Municipalities must concentrate much attention on an annual budget, and in the province of Ontario the emphasis on short-term financing is made greater because many municipalities still cling to the one-year term for members of councils and school boards. It encourages our representatives to push off any expenditure which is distasteful and can be postponed and let next year's members worry about it. But this general attitude is even more common. Municipalities have usually found it easier to spend money on men than machines, to hire a lot of cheap help rather than a few good men, to neglect regular maintenance in favor of sporadic renovations.

In these times there are particular obstacles in the way of intelligent budgeting. In this period of rising costs, the legitimate expense of municipal services is bound to go up along with everything else. Unfortunately, in Canadian municipalities, the local revenues are less buoyant than the civic operating costs. Canadian cities and towns which were practising sane economies before the war are certainly hard pressed to expand their budgets to the extent required today.

Here is an example. At the request of a council member, Toronto's works commissioner has just released a report on the back-log of curb and sidewalk repairs still standing from depression and war days. This is an approach our agency has been advocating for quite some time. The commissioner's estimate was that, six years after the end of hostilities, the city must spend $1,250,000 on this essential work in order to catch up.

Another neglected adjustment has been in the salaries of municipal and school employees. Taking Toronto again: Until this year, the salaries of teachers were not raised anything like the amount required to offset the effects of inflation on their earnings. Meanwhile, increases had been put through for school improvements which were much less essential. The board of education failed to recognize that a good teacher can do a reasonable job in a very plain building, whereas damage to the caliber of the teaching staff will harm an educational program in spite of the most elaborate facilities.

Another factor which has encouraged misdirected spending recently is the steady increase in grants to municipalities by the provinces. Many of the new grants are earmarked for special purposes and are conditional on a proportionate expenditure from local funds. This means that the grant can hardly be turned down even though the money drawn from local taxes could be spent on something much more urgent.

Where grants have been given without strings attached, there has still been a tendency for funds to be used unwisely. The current demand for social and welfare services seems almost insatiable. And pressure is heavy to put such items ahead of necessary maintenance of physical facilities—services to property which are the more basic responsibility of the municipal authorities.

Neglect Not Justified

The attitude in a number of Canadian centers has been that some temporary neglect of proper maintenance is justified in a time of continuing inflation. Piecing and patching is the most that gets done. I believe, however, that there are two strong arguments against such a philosophy.

First, the physical plant which provides essential services like water supply, sewage disposal, main traffic routes and public transportation facilities, needs to be kept in top condition if we are to be prepared against the unhappy eventuality of war.

Second, a strong case can be made for keeping parks, boulevards and public squares in good order. The argument here is most compelling in the larger metropolitan centers. If we allow these facilities to become run down, there is an automatic repercussion on property values. We may be able to restore the parks to good condition later on but damage to private property values may have marred the character of the neighborhood permanently. Poor park maintenance encourages an exodus from the built-up areas of our great cities. It can be partly responsible for deficit areas which do not even pay their way in taxes.

In the newer sections of urban municipalities, there is a similar problem. The pressure on the council is to push ahead rapidly with sewers and water mains, with new schools and with paved streets, curbs and sidewalks. It is an expensive program.

Actually, in the newer sections, residents could do for a time without some of these facilities. In the initial stages of development, it is much more essential that land be set aside to provide the open spaces and public building sites which will be crucial later on. If the land is all gobbled up in private uses, it may take a fabulous price to buy it back and clear it when it is needed. This is one reason why a sufficient outlay for planning is a municipal expenditure of first importance. The cost of good planning is always modest in relation to future benefits. And yet it seems so hard to get an adequate amount for such purposes into the budget.

As municipal researchers, what we have to do these days is to investigate, analyze and report in detail on the proper priorities for municipal budgeting. The good sense of such reports and recommendations is not always easy to sell to our own governing boards, let alone to elected representatives and to the public. The reason I say this is that such reports must encourage certain increased spending—although they should stress as well the ways in which money can be found by holding back on some new projects. But, if the job is difficult, it is equally a challenge to our best efforts. And it will pay off in genuine efficiency and constructive economies in the long run.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Accounting

Improving Accounting Procedures: Pinedale, Wyoming. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1952. 11 pp.

Budgets

An Analysis of the Proposed New Jersey State Budget 1952-53. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* February 1952. 10 pp.

Governor Dewey Proposes 1952-53 Appropriations of $1,104 Million—Plans Would Double State Budget in Postwar Period. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* February 1952. 3 pp.

Increasing State Costs Show Need for Better Budget Procedure. The Rising Cost of Maryland's State Government (parts 1 and 2). **The State's Proposed Budget for 1953** (parts 1, 2 and 3). Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* January and February, 1952. 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

Child Welfare

Kentucky Youth Problems: Delinquency, Child Labor and Adoptions. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 71 pp.

Constitutions

Constitutional Revision by a Restricted Convention. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, Minnesota Law Review Foundation, *Minnesota Law Review,* February 1951. 15 pp. $1.

Council-Manager Plan

Council-Manager Plan. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* January 17, 1952. 5 pp.

Pennsylvania Manager Ordinances. By Joseph A. James. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* December 1951 and January 1952. 2 and 1 pp. respectively.

Savings Through the Manager Plan in Quakertown. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* January 1952. 1 p.

County Government

Administrative Procedures for the Clerks of Wisconsin Counties. Second Institute—1951. Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, 1951. Variously paged.

Proposed Law Offers County Executive Plan. Syracuse 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government,* February 29, 1952. 4 pp.

Fire

Woonsocket to Have 100% More Firemen Than Average City. Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Taypayers Association, *Your Business,* January 1952. 3 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule Law Puts Premium on Non-voting. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Connecticut Taxpayers News,* January-February, 1952. 3 pp.

Housing

The Influences of Federal, State and Local Legislation on Residential Building in the Flint Metropolitan Area. By Tom Dinell. Flint, University of Michigan, Institute of Human Adjustment, 1951. 84 pp.

Labor

Administration of Kansas Labor Laws. By Howard Hallman. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* December 15, 1951. 1 p.

Lands and Buildings

Improvement in Lands and Buildings. The League Reports on a Service Job for a City Department. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* February 1952. 6 pp.

Licensing

Licensing by Washington Cities—Including Licensing Power of the State of Washington and Counties Thereof. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 157 pp.

Local Legislation

How 1951 Legislation Affects Boston. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* January 31, 1952. 6 pp.

Merit System

The Case for a Merit System for New Mexico. Sante Fe, Taxpayers Association of New Mexico, *Know Your Government,* February 5, 1952. 2 pp.

Municipal Government

Municipal Organization for the City. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* February 8, 1952. 5 pp.

Municipal Officials

Appointment and Removal of Officials of Washington Cities. By Ernest H. Campbell and Warren A. Bishop. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 16 pp. $1.

Permanent Registration

Permanent Personal Registration. Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* February 20, 1952. 3 pp.

Police

Police Standards, Conditions of Employment, and Compensation in North Carolina. Compiled by Donald B. Hayman. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, January 1952. 43 pp. Tables.

Public Welfare

End Welfare Secrecy—How S 403 Would Do It! Brockton, Massachusetts, Brockton Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* January 31, 1952. 2 pp.

Wyoming State Institutions—State Legislative Appropriations for the Bienniums of 1939-41 Through 1951-53—Expenditures 1949-51. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1952. 17 pp.

Research

Opportunities for Federally Sponsored Social Science Research. By Herbert H. Rosenberg and Erin Hubbert. Syracuse, Syracuse University, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1951. 52 pp.

Sabotage

Sabotage and Its Prevention During Wartime. (Includes comprehensive legal and bibliographical references.) By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 53 pp. $1.

State Aid

State Aid to Local Governments in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* February 1952. 4 pp.

State Government

Handbook of New Jersey State Government. Prepared by Bureau of Government Research of Rutgers University. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1952. 99 pp. $1.

The Office of Secretary of State in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* January 1952. 3 pp.

State Reorganization

Administrative Reorganization in Louisiana. By Robert H. Weaver. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 78 pp.

Debt Administration. State-Local Fiscal Relations. Education: Textbook Selection. Staff Reports to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952. 29, 63 and 35 pp. respectively. Tables.

The Little Hoover Commission. Is Better Government Possible? Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* December 1951 and January 1952. 5 and 4 pp. respectively.

Streets and Highways

Analysis of State Highway Finance. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 17 pp.

Financing New Jersey Highways. Newark 2, New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation, 1951. 26 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Another Round of Taxes — The League Reviews Pittsburgh's Budget. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter,* December 1951. 11 pp.

Official Tax Rates (in Mills) Levied for the Purposes of the State of Ohio, County of Hamilton, Hamilton County Park Board, Cincinnati School District, City of Cincinnati, As Applied to the Taxpayers of Cincinnati for the Years 1926 to 1951 Inclusive. Cincinnati 2, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1951. 2 pp.

Review of 1951 and Preview of 1952 Finances of New York City. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, 1952. 16 pp.

State Financial Aid to Local Governments. By Howard W. Hallman. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* January 15, 1952. 4 pp.

State Taxes and Aids. Aids and Shared Taxes. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* February 1952. 4 and 3 pp. respectively.

CITIES URGED TO REACH OUT

(Continued from page 189)

required services may be provided through any other means. Intelligent city governments can help to plan our decentralized cities of the future with the result that:

1. A minimum investment in new city services will provide adequate facilities to take care of the newly established centers.

2. Real estate values and property values in these new centers will be stabilized with the result that large losses in uneconomical property development will be largely eliminated.

3. The new suburban centers will be designed to provide the American housewife and the American businessman with the most modern facilities to shop in comfort and to do business in a sound and orderly way.

The American people residing in our modern cities are intelligent enough to demand that our cities develop in the orderly manner that I have outlined. They will force this type of development by patronizing these large regional centers that are now being proposed and built throughout the population centers of our country.

Books in Review

Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy. By Ferdinand A. Hermens. Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1951. vii, 291 pp. $4.

Professor Hermens is an author with an *idee fixe.* He is convinced that a particular electoral method, the system of proportional representation, is responsible for most, if indeed not almost all, of the faults of the postwar governments in Europe; in addition, he casts pessimistic glances at Israel, Japan and India.

In this survey he is concerned with emphasizing "positive democracy" (with which he associates plurality voting systems) in contrast to "negative democracy" (with which he associates proportional voting). He finds his model for positive democracy in the constitutional patterns of the United States and, even more explicitly, of England and the commonwealths of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; the models for negative democracy are found wherever he finds majority voting has failed to receive full recognition, and these include France, Italy, Germany—in fact the whole range of European governments.

Most students of democracy will agree that the constitutional history of the United States and of the British Commonwealth presents an impressive body of evidence that "democracy can exist" and that "freedom and authority can be effectively combined." Most will agree, too, that the history of European governments provides less favorable data. But to argue that the central explanation of this contrast is to be found in differences in voting systems is an oversimplification which fails to persuade even a sympathetic reader.

The author realizes this fact himself when he concedes in his Preface, as if in afterthought, that "the impression may arise that this little volume is based upon a monistic interpretation where, in reality, a plurality of factors is involved"; he then goes on to say that he is now working on "a balanced treatment of all the basic conditions affecting democracy." It is just this balanced treatment of all the factors—constitutional, cultural, historical and traditional, social and economic—which is absent from the present study. And thoughtful readers will want, in the meantime, to suspend judgment upon the claim that contrasts between two voting systems provide the central explanation, or even one of the most important explanations, for the differences between successful and unsuccessful efforts to develop effective democratic government. Successful democracy would seem, from all we now know, to rest upon no such slender reed.

On the narrower issue of the virtues and defects of proportional representation, the system of voting against which Professor Hermens addresses his strictures, this volume provides a rich mine of factual data. But the interpretations of the data seem strenuously partisan: wherever governments with proportional representation are confronted by difficulties, the difficulties are largely attributed to the voting system; wherever such governments are found reasonably satisfactory, their well-being is ascribed to other causes and grave future difficulties are anticipated. The result is that the opportunity is missed for a balanced treatment of voting systems in their relation to constitutional arrangements for democratic government.

All those who share with Professor Hermens his strong aversion to dictatorship, anarchy and political extremism, as well as his earnest concerns with the improvement of constitutional democracy, will join this reviewer in the hope that his projected study of all the basic conditions affecting democracy will provide a significant part of that balanced answer, which we all seek, to the threat of totalitarianism in all its forms. The present volume misses that mark.

WALLACE S. SAYRE
New York City College

The Jeffersonians—A Study in Administrative History 1801-1829. By Leonard D. White. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1951. xiv, 572 pp. $6.

A sequel to this talented author's *The Federalists,* relating with lively charm how the new constitution of the young nation creaked into action under its expanding loads and unforeseeable problems in respect to administration.

City and County Home Rule in Texas. By John P. Keith. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 176 pp. $2.

A thorough and well managed account of the subject and of the Texas experience, with commentary leading to improvement, particularly in respect to the existing futile county home rule constitutional provision and enabling act. For cities the home rule "amendment has shown a remarkable flexibility and growth; whereas the serpentine county provision has effectively blocked the fulfillment of the purpose for which it was established."

A Report on Boards and Commissions in Council-manager Cities with Particular Reference to Des Moines. By Corbett Long. (Report prepared for the City Council.) Des Moines, Iowa, Office of the City Manager, 1952. 41 pp. Charts.

A survey of half the council-manager cities of over 50,000 population, demonstrating that Des Moines, with 24 boards in its administrative chart, is out of line with practice elsewhere and proposing clearing up the clutter by repeal of obsolete state laws and city ordinances.

A Book of Civic Definitions. New York, Foundation for Citizen Education, 1952. 64 pp. Single copies, 35 cents; 10 or more, 25 cents. (Apply the foundation, 62 East 80th Street, New York City.)

This pamphlet, first publication of the foundation, is an original effort to reduce political jargon and legal Latin to colloquial English which laity can understand and use: e.g. exempt class, point preference, service record rating, absentee voting, county committeemen, designation, central registration, debenture, *per stirpes*—etc.—400 of them!

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Authorities

Pennsylvania Municipal Authorities. 1951 Directory. Northampton, Pennsylvania Municipal Authorities Association, 1951. 56 pp. $2.

Business and Industry

The Art of Administration. By Ordway Tead. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951. xvii, 223 pp. $3.75.

Willow Run. A Study of Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy. By Lowell Juillard Carr and James Edson Stermer. New York 16, Harper & Brothers, 1952. xxii, 406 pp. $5.

Directories

Officials of Washington Cities. Olympia, Washington, Office of Secretary of State, 1951. 44 pp.

Federal Government

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies (Including 37" by 43" Chart). Report of the Committee on Government Operations. (82nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Committee Report No. 12) Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 26 pp.

Reorganization of the Federal Government. Status of Hoover Commission Reports, with list of public laws enacted, reorganization plans approved or disapproved, and bills presently pending to effectuate remaining commission recommendations. (82nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Document No. 91). Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 17 pp.

Flouridation of Water

Fluoridation of Public Water Supplies. Annotated References. Detroit 26, Public Library, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 13 pp.

Motor Vehicle Codes

A Comparative Study of the Vehicle and Traffic Law of the State of New York with the Uniform Vehicle Code. A Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Motor Vehicle Problems. Albany, New York, the Committee, 1951. 355 pp.

Mutual Security

The Mutual Security Program . . . for a strong and free world. First report of the President to Congress. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 81 pp. Charts.

Ports

Ports of the San Francisco Bay Area, Their Commerce, Facilities, Problems and Progress. Final Report of the Senate Fact-finding Committee on San Francisco Bay Ports. Sacramento, Senate of the State of California, 1951. 598 pp.

Public Administration

Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada. September 15-17, 1950. Edited by Philip T. Clark. Toronto 5, The Institute, 1951. 218 pp. (Apply editor at 256 Roxborough Street, East, Toronto.)

Public Safety

Education for Safe Living. Edited by Herbert Stack. New York 11, Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, *Journal of Educational Sociology,* December 1951. 60 pp. 35 cents.

Records

Archivos Administrativos Publicos (Public Records Administration, in Spanish only). By Philip C. Brooks. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. 22 pp. $1.

Recreation

Master Plan for Recreation. Murfreesboro, Tennessee, City Planning Commission, 1952. 56 pp.

Salaries

1952 Michigan Municipal Wages and Salaries. Cities and Villages over 4,000 Population. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices and Holiday Pay Practices. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1952. 83 pp. $3.

Urban Redevelopment

Urban Redevelopment—A Tool of Reconstruction. Cleveland 14, Regional Association of Cleveland, 1951. 23 pp. Illus.

Taxation and Finance

Financing Defense. The Tax Program. New York, Committee on Federal Tax Policy, 1951. 34 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1951. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, 1951. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion: Theme for May 1952, **Vehicle Maintenance.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

'52 Conference Goes to San Antonio

(*Continued from page* 177)

"sell" the proposed city charter. More than 3,000 volunteers helped and the charter won by two to one. Last November the citizens elected a full slate of nine councilmen of a quality seldom seen in most city halls.

Edward G. Conroy

Instead of waiting for applications to come in, the new council combed the country with the avowed purpose of finding "the best city manager" and came up at the beginning of this year with C. A. Harrell, city manager of Norfolk, who had previously served three other cities.

San Antonio naturally won the "All-American Cities of 1951" award for progress achieved through "energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen action." Indeed, members of the League staff who are constantly watching and coaching this kind of citizen effort feel it is a classic example of proof that citizens, far from being apathetic, are eager for the civic fight and are sure winners when the issues are clear.

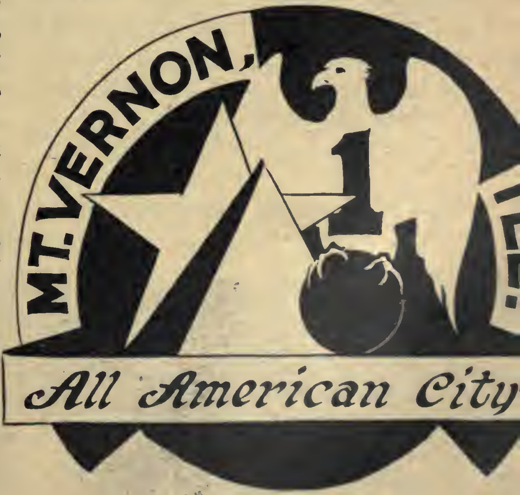
San Antonio civic leaders suggest that delegates to the Conference arrange to arrive at least a day early to take advantage of the opportunities for sightseeing and to enjoy a taste of typical Texas hospitality at La Villita, older than San Antonio itself, which has been restored as a typical village of 200 years ago.

Another 'First' for Mount Vernon

Mount Vernon, Illinois, first city to make use of that state's new enabling act in adopting the council-manager form of government, also has become the first to adopt a design with which store windows and business letterheads may proclaim its winning of the "All-American Cities" award.

The design, selected in a contest sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis, Optimist and Junior Chamber of Commerce organizations, was won by a mail-carrier, Walter H. Mays, whose hobby is art and lettering.

O. R. Buford, local business man, campaigned so effectively in newspaper advertisements that the voters chimed in with his sentiments for a change by the almost unheard of margin of five to one to adopt the manager plan when petitions he circulated placed the question on the ballot. Mr. Buford conducted his one-man newspaper campaign for some time before the Illinois legislature passed an enabling act last summer.



Gallup Honors Atlanta, Columbia

George H. Gallup, member of the NML council and foreman of the "All-American Cities" jury, presented certificates in Atlanta, Georgia, and Columbia, South Carolina, at ceremonies last month.

Dr. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, told a dinner sponsored by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce on March 10 that the city had "set a new dynamic pattern" to solve the problem of metropolitan growth that still "scares the daylights out of New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles—in fact, nearly every community in this country."

In presenting the award to R. Howard Dobbs, Jr., president of the Chamber of Commerce, Dr. Gallup pointed out that it was in recognition of the work of many civic leaders and citizen organizations that won voter acceptance of a "Plan of Improvement" (for story see page 182). Facsimile copies of the award were distributed to the 400 guests.

Before a mass meeting of 1,400 citizens in Columbia, Dr. Gallup presented the certificate to Mayor J. Macfie Anderson, who received it on behalf of the citizenry. He ordained Dr. Gallup an honorary citizen and gave him a golden key to the city.

George H. Gallup (left) presenting certificate to R. Howard Dobbs, Jr., President, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

Columbia's award was for a citizen effort that, over a period of three years, won from the legislature the right to dump its commission government for the council-manager plan, got it adopted by the voters and saw a $300,000 deficit turn into a $200,000 surplus after only a year of efficient operation by City Manager Thomas F. Maxwell.

Dr. Gallup was introduced by City Councilman Lester L. Bates, insurance executive and newly elected NML regional vice president. Mr. Bates presented Columbia's story to the All-American Cities jury at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati last November.

Mayor J. Macfie Anderson (left) receiving Columbia certificate from George H. Gallup. The Capital Life Chorale is in background.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

AY 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

5

NEWS for League Members 229
The Place to Start .... *Editorial*
Is Civic Education a Fraud? .... *O. Garfield Jones*
Rooms for the Baby Crop .... *Roy E. Larsen*
They Learn About Elections .... *Richard C. Spencer*
California Studies State Reorganization 246
Press Supports County Streamlining 254
Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win 257
U. S. Ends Restraint on State-local Bonds 260
Columbia Voters Kill Manager Repealer 263
Governor's Cabinet Holds Management Seminars.... 267

MAY 1 4 19

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1952)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1951)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1951)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952)	.05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929)	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948)	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County Manager Charter (New edition in preparation.)	
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1951)	.50
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1951)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

299 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**

NEWS for League Members

Local Leaders Plan Conference

San Antonio civic leaders met April 3 to begin making plans for the National Conference on Government, which will be held in that city November 17, 18 and 19.

Alex R. Thomas, general manager of George C. Vaughan and Sons and a regional vice president of the National Municipal League, was chosen chairman of the local arrangements committee. Mrs. B. H. Passmore, president of the San Antonio League of Women Voters, was named vice chairman and Edward G. Conroy, director of the San Antonio Bureau of Governmental Research, secretary.

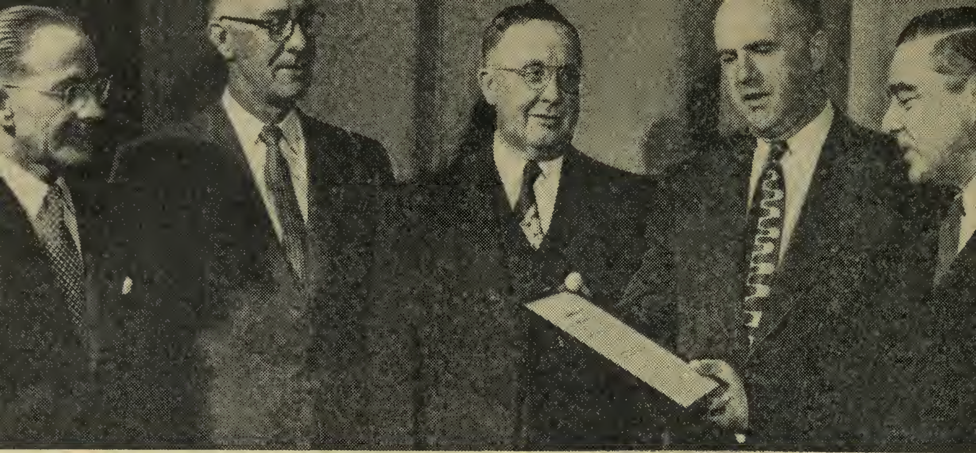
Others present at the meeting, in addition to Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML director of field services, were:

Mrs. Lee S. Fountain, representing the League of Women Voters and the Minute Women of San Antonio; Miss Elizabeth Boerner, Zonta International; Mrs. Emily Netter, Pilot Club; Mrs. Emma Kitchen, Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Mrs. Herbert Frees, Soroptomist Club; Mrs. Edwin M. Brown, City Federation of Women's Clubs; Harry J. Krusz, executive vice president, Chamber of Commerce (also representing Rotary Club); William B. Arnold, American Federation of Labor; Presley Wiggs, Lions Club; C. A. Harrell, city manager of San Antonio; Henry Lee Taylor, commander, Business and Professional Post of the American Legion; Jack Person, Exchange Club; and E. W. Sasse, Cosmopolitan Club.

Pre-conference entertainment of delegates and sightseeing will be sponsored by the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce. Local civic groups will co-sponsor the three luncheons and the November 18 dinner.

Reasonable post-conference trips to Mexico may be arranged by those who wish to plan them. Some will be described in later issues of the REVIEW. Trips to Mexico before or after the Conference may be added at small extra cost to round-trip fares to San Antonio.

Meeting to plan the 1952 National Conference on Government are, left to right, top row: Alex R. Thomas, Harry J. Krusz, William B. Arnold, Presley Wiggs, Allen H. Seed, Jr., C. A. Harrell, Edward G. Conroy, Henry Lee Taylor, Jack Person, E. W. Sasse; bottom row: Mrs. Lee S. Fountain, Miss Elizabeth Boerner, Mrs. Emily Netter, Mrs. Emma Kitchen, Mrs. Herbert Frees and Mrs. Edwin M. Brown.



—Asheville Citizen Photo.

Receiving "All-American Cities" award from Roy E. Larsen (right) are, left to right: H. E. Johnson, chairman of the Asheville school board; Mayor Earl Eller; Dr. B. E. Morgan, chairman of the Buncombe County Board of Education, and Coke Candler, chairman of the County Board of Commissioners.

School Restoration Wins Award

Citizen leaders of Asheville and Buncombe County, North Carolina, received an "All-American Cities" certificate April 2 at a mass meeting attended by 3,000 persons in the City Auditorium.

Roy E. Larsen, president of *Time, Inc.,* and chairman of the National Citizens Committee for the Public Schools, made the presentation on behalf of the National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Tribune,* co-sponsors of the "All-American Cities" competition.

The Asheville - Buncombe County area was chosen as one of the 1951 winners, Mr. Larsen pointed out, because of the effective action of its citizens in sweeping away the "accumulated effects of twenty neglectful years" and working together as a bi-racial group to bring about major improvements in its public schools. (See page 238 for Mr. Larsen's address.)

Mr. Larsen was introduced by D. Hiden Ramsey, vice chairman of the State Board of Education. Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, state superintendent of public instruction, who was introduced by Frank M. Parker, vice chairman of the Better Schools Committee, praised the citizens for voting the school bond issue.

The award was accepted on behalf of the county by Coke Candler, chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, who was accompanied by Dr. B. E. Morgan, chairman of the County Board of Education. Residents of the city were represented by Mayor Earl Eller and H. E. Johnson, chairman of the city school board.

James G. K. McClure, co-chairman of the original 18-man Citizens Committee and also a member of the present 100-man committee, presided. A high school chorus of 700, directed by Joseph DeNardo, sang.

Asheville-Buncombe County was one of eleven communities chosen last year by an NML jury headed by Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and member of the League's Council, for progress achieved through intelligent, effective citizen action.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 5 **Total Number 421**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for May 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS........ 229

EDITORIAL COMMENT........ 232

IS CIVIC EDUCATION A FRAUD?........*O. Garfield Jones* 234

ROOMS FOR THE BABY CROP........*Roy E. Larsen* 238

THEY LEARN ABOUT ELECTIONS........*Richard C. Spencer* 242

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION........*H. M. Olmsted* 246

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP........*Elwyn A. Mauck* 254

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION........*George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 257

TAXATION AND FINANCE........*Wade S. Smith* 260

CITIZEN ACTION........*Elsie S. Parker* 263

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST........*John E. Bebout* 267

BOOKS IN REVIEW........ 272

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

The Place to Start

POPULAR reactions to recurrent revelations of graft, influence mongering and politico-criminal alliances recall the alternate breast beating, soul searching and defiant reversion to sin of the lusty Old Testament patriarchs.

There *is* a difference between right and wrong that is usually clear to anyone not blinded by self-interest. But some of the issues are complicated and the old Adam has a way of cropping up to confuse people when they face borderline issues.

The reports of the Douglas Committee[1] and the earlier Kefauver Committee[2] have inspired a growing body of thoughtful writing by people in and out of public office. This literature shows wide recognition of the seriousness and ramifications of the subject at the same time that it stresses fundamental issues on which the National Municipal League has been working for many years.

In the long run the one absolutely necessary thing is a substantial increase in the general participation of citizens from the grass roots up. Where basic political tasks at the precinct level are performed by volunteers rather than by mercenaries of the machine the soil simply does not nourish the kind of political weeds that have been springing up faster than the cleanup squads could pull them out. The Douglas Committee recognizes the need for starting at the bottom by commenting:

"While we primarily deal in this report with the ethical problems of the national government, we should recognize that conditions in Washington and in government agencies are but the reflection of what also occurs on state and local levels, only in an aggravated form. If citizens who decry failures on the national level would take more interest in their local elections and in party organization, many of the sources of infection would be cleared up. Citizens cannot absolve themselves of responsibility because of their inaction and indeed their frequent connivance with low standards of ethics in all walks of life and all levels of government."

This is the idea that led local citizen organizations to establish the National Municipal League 58 years ago to help them clear out the governmental and political underbrush that impedes effective citizen action for good government. The founding of the League came near the beginning of an era of reform which is still rolling. Since the war the momentum has increased.

This means that the underlying state of public morals is better than appears on the surface because the postwar civic revival has been characterized by an unprecedented amount of purposeful citizen effort at the local level, the full effects of which have not yet had time to be felt throughout the system. The battle between higher standards of governmental ethics and lagging performance is essentially a battle to enlighten citizens everywhere with the knowledge of what an increasing number of their fellows have done and are doing in their own back yards.

---

[1] *Ethical Standards in Government,* Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 1951.

[2] See "Crime Up to States and Cities," the REVIEW, July 1951, page 354, excerpts from *Third Interim Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce,* U. S. Senate, 1951.

Charles P. Taft, in an article[3] entitled "What Is the Civic Conscience?" points out that "the failures of integrity in the political headquarters in Washington reflect any and all failures of integrity right down the party line to the precinct." Out of his own experience he suggests one practical method of improving the moral climate at the local level when he pays tribute to the "permanent impress on the moral and ethical standards" of his home city by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee which, more than a quarter of a century ago, led the people in a local revolution that wiped out the stigma of "the worst governed city" in the United States. It has stayed on the job ever since.

All Levels Improve

Herbert Emmerich, director of Public Administration Clearing House, in the course of penetrating observations on "A Scandal in Utopia"[4] calls attention to "a really astonishing amount of improvement at all levels of government" since 1945. He gives credit to citizen organizations and professional associations of public officials for particularly noteworthy improvement in cities, and cites the fact that the number of places with council-manager government has nearly doubled since the war.

Mr. Emmerich gives other evidence of progress in simplifying local and state governments and making them more responsible and less patronage-minded and concludes: "In spite of the headline rackets that the Kefauver Committee has uncovered, today, in 1952, we need no longer apologize with Lincoln Steffens for 'the shame of the cities,' or deplore with James Bryce the failure of local government in the American commonwealth."

What has been done to make it possible to say this and what needs to be done to complete the reversal of the verdicts of Steffens and Bryce has been pointed out again and again in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.[5] Citizens are not apathetic. When they are not effective it is because they are uninformed or are frustrated by outmoded, over-complicated political and governmental systems. The jungle of separate elective officers and badly organized,

(Continued on page 259)

---

[3] *The Annals,* March 1952, page 142. (Entire issue titled "Ethical Standards in American Public Life.")

[4] *Public Administration Review,* Winter 1952, page 4.

[5] See, for example, "The Home Town Is the Battle Ground," by James M. Osborn, March 1952, page 128; "The Voter Needs a Break," February 1952, page 72; "How to Wake Up an Old State," by Charles Edison, December 1951, page 574; "Revolt of Independents," December 1951, page 564; "What Can An Angry People Do?" May 1951, page 239; "Escape to the Suburbs," April 1951, page 184.

Is Civic Education a Fraud?

University of Toledo thinks not after checking voting habits of grads who took "effective citizenship" course.

By **O. GARFIELD JONES***

THE Committee for the Advancement of Teaching of the American Political Science Association has hurled a challenge at instructors who profess to teach effective citizenship in their beginning political science course. The report of this committee[1] says: "Effective citizenship, in at least limited areas, is an observable phenomenon. Course assumptions can be tested and course effectiveness can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy only by evaluating the performances of the student after he has cleared the academic hurdles."

The report goes on to say: "Few departments have made really systematic checks on the civic activities of their graduates or attempted to develop any product-testing device to probe the validity of their instructional premises."

The University of Toledo gives a four-hour course called "Effective Citizenship" that is required of all students (American government, six hours, may be taken as an alternative). Consequently we have accepted this challenge and have checked on the voting behavior of nine graduating classes.

The university had made such a check way back in 1928 by a questionnaire method of doubtful validity. Upon the suggestion of Dr. Thomas H. Reed in 1951, we selected the graduating classes of 1930 and 1931 for a recent study, both because after twenty years students would, of necessity, be settled down as members of their respective communities and because we wished to know whether the stimulating effect of an effective citizenship course in college had a lasting effect on their political behavior. It is common knowledge that the emotional glow of high ideals frequently fades away when the harsh realities of everyday life beat upon the college graduate striving to make a name for himself. After two attempts to use the questionnaire method with the usual 20 per cent return, and after discovering some obvious errors in the few returns we did receive, we turned to a more positive and valid method of checking voting behavior.

The data secured by this positive method seems a bit incredible. One hundred per cent of the 110 graduates checked were registered and all but two voted in the 1950 state election. The method used was to check the alumni list of these two classes against the Toledo city directory—which includes most of the county—

---

*Dr. Jones, originator of the University of Toledo's "effective citizenship" course, which is required of all students, has been head of the university's Department of Political Science since 1921. He is author of *Parliamentary Procedure at a Glance*, *Senior Manual for Group Leadership* and *Junior Manual for Group Leadership* and a contributor to numerous publications in the political science field.

[1] *Goals for Political Science.* William Sloane Associates, Inc., New York, 1951, page 205.

to get the names and addresses of those still living in Lucas County. Then this list of names and addresses was turned over to the Lucas County Board of Elections where the clerical force checked the voting of each graduate as revealed by the data on his or her registration card.[2]

100 Per Cent Record

The preliminary check indicated that quite a few were not registered. Then we went over this list and found that some of the women listed as not registered were married and the alumni record did not show the married name. Each of these was traced by various methods to get the married name before the registration card could be located. In other cases the alumni in question had died—we do not vote them from the graveyard in Toledo. In a few cases we learned by diligent research that a graduate listed in the alumni list and in the telephone directory under one spelling of the name was listed under a different spelling on the registration card at the board of elections. One alumna who had been married for ten years was still voting under her maiden name.

We had the patience to run down all these cases because each one thus run down from these first two classes made the record better and better, till the total registration of graduates living in Lucas County reached 100 per cent.

With such an excellent record as to registration and voting it was clear that doubting Thomases would insist that the sample was too small for validity, consequently the research was extended to include the classes of 1932 to 1938. This made a total of 652 graduates of the classes of 1930 to 1938 still living in Lucas County. Of this total 622, or 95 2/5 per cent, were registered and 601, or 92 1/5 per cent, voted in the 1950 state election.

The voting records of these graduates for 1947, 1948 and 1949 were not quite as good as that for 1950. This data, however, was also not as valid because not all of Lucas County outside Toledo was a registration area prior to 1950. To check the voting record of electors outside the registration area is simply not practicable.

Unfortunately, this excellent voting record of the graduating class of 1930 and 1931 proved too much so far as the political science department was concerned, because the engineering and pharmacy graduates, who had had no political science, had just as good a voting record as the liberal arts, education, law and business administration graduates who were required to take a political science course.[3]

In the spring of 1928, we had checked on the voting behavior of our graduates by a questionnaire method and found that 65 per cent of the engineers voted in the 1927 municipal election, 71 per cent of the pharmics did, and 75 per cent of the students who had had a political science course did. In comparing the excellent record of the classes of 1930 and 1931 with this earlier data on the 1927 election the question naturally arose as to why such a difference. Then we recalled that in the fall of 1928 the University of Toledo asked the voters of Toledo to approve a $2,850,000 bond issue to buy a new campus and erect buildings. Every student and faculty member participated in the house-to-house canvass in October and helped man the approaches to the polls on election day. The bond issue carried by a 58 per cent vote, which was twice the margin of victory achieved by the public schools in their bond issue campaign in that same election.

---

[2] Ohio has permanent registration in urban areas with provision that not voting for two successive years is taken as *prima facie* evidence that the voter has moved or is dead, and his name is therefore dropped from the poll list.

[3] The engineering and the pharmacy students were not required to take political science until 1935. With their tight professional curricula very few took the subject until it was required of them.

Participation the Answer?

Apparently, in the process of persuading the Toledo electorate to vote for the university bond issue in 1928, these students did an even better job of convincing themselves of the importance of voting. Perhaps the best way to teach student participation in politics is to have them participate when undergraduates in a campaign in which they have a great interest.

Just how to bring this about for every student generation is, of course, quite a problem. To attempt this too often could easily involve the university in most serious political difficulties. Certainly we did not put on the 1928 campaign just to teach students to participate in politics. The university needed the bond issue, and needed it badly. It was generally conceded after this campaign of 1928 that the effective citizenship course, especially its precinct report phase, has been a real factor in enabling the students to be effective in political activity. This is an extensive report required of each student as to the party organization and the campaign methods used in his precinct and city plus an estimate of the vote that will be cast in his precinct for the two leading candidates for the most important office to be filled by that election. The accuracy of this estimate counts in the grading.

Perhaps the outstanding conclusion from this experience and this 1950 voting data is that Dr. Reed was making the keenest observation of his remarkable report on *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*[4] when he said: "It appears that where the proper climatic conditions exist [favorable to student participation] excellent results can be accomplished quite independently of course requirements." It should be clear that the precinct report and other phases of our effective citizenship course do facilitate the creation of a favorable climate for student participation in politics.

The university is now extending its research into the voting behavior of graduates to the classes of 1925 to 1928 to see if their voting behavior was definitely less satisfactory than that of the students who participated in the bond issue campaign of October and November 1928.

In any case, the voting behavior

---

[4] By Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed. New York, Citizenship Clearing House, New York University School of Law, 1952. 180 pages.

of graduates of the classes of 1930 to 1938 is definitely much better than that of the general run of voters in the United States in the 1950 election. There have been statements published in recent years that college trained voters do stay away from the polls in large numbers; perhaps as much as 35 per cent. I have always doubted the validity of these figures. So many things can happen to make one's voting record look worse than it really is, while so few things can happen to make it look better than it really is. A Toledo man moves two miles north across the state line into Michigan but his name remains on the Toledo registration list for two years. One alumnus voted in Toledo in 1948 and in 1950, but not in 1949. In a personal checkup we found that he had moved to Cleveland early in 1949 and voted there, but in 1950 he moved back to Toledo and voted there. All deceased voters continue on the registration rolls for two years before they are dropped.

What Makes Record Look Bad

Added to this total are those who moved to another precinct and neglected to transfer their registration to the new address, those women who got married and failed to re-register under their married names, those who were ill or out of the city and did not apply for absentee ballots in time. We have some graduates who admit that they do not vote, but until I find perfection somewhere else I shall continue to be pretty well satisfied with the voting record of our graduates.

The fact is that much of the bad voting record which makes our national average look so bad is really a tribute to the efficiency of the southern politicians who deliberately plan to keep certain groups from voting. This is not a commendable efficiency. However, it may be just as commendable an efficiency as that of certain countries where 95 per cent of the population vote without any choice as to how they vote. I have always been irked by the citation of the voting record of totalitarian countries as a reflection on the voting record of American citizens.

Of course we would like to see our civic education more effective than it is. Certainly civic education is a basic responsibility of political scientists. We may get confused as to the difference between vocational education and specific education for citizenship. But civic education is not a fraud. It is a major purpose of patriotic teachers and a major achievement of political science instruction.

Rooms for the Baby Crop

Asheville-Buncombe County, overwhelmed, captures national honors by consolidating and expanding its school system.

By ROY E. LARSEN*

WHEN the officers of the National Municipal League asked if I would represent them and their jury of twelve distinguished citizens in Asheville, I welcomed the opportunity. I wanted to see for myself the results of the work for the schools for which the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County have been nationally acclaimed.

After an interesting and instructive tour of the new facilities and sites, I really understand the complex problems to which intelligent citizen thought has found such sound answers. I want to pay tribute to those eighteen good citizens whose initiative, hard work and vision, as members of the advisory committee appointed by the Buncombe County commissioners, have made this progress possible. Under their resourceful and devoted leadership the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County have swept away the accumulated effects of twenty neglectful years. They have consolidated all the school systems of the county into one effective modern unit. They have voted five and a half million dollars for the construction of new buildings and the modernization of old ones.

I have seen some of the handsome new classrooms being built to replace the basements, hallways, even school buses, previously used as classrooms. The provisions the county is making for the five thousand additional pupils expected in the next five years will surely insure adequate facilities for the bumper crop of babies born in the county during the postwar years. All this has been a bi-racial cooperative effort.

Now just what kind of award and recognition is this that has been given to the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County by the National Municipal League and the Minneapolis *Tribune,* which has cooperated in the project. We are all thoroughly aware of the All-American football teams, members of which are selected annually by the sports experts for outstanding performance on the playing field. This city and county have been selected for a more significant kind of All-American team.

For the last three years twelve experts in the field of municipal government have been watching the actions of citizens across the nation and selecting each year the eleven communities in which the citizens, through voluntary organized responsible effort, have done the most effective job in bringing about important changes for the good of their localities.

Until this year, these awards have been made on the basis of action in the fields of politics or government. This year the experts recognized that the schools of a community are as important to its well-being as politics, that the schools, in fact, will shape the course of politics and the kind of government a community will get for years to come. So citizen battles for better schools were ranked along with citizen battles for better government.

---

*Mr. Larsen, president of Time, Inc., is chairman of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. This article is taken from his April 3 address at Asheville, North Carolina, where he presented the "All-American Cities" award to the citizens of Asheville and Buncombe County (see page 230, this issue).

Action on Schools Awarded

Two of the eleven awards—Asheville and that of Kalamazoo, Michigan—went to the citizens of communities where there is understanding of the importance of public education to the development of the strength of the community and where citizens took effective action to secure better schools.

What has been done so dramatically in Asheville and Buncombe County has helped citizens in thousands of other American communities now working for better schools. This national recognition of that action will create a better understanding by citizens at large of the importance of the best possible education for all our youngsters. Asheville and Buncombe County are in the forefront of a nationwide movement to improve the schools.

After the war, a wave of teachers' strikes focused attention on the country's public school system. Citizens began looking at their schools and were shocked to discover that not only were teachers underpaid but that the public education system was underhoused, underfinanced, understaffed and its goals too frequently confused and inadequate.

It was concern with this school crisis that brought about the formation of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. Very early in the discussion of the crisis this group of laymen recognized that, although the crisis was a national one, the problem could only be solved in individual communities, by the interest and understanding of local citizens. The commission discovered that in those communities where real progress was being made, the citizens had come together to take action.

One of the commission's first actions as an operating group was the establishment of a clearing house for information on citizen activities on behalf of their schools. In the past three years it has seen the formation of citizen committees in more than 1,600 communities. They have written of their problems and requested information about the ways and means employed by other communities in dealing with similar problems. For example, through the Buncombe County committee's reports to the commission, countless other communities have been able to benefit as the experiences of Buncombe County have been passed on to them. Perhaps that group has been helped through learning of the activities of others. Curriculum committees may find helpful suggestions in the report of a similar study being made in Fairfield, Connecticut, or perhaps by the Palo Alto, California, school study committee.

Now some people seem to be afraid of what they call too much education or of education for all. It has been wrongly said that hard-headed business leaders share that fear and that the taxes needed for school improvement will be resisted by businessmen. It is my opinion that, although that may have been true in the past, it is not so today.

There is a growing realization that a high level of education is more important to business than a low tax rate. Much credit for this new attitude on the part of industry must go to such excellent studies as the one made by Dr. Harold Clark of Columbia University for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Dr. Clark showed irrefutably that a direct relation exists between the level of education and the level of prosperity of a nation.

Education Aid to Prosperity

He points to Colombia, South America, for example. It is the richest land in the world in natural wealth but its people, who are among the world's most illiterate, are also the poorest. On the other hand, little Denmark, with almost no natural resources or hydro-electric power, has one of the highest economic standards in the world; it also has one of the highest educational levels.

Individual businessmen and corporations are learning how essential public education is to their own best interests. Frank Abrams, chairman of the board of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, stated the case some months ago. "The children of this world—wherever they may be—are always marvelous material," he said. "But they are a resource which is being neglected in many places. No institution — no corporation — especially none operating in world markets where the diversity of the human race is most easily observed—can fail to recognize that the ability of our own country to progress is owed to our national acceptance and promotion of universal education as much as it is to anything else.

"In many distant communities—especially where we have to establish operations in lands that are backward by American standards—sheer self-interest has led us, a private business, into education and public health activities as essential operations. In this way we are constantly reminded that public education is good business."

The recent record of school development in North Carolina is evidence that this belief in the importance of the schools is broadspread.

The battle to make our schools competent to meet the needs of the day is a continuous and ever changing one. Our whole concept of education has changed in recent years. In 1900, only 11 per cent of all youth of high school age were in school, but virtually all of them went on to college to study for one of the professions. Today only 20 per cent of our high school graduates go on to college, but 73 per cent of the children of high school age are in high school.

Those who do not go on to college require a wide variety of different kinds of education to prepare them for their places in our complicated industrialized society. Now we expect our public schools to train our young people in woodworking and metal crafts, in business skills, in the arts of homemaking and agriculture and in various kinds of arts and sports to enable them to use their increased leisure time wisely and well.

Today the demands made upon our schools far outrun their capacity to meet them. School enrollments are still increasing and will not meet their peak for some years to come. Right now the enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools of the nation are 24,468,000. That is a million more than last year; two million ahead of two years ago. By 1955 we can expect that there will be 30,000,000 pupils, with a continued increase forecast.

School Enrollments Leap

But these are national figures. Those for Asheville and Buncombe County are proportionately even more staggering. Births in this county in the six years, 1944 through 1949, exceeded the total school enrollment for all twelve grades in 1950. These postwar youngsters are just beginning to enter the schools. This means that each succeeding year will find hundreds of more children than the year before, knocking at the school house door.

How can we afford to provide all the money to meet these demands on our schools?

How can we afford *not* to provide all that is required?

Throughout our history there have been in each generation wise men with the vision to see that our survival as a nation depended in great degree upon the creation of an intelligent, educated, productive populace. There was George Washington, for example, who said: "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

There was Horace Mann, probably the most noted crusader for the schools our country has yet produced. He abandoned a profitable legal practice and promising political career to accept a lowly post as secretary to the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Said he: "I have abandoned jurisprudence and betaken myself to the larger sphere of mind and morals. Men are cast iron, but children are wax. . . . I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth. I have faith in the improvability of the race —in their accelerating improvability."

In North Carolina 50 years ago there was another such statesman, Walter Hines Page, a native of North Carolina, scholar, journalist, *Atlantic Monthly* editor, co-founder of the firm of Doubleday, Page and Company, and World War I ambassador to the Court of St. James's. The modern businessman's attitude toward education has never been better stated than by Page more than half a century ago. "I believe that by the right training of man we add to the wealth of the world," said Mr. Page. "All wealth is the creation of man and he creates it only in proportion to the trained uses of the community; and, the more men we train, the more wealth everyone may create."

They Learn About Elections

Campus turned into giant laboratory as Coe College students test faults and values of three different balloting methods.

By RICHARD C. SPENCER*

STUDENTS and faculty of Coe College at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, conducted, on March 13, an experiment in election methods which they will not soon forget. "Learning by doing" rather than by classroom lectures, they participated in the election of an imaginary five-member council by three separate methods—the single-member district or ward system, the Belgian party list system of proportional representation and the Hare or single transferable vote system of P. R. About 65 per cent of the electors participated, a considerably higher percentage than is usual at regular student body elections.

Political science students, particularly those in comparative government, organized the experiment under the direction of the author. Candidates, nominated by a student caucus, were in large measure presidential aspirants—the list is set forth in the result sheet below.

The *Coe Cosmos* and the Cedar Rapids *Gazette* carried news and descriptive items about the experiment over a period of several weeks. Posters offered the necessary immediate information and further instruction was printed on the ballots. On election day the *Cosmos* had a leading explanatory article and about a page devoted to the candidates. I repeatedly indicated that while we would obtain as a by-product a sort of straw vote as to campus sentiment toward presidential candidates and other political personalities, the main purpose of the experiment was to compare results under the three methods of voting.

Aside from my advice and supervision, the students planned and managed much of the job—counting votes, checking accuracy and tabulating results.

The campus was divided into five districts. These were used both as election districts for the casting of ballots and for the election of the imaginary council by single-member districts or wards. Polling lists were prepared from the student directory or "herd book." Each district had its own ballot box with polling officials. Four of the boxes were located in the student grill, the fifth was in the women's residence hall.

Mimeographed ballots were in varied shapes and sizes for the three different types of election and were stapled into sets of three for each voter. The variation in form helped to impress the voter with the fact that he should cast three different ballots, one for each voting method, and it also facilitated separating the ballots for the central count.

---

*Dr. Spencer, professor of political science at Coe College, has taught government at several universities, including Western Reserve University, American University and the University of Cincinnati. In 1942-47 he was a government organization specialist in the Governments Division of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

The only compromise made was to combine the ballots of the various parties in the party list system election onto a single ballot sheet, but with the instruction that only one party ballot could be voted. This prevented giving the voter too many sheets of paper and additional and more complicated instructions. Also we used the simpler device employed in Belgium prior to the improvements through the *apparentement* as adopted in 1919. The students found the description in Thomas H. Reed's *Government and Politics of Belgium* adequate for the purpose.

Everything possible was done to simulate genuine elections. This paid off in that the students took it seriously while enjoying the variation from the usual routine. Not much actual campaigning was done for any candidate or party but students began talking politics.

Caucus Names Candidates

Because of the desirability of listing all candidates on a standard size blackboard for the central count, the number of candidates was arbitrarily limited to twelve. A student caucus determined the list of candidates for each ballot and district. The same list of twelve candidates served in all three elections.

Shortly after this caucusing, Coe College was host to the Town Meeting of the Air, and it happened that Norman Thomas, whom the students had selected as the only candidate outside the Democratic and Republican parties, was one of the speakers —only ten days before the election. The Eisenhower candidacy undoubtedly was influenced by the New Hampshire primaries, just held, and by a local struggle in Iowa Republican caucuses between Taft and Eisenhower supporters. Since this is a strongly Republican area, no great support was expected for the Democratic candidates.

For the single-member districts or wards, the caucus tried to place candidates in each district in such a way that a genuine contest would be possible. Three districts each had two candidates, a Democrat and a Republican. One district had a Democrat and two Republicans, and the fifth district, into which the students lumped the faculty with occupants of one student residence hall and out-of-town commuters, had the formidable list of Taft, Truman and Thomas.

For the Belgian party list ballots, the caucus attempted to establish a priority among the candidates which conceivably would be that which the inner organization of each major party might establish. Thus Taft headed the Republican list and Truman the Democratic. Under this system the party organization establishes the order in which their candidates appear on the ballot, thus determining the order of election of the candidates unless the voters assert their right to vote for individual candidates to give a different priority by their votes.

The Hare system ballot had the twelve candidates listed in alphabetical order, but with party designation following each name. Both the Belgian party list and the Hare system elections were conducted from the campus at large.

HARE SYSTEM OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION
COE COLLEGE DEMONSTRATION ELECTION, MARCH 13, 1952

NUMBER TO BE ELECTED 5 QUOTA FOR ELECTION 69		Count of First Choices	Transfer of Eisenhower Surplus	Result	Transfer of Taft and Write-in Ballots	Result	Transfer of Gillette and Smith Ballots	Result	Transfer of Hickenlooper Ballots	Result	Transfer of Roosevelt Ballots	Result	Transfer of Stevenson Ballots	Result	Transfer of Truman Ballots	Result	
Eisenhower	R	159	—90	(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)	Elected
Gillette	D	1		1		1	—1	0									
Hickenlooper	R	2	3	5		5	1	6	—6	0							
Kefauver	D	38	16	54		54		54		54	1	55	7	62	7	(69)	Elected
Roosevelt	D	6	3	9		9		9		9	—9	0					
Smith	R		3	3		3	—3	0									
Stassen	R	22	18	40		40		40		40	2	42	2	44	3	47	
Stevenson	D	11	4	15	2	17		17	1	18		18	—18	0			
Taft	R	70		70	—1	(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)	Elected
Thomas	S	50	3	53		53	1	54		54	2	56	4	60	2	62	Elected
Truman	D	14	2	16		16		16	1	17	2	19	1	20	—20		
Warren	R	37	31	68		68	1	(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)		(69)	Elected
Write-in—Douglas		1		1	—1	0											
Ineffective			7	7		7	1	8	4	12	2	14	4	18	8	26	
TOTAL		411		411		411		411		411		411		411		411	

The polls were open from 8:30 A.M. to 5:30 P.M., when the boxes were delivered to the hall prepared for a central count, to which the public was invited. Tabulation forms had been prepared and large copies of them were drawn on blackboards. The statistics students had the calculating machines at hand.

The first tabulation form was that of a preliminary district count and report for each type of ballot. A second form consolidated the results for the single-member district election. The third, with columns for each district, consolidated the first-choice votes of the Hare system. The fourth was the result sheet for the Hare system with its columns for transfers of votes, as shown on the reproduction above. And, finally, a form was ready for consolidation of district results by party and candidate in the Belgian list system. In addition, a general information sheet, describing the purpose of P. R., the methods and reasons for calculating the quotas (Droop and d'Hondt) and the procedure for transfers, was available for spectators.

Ward System vs. P. R.

As for results, the single-member district or ward election demonstrated clearly its defects as a method of election for a representative body. Out of 394 ballots cast, the Democrats received 104 votes but failed to win a seat, whereas the Republicans, with a total of 258 votes, took four seats and might have won the fifth also, except that in the three-cornered fifth district, with Taft, Truman and Thomas, Thomas nosed out Taft with a plurality of but a single vote.

In the Belgian party list system count the result was more equitable. Although the Republicans again won four seats, the fifth went to a Democrat, Kefauver. It is interesting to note that not enough students voted, as most Belgians do, at the head of the party ballot, to make this demonstration as typical of the usual results as the others. Most students voted opposite a candidate's name. There were relatively few straight party votes to assign to individual "organization" candidates to bring them up to their quota of 65. Eisenhower, at the bottom of the list, got about twice as many votes as the quota and this showed how the Belgian system may be used to break an organization slate.

Of the 411 Hare ballots cast, 159 had first choices for Eisenhower, 70 for Taft, 50 for Thomas, 38 for Kefauver, 37 for Warren, etc. The quota being established at 69, a good opportunity was afforded to demonstrate the transfer of surplus ballots, and then those of defeated candidates to the next effective choice as indicated by the voter—see result sheet.[1] The 90 surplus votes of Eisenhower were transferred by taking them proportionately, without examination, from his ballots in each district—the district piles having been kept separate. The final result in this election was: Republicans, three

(Continued on page 274)

---

[1] For an explanation of the Hare system count see *Proportional Representation—Effective Voting,* 1951. National Municipal League, 8 pages, ten cents. Various list systems, including that used in Belgium, are discussed in *Proportional Representation,* by Hoag and Hallett, 1926. The League, 546 pages, $3.75.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

California Committees Study State Structure

Many Recommendations Are Given to Legislature

TWO interim committees of the California legislature — one in the Senate, the other in the Assembly — have been conducting studies of the state's governmental organization since their creation nearly three years ago. Five printed reports have been submitted — two to the Senate, three to the Assembly — and others are expected to be presented to the 1953 legislature, at least by the Assembly committee. The Senate committee is headed by Senator Hugh H. Donnelly; the Assembly committee by Assemblyman James W. Silliman.

The 1951 legislature adopted legislation based on one report—a special study of payroll procedure; the 1952 budget session considered a report on records management, legislation on which is to be submitted to the 1953 general session; and legislation on other topics will also be introduced in 1953.

The Senate committee's *Second Partial Report* (217 pages), issued early last year, represents a general survey of the state government, suggestions for a long-term reorganization program and a large number of specific recommendations for early consideration. It was the result of eighteen months of study by the committee and its staff, with aid from state agencies, the University of California, etc.

The report asserts that the departmental system established in 1929 has broken down and the number of independently functioning agencies has grown to unmanageable proportions. As a long-range objective there is proposed a governor's council composed of all department heads representing the following types of functions and interests: agriculture, commerce and its regulation, corrections, education, industrial relations, natural resources, public safety, public welfare, public works, and revenue and finance. Bureaus should be attached to the governor's office for budgeting, research and analysis, and service and supply. Non-council agencies would be kept to a minimum.

While many detailed recommendations are made in this report, the need of further study is stressed, particularly as to accounting and budgeting, law enforcement agencies, licensing, property management and water resources.

The Assembly committee issued its *First Partial Report* (365 pages) under date of March 1951; its special report on payroll methods (14 pages) was transmitted in the same month; and its *Second Partial Report,* on records management (24 pages) was transmitted to the Assembly on March 3, 1952.

The first report, comprising the results of an examination of the structure of the state government with the aid of a staff headed by H. F. Scoville, former director of administrative research for Los Angeles County, attempts to avoid duplication of the work of the Senate committee. It urged consideration of a plan providing the legislature with an adequate trained staff able to advise on questions of the organization and structure of state government. Specific recommendations, which total 116, include:

An integrated accounting system should be established, preferably in the department of finance if the elective office of state controller is abolished.

A larger board of control (financial) should be provided with broader powers than the existing board; it should consist of the director of finance and four members appointed by the governor with Senate concurrence and with overlapping terms; this board to formulate rules and regulations on fiscal matters as well as consider claims against the state.

The elective office of state treasurer should be abolished and the treasury placed in the department of finance.

The division of audits should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the legislature.

A separate department should be established for the administration of state revenues.

The state personnel board should not remain independent if the rest of the state government is reorganized to center executive authority in the governor.

A comprehensive study should be made, looking toward a department of medical services, to combine functions of the present departments of health and mental hygiene and the medical licensing and sanitary inspecting functions of the department of professional and vocational standards, and other medical functions.

A single recreation and parks commission should be created through the merging of the present recreation and state park commissions, the beaches and parks division of the department of natural resources and the recreation activities of the youth authority and the department of education.

The superintendent of public instruction, instead of being elected, should be selected by a board of education appointed by the governor with overlapping terms of ten years each (present term is four years).

Agencies and functions dealing with natural resources should be integrated into the department of natural resources, which should be reorganized into six major operating divisions with six advisory boards.

The need for much further study is stressed throughout the report.

South Carolina House Asks Biennial Sessions

The House of Representatives of South Carolina has adopted a resolution proposing an amendment to the state constitution to require biennial legislative sessions. If the resolution is approved by the Senate, the amendment will be submitted to the electorate. If the vote is favorable the amendment will go to the legislature for final ratification. The legislature now meets annually.

Mississippi Holds Classes for Legislators

Members of the Mississippi legislature, slightly over half of whom have had no previous service in the legislature, according to the Council of State Governments, attended a three-day "short course in legislative procedure" during the second week of the 1952 regular session. The course was sponsored and presented by the University of Mississippi in cooperation with the legislature and with the assistance of other state educational institutions. Instructors were chiefly experienced legislators and state officials. This was the first such course to be held in the state.

Included in the course were discussions of constitutional provisions affecting the legislature, parliamentary procedure, bill drafting, rules, committee procedure and services available to the legislature.

General Civil Service Revision Deferred in N. Y.

The New York Temporary State Commission on Revision of the Civil Service Law has postponed until 1953 the submission of recommendations to the legislature for wholesale changes in the present complex and confusing civil service law. An interim report states that studies have not been completed and that piecemeal, unrelated legislation is to be avoided.

The commission, created in 1950, has been cooperating for the past year with the Temporary Commission on Coordination of State Activities in a study of civil service practices. The latter group has recommended abolition of the present three-member Civil Service Commission in favor of a single administrator, aided by a part-time advisory board. This plan, which contemplated appointment of the administrator by the governor with Senate approval, has been criticized as inadequate protection against the patronage system, inasmuch as each governor could appoint a new administrator who might be politically dependent.

Merit System Gains Support in Louisiana

Support of a proposed constitutional amendment in Louisiana, to revive the merit system principle in the civil service, has been pledged by the Democratic and Republican nominees for governor and by 56 of the 100 members of the House and 27 of the 39 members of the Senate. Five additional house members pledged their support with qualifications. A state merit system law was repealed in 1948.

The proposed amendment would call for the merit system in all executive agencies of the state government and in all cities of 100,000 or more. Civil service systems, not protected by constitutional safeguards, are now in operation in the three cities within this class—New Orleans, Shreveport and Baton Rouge — and also within those state agencies receiving federal grants-in-aid. The amendment would prohibit political activity by civil service employees.

Constitutional amendments in Louisiana must receive at least 67 votes in the House and 26 in the Senate as well as the approval of a majority of those voting on the amendment at a general election designated by the legislature.

Court Reforms Proposed in Colorado

A proposed constitutional amendment, placed on the 1952 state ballot by the 1951 Colorado legislature, would effect several changes in the judiciary. It provides that no supreme or district judge could accept nomination for any non-judicial public office if its term would begin more than 30 days before the end of his term as judge, without resigning; forbids any supreme or district judge to hold office in a political organization; provides for retirement of a disabled judge on proceedings initiated by the attorney general in Supreme Court; requires the Supreme Court to be open, except on Sundays and holidays, during customary court hours; enables any county judge admitted to practice law to sit as a district judge; and permits retirement benefits and the increase or decrease of the compensation of a judge during his term of office.

Interstate Commission Studies Air Pollution

At a meeting sponsored by the New York Committee on Inter-state Cooperation, agreement has been reached for an interstate approach to problems of air pollution and smoke control, according to the Council of State Governments. The Interstate Sanitation Commission, set up by compact among Connecticut, New Jersey and New York, has indicated willingness to study the practicability of amending the compact to permit its dealing with air pollution control. It expects to report its findings to the 1953 legislative sessions. A request for joint state action had been made to the governors of the three states by the mayor of New York City.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Bloomington, Illinois, (1950 population 34,163) voted 6,172 to 5,019, at the April 8 primary election, to adopt the state's optional council-manager law. At the same time the voters turned down a proposal to continue electing members of the city council by wards rather than at large as provided in the state's option.

Other recent additions to the ranks of council-manager municipalities include **Richfield, Utah,** (4,412); **Blacksburg, Virginia,** (3,358); **Zeeland, Michigan,** (3,075); **Zelienople, Pennsylvania,** (2,981); **South Royalton, Vermont,** (1,350); four **Maine** towns, **Hermon,** (1,728), **Hartland,** (1,310); **Corinth,** (1,167) and **Hudson** (455); and **Beaconsfield, Quebec.**

In **New Hampshire** the manager plan was retained by two towns where the question was voted on at the annual town meeting — in **Ashland** by better than two to one and in **Derry** by a small margin. Proposals for adoption of the manager plan were defeated in **Holderness,** 170 to 50, and in **Plymouth** by the slim margin of 21 votes.

The town of **Arlington, Massachusetts,** which voted in favor of the manager plan at its 1951 town meeting, voted at the 1952 town meeting, on March 31, to request the state legislature to enact pending legislation permitting Arlington voters to adopt or reject the manager plan. **Southbridge** voted 2,830 to 2,085 on March 14 against a town manager proposal.

Livingston township, New Jersey, has voted against a proposed manager plan.

Voters of **Princess Anne County, Virginia,** rejected a manager plan proposal on January 15, 1952.

In **Battle Creek, Michigan,** the city commission has voted to establish an executive staff for the mayor to relieve the load of administrative detail and to provide continuity in administration.

Evansville, Wisconsin, has defeated a council-manager proposal.

Springfield, Illinois, on April 8 defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 18,744 to 12,862. It thus retains the commission plan.

Bushnell, Illinois, will vote May 13 on adoption of the manager plan.

Petitions for a vote on the question of adopting the commission-manager plan have been circulated in **Ottawa, Kansas.**

Council-manager enabling legislation has been adopted by the **Mississippi** legislature. It was sponsored by the Mississippi Economic Council and allows any incorporated municipality of 300 or more to adopt the manager plan, to become effective after the existing elective officials complete their terms. A recall feature originally included was eliminated.

Voters of **San Marcos, Texas,** defeated a council-manager proposal, 1,011 to 747, on April 1.

The annual spring conference of the city managers' department of the League of California Cities was held in Riverside, February 20-22, with over 100 managers, administrative officers and their assistants from 79 cities, in attendance.

Proposed Charter for New Orleans Submitted

The Charter Committee for the city of New Orleans has submitted a proposed home rule charter to the commission council of the city. Under the special New Orleans constitutional home rule provision, adopted in 1950, the commission council may submit the charter to the voters with or without modifications.

If the charter is adopted the present commission government will be replaced by a mayor-council plan. The charter provides for a mayor and seven councilmen, five elected from districts and two from the city at large for four-year terms. The mayor would have the power to veto ordinances or items in appropriation bills subject to reversal by two-thirds of council. The mayor would appoint a chief administrative officer, on the basis of qualifications for his duties, the city attorney and a number of boards and commissions. The chief administrative officer would appoint and remove, with the approval of the mayor, the heads of most of the departments. The most significant feature of the charter is the strong provision of the chief administrative officer, at least with respect to the single-headed departments.

The New Orleans government differs from the standard commission form in the large number of more or less independent boards and commissions grafted upon it. Although the number of such boards would be reduced by the new charter, the continuance of several important ones in powerful positions makes it difficult to classify the charter as belonging definitely to the strong mayor category, although the mayor should be as strong as any mayor now in office with respect to those departments directly under him and his chief administrative officer.

Some of the continued boards are protected by state law, including especially the powerful sewerage and water board which has recently been declared a state rather than a city agency.

If the esthetic values of a city can be protected by a multiplicity of official watchdogs, the beauties of old New Orleans should be safe for many years to come under the new charter. In addition to the esthetic responsibilities of the city council, the planning commission and a new consolidated park commission, special responsibilities would be placed in a new commission for city beautification. There is also, for good measure, the Vieux Carre Commission whose mission is to preserve the character of that historic section of the city.

J.E.B.

Cincinnati Sets Basis for Collective Bargaining

The city council of Cincinnati has recently adopted a resolution setting forth the city's policy on collective bargaining with city employees and outlining the procedure to be followed in case negotiations are stalemated. If an agreement cannot be reached between the city's representative—the city manager — and the employees' representative, the latter may request a fact-finding board to examine and report on the questions which may be in dispute, for the purpose of guiding negotiations. This board will be made up of one member from the affected employees' group, one designated by the city council, with the third member to be selected by the first two.

The council's resolution also sets forth the items upon which collective bargaining shall be based, such as cost-of-living data, improvement factors, national and local wage surveys, relationships among the salary rates of the various classes of city employment, comparative salary data and other such items that may be agreed upon by the two parties.

NIMLO Publishes National Model Ordinance Service

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers has announced inauguration of the first national municipal model ordinance service ever to be published. It is in looseleaf form.

The service at its outset will contain the 33 model ordinances the institute has prepared thus far. These cover such subjects as city council organization and procedure, civil defense, transient merchants, peddlers, solicitors, canvassers, refrigerated locker plants, vending machines, juke boxes, admission taxes, circus structures, official daylight and war time, curfew of minors, handbills, sound trucks, sound advertising aircraft, unnecessary noises, smoke control, auto trailer and tourist camps, dogs, radio reception interference, operation of aircraft, parking meters, taxicabs, airport zoning, and demolition, vacation or repair of substandard buildings.

Each ordinance contains an introductory editorial note giving citations to the NIMLO research report upon which it is based or recent court decisions rendered on the specific subject matter. Some of the model ordinances have been directly upheld by the courts.

The models are based upon what the institute's more than 600 member cities, counties, towns and special municipal corporations have done, are doing or are planning to do; and upon seventeen years of model ordinance drafting through NIMLO by municipal attorneys and others expert in municipal law.

New ordinances will be continually added until the service contains a model municipal code covering major municipal regulations.

Further information about the service may be obtained from the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 730 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Las Vegas Employees Form Speaking Bureau

In order to acquaint the people of Las Vegas, Nevada, with the operation of their city government, the latter is providing a panel of ten city employees who will be available as speakers for service clubs and other organizations. City Manager C. W. Shelley has prepared a booklet setting forth the names of prospective speakers, their experience and background, and the subjects about which they are prepared to speak.

Five Cities Seek to Annex Territory

Plans are under way in at least five major cities to take in more territory.

Kansas City, Missouri, has taken steps to annex 25 square miles, increasing its total area to 107.2 square miles and making it one of the ten largest cities in the nation by area. This territory is adjacent to the city on the east, consisting of the unincorporated area between Kansas City and Independence, and contains a population of more than 27,000.

Milwaukee is bringing the entire town of Lake into the city and is also considering a proposal to establish a $500,000 rotating fund to buy undeveloped land outside the city for improvement and subsequent annexation.

A recent court decision in Kentucky has approved the annexation by Louisville of an area which, subsequent to Louisville's initial action, had incorporated as a town. Louisville also contemplates the annexation of nearly seven square miles of industrial area in order to bring numerous industrial plants under control of the city air pollution control commission.

Norfolk, Virginia, has plans under way to annex nearly sixteen square miles of territory, and in Indianapolis, Indiana, the city plan commission has approved a report urging the city council to undertake the annexation of nearly 25 square miles during the next ten years.

Saginaw Supervisors Study to Improve Methods

Eighty supervisory employees of Saginaw, Michigan, have completed a course of classes and conferences on efficiency in government, extending over a period of three months.

Saginaw, which has a population of about 100,000 and employs about 600 persons, is the first Michigan city to participate in this educational experiment, developed by Michigan State College's Continuing Education Service. It is expected that other Michigan cities may engage in similar programs.

As a result of the course, City Manager C. A. Miller stated that the city was working out an orientation program for new city employees, to cut the cost of labor turnover, and was considering several other changes in procedure.

Changes in the Saginaw police department already are in effect. New members of the department are now required to go through 40 hours of training at headquarters before they are assigned to beats.

Professor Paul Moore, head of the Michigan State College Department of Business and Industry, conducted the classes. They included discussions of such subjects as techniques of solving problems, operating as a team and getting employees off to a good start. The participants were placed in six groups, each on a separate level in the government. Each group met once a week.

Professor Moore expressed the belief that the city should now be in a better position to compete in a tight labor market and that the productivity of its employees should increase, although Saginaw has been a well run city.

Schools for West Coast Councilmen

The League of California Cities will hold a two-day institute for councilmen late in May or early in June, primarily for councilmen elected in April. It will be, in effect, an intensive short course on law, procedure, functions and responsibilities. A similar institute, but limited to one day in the northern and one day in the southern part of the state, was held in 1950 and was attended by more than 200 newly elected councilmen.

The Port Angeles (Washington) school district conducted a class in municipal government prior to the February 11 primary election for councilmen. Out of 58 persons filing for the seven council positions 33 were enrolled in the class; and eleven of the fourteen candidates nominated in the primary had been attendants.

Governmental Units Decrease in Number

The Bureau of the Census has announced that its survey of governmental units in the United States in 1951 shows the total to be 119,465 as compared with 155,116 in 1942, when the last prior survey was made. The comparison by types of governmental units is:

	1951	*1942*
U. S. Government	1	1
States	48	48
Counties[a]	3,049	3,050
Municipalities	16,677	16,220
Townships	17,338	18,919
School Districts	70,452	108,579
Special Districts	11,900	8,299
Totals	119,465	155,116

---

[a] Twenty-one other counties, so-called, are either included in cities or towns or are unorganized.

Minnesota showed the largest number of units—9,309, of which 6,479 are school districts. Illinois had 12,138 school districts in 1942, but reduced the number to 4,580 in 1951; its total number of governmental units is 8,594, second only to Minnesota. It has the largest number of special districts—1,341.

Almost half of all special districts are accounted for by three types—soil conservation, drainage and fire protection districts. Another fourth consists of highway, housing, irrigation, water and sewer districts. "Authorities" for construction and operation of toll roads or other revenue producing facilities are included if they meet certain specifications.

To be classed as a governmental unit the unit in question must possess three attributes: existence as an organized entity; governmental character, with officers popularly elected or appointed by public officials and having a high degree of responsibility to the public; and substantial autonomy.

Some of the reduction in number of units is due to rigorous reclassification, particularly as to townships and school districts. Several states have made drastic reductions in the number of school districts by consolidation.

Civil Defense Training Program Initiated

A training program in civil defense emergency highway traffic operations, developed by the Traffic Institute of Northwestern University, formed the basis of a recent two-weeks seminar for civil defense officials from all parts of the country.

Conducted at the Traffic Institute in Evanston, Illinois, under contract agreement with the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the seminar was attended by 28 top police, traffic engineering and transportation officials representing most of the key potential target areas of the country.

The training program, developed earlier for the Federal Civil Defense Administration by the Traffic Institute, with the assistance of a select committee of technical experts, will be used in the training of regional civil defense personnel throughout the country. The "trial run" seminar was conducted to subject the program to people of extensive civil defense experience.

Press Supports County Streamlining

Praises the Reorganization Program of Maricopa Group

REORGANIZATION of the government of Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona,[1] has gained the enthusiastic editorial backing of *The Arizona Republic,* Phoenix newspaper. It comments:

"The grass-roots movement to reorganize the government of Maricopa County is in part a citizens' protest against shortcomings evident in the past few years but also a local recognition that American county government has not grown up with the times. If Maricopa County adopts the proposed reforms, it will be among the first 20 or 30 in the nation to attach prime importance to this unit of government . . .

"The Better Government Association of Maricopa County apparently represents a wide cross-section of citizens united in a demand for modernization. The governmental faults listed by the organization are not new, but popular reaction is slow to crystallize. When it does form, it is hard to stop. Recent city reform in Phoenix is an encouraging example.

"The same type of reform is proposed for the county. Election of supervisors at large would stop the wasteful practice of each district representative putting his own section first at the expense of county-wide development in an orderly, economical fashion. Nonpartisan supervisors would be free of political control yet fully responsible to the voters. The county manager plan would permit an appointed, trained executive to coordinate all administrative functions. The savings possible from this plan have already been demonstrated in the city. Properly regulated civil service would protect employees from insecurity and the taxpayers from incompetence.

"This is an ambitious program, probably involving legislative changes. It is high time it was launched, however, and it deserves the support of all whose future is wrapped up in this county."

A columnist of the same newspaper also reflected the enthusiasm of the movement recently when he observed: "Political partisanship was dealt another kick in the shins in our amazing Arizona when public announcement was made Sunday of plans to organize the Better Government Association of Maricopa County. It will be a nonpartisan organization, dedicated to the announced plan of launching a cleanup and reform movement in the goverment of Maricopa County.

"A group of business leaders throughout the county have been laying the groundwork for such an organization for many weeks. . . . They were not hesitant in launching their battleship without any partisan trappings—in fact they will shove partisan politics into the background."

Oregon Counties Again to Vote on Manager Plan

Clackamas and Lane Counties, Oregon, will submit to referendum vote in the primary elections May 16 the question of adopting the county manager form of government. The question has been placed on the ballot in both counties by petition in conformity with the Oregon county optional law of 1945.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1952, page 206.

Similar attempts have been made in each county in recent years, but sufficient votes were not secured. Proponents of the plan believe they have a better chance of success now because there is more widespread dissatisfaction with the existing county governments, although local party organizations and county officeholders continue to oppose adoption of the plan.

Princess Anne Voters Defeat County Executive Proposal

Voters of Princess Anne County, Virginia, on January 15 defeated a proposal to adopt the county executive plan 4,062 to 2,515. The executive plan is one of several options available to Virginia counties under state law. It differs from the county manager plan, also a state option, in that the executive does not have power to appoint administrative officials, but makes recommendations to the board of supervisors.

New Turn in City-county Relations

City-county relations took a new turn recently when Dallas County and the city of Dallas, Texas, jointly agreed to employ a doctor to operate an intoximeter in testing persons arrested for drunken driving. The two units also provided funds recently for a tuberculosis survey to include an x-ray of all 400,000 Dallas County residents.

Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, has acquired a financial interest in "dog days." It has entered into an agreement with the city of Charlotte for financing a new city-county animal shelter. The city will operate the shelter, but it will keep separate accounts of the dogs picked up and brought in from the county. Each day or part of a day, known as "dog day," will be the basis of charges against the county for the care of its dogs. Receipts from the sale of county dogs will be credited to the county's account.

Philadelphia Consolidation Raises Many Questions

Two recent legal interpretations regarding the effects of adoption of the Philadelphia city-county consolidation amendment have resulted in clouding somewhat the status of former county offices. A court decision has ruled that incumbents in county offices have acquired protection under the new city charter against arbitrary dismissal. On the other hand, the city solicitor has ruled that county officers do not have to abide by city charter requirements that they resign before running for elective office. The former decision, however, is regarded as a favorable omen that county officers are moving in the direction of the merit system.

County Consolidation Urged by Oregon Senator

This Week Magazine, a supplement published with Sunday editions of newspapers throughout the United States, recently quoted the National Municipal League to the effect, "Generally speaking, a merger of city and county activities under a single set of municipal authorities has proved advantageous to the taxpayers." The article, "One Sure Way to Cut Taxes," by Richard Neuberger, Oregon state senator, emphasizes that drastic reduction in the number of counties could effect substantial savings to taxpayers without loss of essential services, and that this surplus of bureaucracy was most flagrant in the cities "where county government is piled on top of municipal government like an extra layer in a sandwich."

After citing numerous examples of extravagance, the author observes, "An effective step toward better government is the appointment of a county manager—one man, responsible to a small, elected, policy-making council. Centralized operations and economies are made possible. Gradually, this plan is gaining in national favor."

Nebraskans Urged to Rethink County Problems

A recent *Bulletin* of the Nebraska Governmental Research Institute gives major attention to the problem of county government in that state. It concedes the impracticability of county consolidation, but points out that functional consolidation is developing on an extended scale, especially between counties and large cities within their boundaries.

Six-year Program Prepared for Virginia County

The Arlington County, Virginia, Planning Commission, in cooperation with its Citizens' Advisory Committee, has prepared a six-year improvement program which has been submitted to the county board.[1] The advisory committee of 35 members first reviewed preliminary estimates prepared by the heads of county departments at the request of the county manager. The committee considered population, housing, business, industry, intergovernmental relations, civil defense and each of the major county services. Group discussions evolved numerical rating scales and other criteria which determined priority of facilities. Bond issues of $1,383,000 and $1,318,000 have been authorized and issued for storm sewer and highway programs, respectively, and work has started on them. An $880,000 bond issue for acquisition of recreation land has been authorized.

It was concluded that the county's economy should be strengthened by intensive development of retail stores. An urban land economist was employed to make a survey of land uses and possible future commercial development of the county,[2] but final county board action on the report has not yet been taken.

Records on Microfilm Save County Time and Space

Microfilming records has proved a successful means of saving time and space in Wayne County, Michigan. Adoption of the system has resulted in a 99 per cent reduction in storage space and 86 per cent in time spent searching for documents. In addition, many old, brittle original documents of historical value are being protected since, for research purposes, films take their place. Microfilming has resulted also in the discovery of county records that previously had been missing.

---

[1] *Arlington Looks Ahead*—A Six-year Improvement Program for Arlington County, Virginia. 1952-1957. 92 pages.

[2] See *Economic Survey of The Land Uses of Arlington County, Virginia,* by Homer Hoyt Associates. The Planning Division, Court House, Arlington 1, Virginia. 59 pages, $5.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win

Massachusetts Legislature Defeats One, Passes Another

MIXED results in its dealings with P. R. repeal legislation have appeared in the current proceedings of the Massachusetts legislature. Legislation to repeal proportional representation in one or more Massachusetts "Plan E" cities has been defeated. Senate Bill No. 516, however, drawn up as a modified combination of a number of anti-P. R. bills affecting particular cities has been passed by both houses.

Although this bill has been described in newspapers as merely reducing the number of signatures necessary for a repeal referendum from 10 per cent to 5 per cent of the registered voters, it actually goes much farther and completely prevents the readoption of P. R. as well as facilitating repeal. The bill is in the form of a repeal of the P. R. sections of the plan "E" council-manager optional charter legislation, which would become permanently effective with respect to any particular "Plan E" city upon acceptance by referendum in that city.

Commenting editorially on the action of the Massachusetts legislature in defeating one anti-P. R. proposal, the Worcester *Telegram* of March 21 had this to say:

"The Massachusetts House of Representatives acted wisely Wednesday when it defeated another bill against proportional representation, but the vote was disturbingly close. The opponents of P. R. are still trying.

"One of the arguments again made in the House was that P. R. violates the American two-party system. There is no secret about the main purposes behind the Plan E charter. One of them is to get away from the old-time party handling of city affairs. . . .

"But P. R. is also a safeguard against excessive domination by one party. It permits party representation on the city council and on the school committee in proportion to the size of parties. It is a virtual guarantee that one party cannot win all the seats, cannot have complete control. It thus stands against a one-party system; and a one-party system would eventually wreck the two-party system, which the foes of P. R. profess to uphold."

U. S. Ambassador Opposes P. R. in Greece

The statement of U. S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy in early March, objecting to a proposal by Sophocles Venizelos, deputy premier of Greece, to remove the limitations to proportionality in his country's electoral system, widely quoted in the U. S. press, was made against a background of alternating election methods in Greece. The country's P. R. list system, as used in 1951, contained certain limitations favoring the larger parties.

Premier Nicholas Plastiras has been interested in a return to plurality voting and is strongly supported by Ambassador Peurifoy. The latter's stand against a fully proportional system was strongly criticized by Deputy Premier Venizelos as taking part in internal Greek political matters. The State Department backed the ambassador by a statement on March 15, taking the position that minority representation endangers stability of government, and pointing out that the stability of the Greek government is an important factor in determining how efficiently American aid to Greece can be spent.

The statements of the ambassador and of the State Department left the inference that if Greece should proportionalize the representation in parliament to popular votes without limitation, U. S. authorities would reconsider their present policy as to the level of American financial aid to the Greek economy. The statements made clear that the form of electoral system was left to the Greek government and people to choose, however.

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington, appearing March 16, referred to the State Department action as "unprecedented," and expressed the opinion that the situation has a parallel in France, where "the turnover in French governments has in fact been a source of great concern to American officials." If the French situation is actually regarded in Washington as parallel, however, it would hardly support the recent statements, for France abandoned proportional representation before its last national elections without producing any noticeable increase in the tenure of office of French cabinets.

Probably it is the multi-party pattern of European politics that distresses American authorities concerned with the bolstering of European defense and economy, and the questionable theory that this multi-party pattern can be consolidated into a two-party system by avoiding proportional representation accounts for opposition to P. R. The State Department's position overlooks not only the existence of multi-party systems and coalition government in Europe under nonproportional electoral systems but also the existence of one-party stable governments under proportionally representative legislatures in the Scandinavian countries and Ireland.

Greece has alternated between proportional party list systems and other systems of representation, without securing general satisfaction with any. In 1920, under a block vote system (plurality representation by large districts returning many members) the parties of the governing coalition obtained all the representation, whereas the Venizelos party, with about 45 per cent of the popular vote, obtained no representation at all.

Greece's latest adoption of P. R., like France's first, came after the recent war. Its postwar P. R. system was modified before the last elections to deny a share in the national distribution of extra seats to parties obtaining less than 17 per cent of the popular vote.

Review and Rebuttal

The January issue of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science contains (pages 240-242) a review by Mr. Hallett of this department of Notre Dame Professor Ferdinand A. Hermens' recent book, *Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy*. The volume was discussed in the April issue of this Review (page 224) by Professor Wallace S. Sayre of New York City College.

Professor Hermens' book is devoted almost entirely to an argument against proportional representation, based on his interpretation of European and other experience with different election methods. Mr. Hallett's review summarizes the Hermens case and offers rebuttal, based largely on the same evidence.

The issue is joined in the first paragraphs as follows:

"In the recent British elections the

Labor party polled more votes and a higher percentage of the votes than it had the time before. It also polled more votes than any other party. Yet it lost the absolute majority in the House of Commons it had won on a minority vote at the previous election, and its Conservative rivals were given an absolute majority instead.

"Thus are the fortunes of nations fashioned by the vagaries of an election system which makes results dependent not merely on numbers of votes but on where the votes are cast and on the number of candidates among whom the votes are divided. The Labor party was given control before a majority of the British people were ready for its far-reaching program of socialization. But when that program gained new recruits and the general conduct of the Labor party in office brought increased popularity, the party was thrown out of power and its slightly less popular rivals were given power to undo as much of its work as they pleased.

"Such distortions of popular wishes seem of minor consequence to Professor Hermens, arch-crusader against proportional or accurate representation. He would prefer to see the largest party come out on top and even suggests (page 19) that the British Labor party would have been justified in some deliberate gerrymandering to compensate for the wastage of its votes in the districts where it has top-heavy majorities.

"But the most important thing in his mind is not who governs but that someone shall be in position to govern. He is obsessed with the idea that some party or group must be able to enact its whole program expeditiously, whether the people like the whole program or not."

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 233)

overlapping and duplicating governments to be found within most counties and all metropolitan areas provides wonderful cover for what Charles Edison once described as "political tricksters running around under the grass."

Years ago Woodrow Wilson exclaimed that the job was to "simplify, simplify, simplify!" That, consequently, is the keynote of League models for improved governmental, administrative and electoral systems. It also explains why, ever since the League's first National Conference in 1894, it has advocated separation of municipal from national and state politics. An important reason for the Cincinnati achievement lauded by Charles Taft is the fact that he, an active Republican in state and national affairs, could be elected to the city council as a candidate of the local charter party. Conscientious citizens are often stymied by the intellectual compromises required to work through one party at all levels of government.

There is untold citizen power still to be unleashed in this country. Clarify the battleground and release citizens from artificial political and legal restraints and they will do the rest. Witness the way in which the people of Rhode Island cities and towns are rushing to take advantage of their newly won home rule and Illinois cities are flocking to the council-manager plan made available to them only last year.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

U. S. Ends Restraints on State-local Bonds

Voluntary Program Lapses after Eleven Months Trial

EMERGENCY credit controls on borrowing by state and local governments came to an end late in March, approximately eleven months after the voluntary credit restraint program for state-local bond issues had been defined by the National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee. That committee was organized under the aegis of the Federal Reserve System pursuant to the 1950 defense production act.[1] Controls continue, however, on other types of financing, private and corporate.

The program to curb state-local borrowing, so as to minimize or eliminate inflationary pressures on the economy from this source, had run head-on into a state-federal conflict right at the start when one of the regional voluntary committees set up to screen bond offerings had turned down $67,500,000 soldiers' bonus bonds of West Virginia.[1] Governor Okey L. Patteson of that state objected that the bonds were being issued pursuant to the "overwhelming vote" of the West Virginia electorate and asserted that "no state official would have the right to set aside the sale of these bonds." Later, those finding fault with the administration of the program pointed out the extra-legal status of the committees through which the "screening" of issues was carried out, and the "voluntary" nature of the proceedings, as weaknesses infringing on duly constituted federal-state-local relationships.

The cogency of these arguments evidently appealed, eventually, to the president, for on March 24 Mr. Truman wrote Charles E. Wilson, then director of defense mobilization, directing that all emergency credit controls on bond issues of state and local governments be ended. Noting the composition of the regional committees, and their requests to banking and investment houses not to bid on disapproved bonds, the president said: "While some bond issues which would clearly have been inflationary have been prevented in this fashion, it has necessarily resulted in disapproving actions which have been decided on through democratic processes by state and local governments. I believe the application of such an arrangement to the affairs of state and local governments should be continued no longer than is absolutely necessary."

Both the president and the Federal Reserve Board, which formally announced the end of the program on March 31, warned that the responsibility of self-restraint was now squarely placed on state and local officials. Said Mr. Truman: "They should take into account, in every case, the possible effect of any proposed financing on the strength of the bond market, on the heavy inflationary pressures which continue to face us, and the continued need to restrict credit expansion to what is absolutely necessary under emergency conditions."

Said the Reserve Board spokesman: "The failure by public bodies to exercise the desired restraint would seriously affect the morale essential to the success of the program in private financing channels."

---

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1951, page 319.

Just how effective the program respecting state-local borrowing had been seems conjectural. Oliver S. Powell, a governor of the Federal Reserve Board and chairman of the National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee, was quoted in the press as stating that under the program 67 state and local issues totaling $300,795,000 had been "voluntarily" postponed. On the basis of reports while the program was in effect, however, four large issues accounted for $279,500,000 of this total, leaving 63 issues totaling $21,795,000 as the remainder of the program's results. The four large issues included three state soldiers' bonus issues—West Virginia, $67,500,000; Oregon, $75,000,000; and Montana, $22,000,000—and the $115,000,000 of utility acquisition revenue bonds proposed by a group of utility districts in Washington.[2]

The good works of the voluntary committees, however, are probably not to be measured solely by the issues submitted to them for screening and turned down. In later months, especially, state and local borrowers have evidently refrained from submitting for screening those issues which seemed likely, on the basis of earlier rulings, to be rejected. At the same time, it must be admitted that some issues turned down on initial submission were later given the go-ahead signal. A fair appraisal certainly would note that the program has accomplished successfully some of the things it set out to do—in so far as a program leveled at the financing stage could be effective—and that its failures basically stemmed from the lack of federal understanding of how local government works. The timing of the program's termination strongly suggests that if it was needed at all it was needed in a more efficient form — probably accompanied by a system of priorities for allocating materials and labor.

Maryland Starts Map Survey to Pilot 1954 Reassessment

Two pilot projects preparatory to the complete remapping of the state of Maryland have been authorized by the advisory board of the Bureau of Control Surveys and Maps of the State Planning Commission. One covers a hundred square miles of rural territory and the other fifteen square miles in Baltimore County. Aerial photographs at a scale of 200 feet to the inch for urban areas and 600 feet to the inch for rural areas will be used.

The survey is being conducted to aid the State Tax Commission in carrying out the 1951 directive of the state legislature that there go into effect January 1, 1954, a system of rotation of assessment review such that one-third of the taxable property in each county will be reassessed every three years. The assessments are to be based on a modern system of property records and appraisal aids, including property descriptions, record cards, location, land classification and unit value maps, and records of construction, sales, building costs and private appraisals.

The bureau expects to iron out operational difficulties in the test mapping projects, and then proceed with large-scale mapping activity so that assessors can have aerial mosaic maps for one-third of the state's area prior to the making of the assessment for the year beginning January 1, 1954. Completion of the second third of each county is expected before assessors take to the field in 1955, and completion of the entire state thereafter. Each map will measure 21½ by 30 inches and show roads, property lines, owners' names, property dimensions and area, deed references, etc. They are expected to be of value also for state and local planning and engineering surveys in which land use data are needed.

---

[2] See the REVIEW, February 1952, page 109.

Truckers Pay Tax Upheld by Courts

New York State's new weight-distance tax on large trucks brought $2,635,000 into the state's coffers by March 31, the date set for retroactive payments following upholding of the tax law by the State Appellate Division and Court of Appeals.

Under court ruling, 27,000 carriers operating 192,000 vehicles have been required since October 1, 1951, to keep records of their mileage in the state, pending determination of the litigation. About one-third of the carriers paid their tax during the period, although not legally required to do so. Returns filed with a postmark not later than March 31, 1952, would avoid the 5 per cent penalty for late filing, and State Tax Commission officials expected that payments received after March 31 would greatly swell the total received for the October 1-March 31 period.

The tax applies to trucks with maximum gross weights over 18,000 pounds, at rates ranging from .6 cent to 2.4 cents per mile, graduated according to the weight group of the vehicle.

Assessors Decry Prewar Base for Property Values

There is no longer justification for using the pre-war price level as a measure for present day assessed values, reports the general appraisal committee of the National Association of Assessing Officers. In its statement the committee points out that where such a level is employed it is almost impossible to achieve equality between different types of property and between properties constructed prior to World War II and those constructed since.

One of the most difficult problems faced by local assessors in recent years has been that of determining the weight that should be accorded present day sales prices, costs and rental income in determining real estate assessed values.

"It is not true that it is immaterial what year is used as a so-called base year in establishing assessed values, so long as there is uniformity in application," the committee concluded. "While there is a measurable relationship between the over-all price level of 1941 and the over-all average price level of 1952, there are so many important variations within the average that present day evidence of value cannot be adjusted to a pre-war base by the application of a percentage factor. Attempts to do so are certain to result in substantial inequalities between recent construction and pre-war construction."

The general appraisal committee is made up of the chairmen of nearly 50 special groups studying various appraisal problems.

MFOA to Meet in June

The 1952 conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada is scheduled for June 15 to 19, at the Hotel Statler, Boston.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Columbia Voters Kill Manager Repealer

Conduct Spirited Campaign to Hold Gains Made by City

THE voters of Columbia, South Carolina, on March 25, demonstrated their faith in the benefits of the council-manager system by an overwhelming majority. In spite of a well organized opposition with substantial financial backing, the citizens voted three to one against its abandonment. Only a week prior to the vote, Dr. George Gallup had formally presented the city with its award as one of the eleven "All-American Cities of 1951."

The statute permitting council-manager government in Columbia was passed by the General Assembly in 1949 and applies only to those cities with populations from 50,000 to 70,000. In September of that year the voters of Columbia decided in favor of adopting the manager form.

According to the provisions of the 1949 act, councilmen receive an annual salary of $1,000 and the mayor $2,000. Under the previous form of government these officials received $4,000 and $5,000, respectively. The theory behind the reduction is, of course, that burdensome, time-consuming administrative chores can be turned over to the full-time manager, and the salaries of the councilmen and mayor can then be reduced since their function becomes almost purely a legislative one.

Apparently some of the citizens and some of the aspirants for municipal office did not approve of either the theory or the fact of council-manager government in Columbia. Petitions for its discontinuance were circulated and presented to the mayor, and the referendum was held in conjunction with the primary election for two positions on the city council.

The issue was joined in the council elections, since two of the four candidates campaigned strongly for retention of the manager form while the other two were either opposed to or unenthusiastic about it. Other issues in the campaign for city council were relegated to a minor role in the light of the more heated argument over the abandonment of the newly established government.

Opponents of the manager system dragged out the stock arguments against it—"dictatorship," "undemocratic," "government by outsiders," "outrageous salary for the manager," "unresponsive to public demands." The proponents of the plan, armed with facts, logic and enthusiasm, set about to counter very ably each of these arguments. The two most active groups in support of the manager plan were the League of Women Voters, extremely energetic and well organized in Columbia, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Radio time was purchased, "telephone hours" were set up to inform voters of various facts and urge voter participation, discussion panels were arranged to present clear-cut statements concerning the improved status of the city and the citizens under the manager plan, and a town meeting, sponsored by the League of Women Voters, gave the citizens a public opportunity to air their views and ask questions of representatives on both sides of the issue.

It was pointed out that the citizens of Columbia, if dissatisfied with the manager, may have the council remove him with only 30 days notice. Coupled with this control is the fact that the manager is the administrative chief only and must defer to the wishes of the council on matters of policy. These arguments were strongly effective in dispelling the charges of "dictatorship" and "undemocratic."

With respect to the city manager's salary, $15,000, the League of Women Voters emphasized the point that citizens of Columbia are, in effect, stockholders in a $3,500,000 corporation, and that certainly the general manager of such a corporation must be a man of "fifteen-thousand-dollar ability" if he is to discharge so responsible a function properly. Other open objections were countered equally thoroughly.

But the real objection to the manager plan, in many instances, was to the "equal application of the law." Obviously no candidate would voice such an objection openly, but some citizens objected purely on the basis that they no longer could get tickets fixed or get special favors from the city hall which they had managed to obtain under the previous system. The proponents of the manager plan brought this point out strongly and urged that a proper government must afford equal treatment to all citizens rather than special dispensations for the few.

It was pointed out, with reference to the gains made under the manager plan, that the city had converted a $314,000 deficit into a $285,000 surplus after only one year of operation under the manager! And the surplus would have been larger if higher wage scales for employees had not been established. To the business men of the community this was one of the most forceful arguments in favor of retaining council-manager government.

The campaign was conducted energetically right down to the opening of the polls on election day. General opinion was that the vote to abandon would fail, but even the most optimistic manager advocates were cautious in their predictions. Only one of the city's eighteen wards failed to endorse the plan and that ward failed only by the narrow margin of two votes. The city vote was 5,535 in favor of the plan and 1,647 opposed. The election for council positions followed a similar pattern with the two manager proponents winning the primary without even the necessity of a runoff election.

It is an open question at this time as to whether the opponents of the manager plan are content to accept the verdict of the voters and try to adapt their proposals for municipal progress to this organizational pattern or whether they will reorganize for a subsequent attack on the issue. It can be said with certainty, however, that a majority of the voters of Columbia have been impressed with the performance of the municipal government under the council-manager plan of organization and are content to continue under that form.

GLENN ABERNATHY
University of South Carolina

Grand Rapids Citizens Action Elects Anti-machine Ticket

"Same Old Gang . . . Same Old Tricks!" This is the headline of an advertisement published in the Grand Rapids *Press* by Citizens Action, a local civic group, in its successful effort to elect its candidates for mayor and council at the Grand Rapids city primary of February 18. Not only was the organization successful in nominating its candidates but also its efforts brought out such a large vote for its candidates that an April runoff election proved unnecessary and the city has been saved approximately

$8,000. CA distributed thousands of circulars by block workers and some 40,000 copies of a tabloid news sheet were mailed to all homes in the city.

"What brought out this big vote—this high percentage victory?" asks the *CA News* in its report on the election. The question, put to workers at a post-election gathering, was answered thus:

"1. Hard work—by blockworkers, telephoners, drivers, baby-sitters, clerical volunteers—nearly 1,000 of them.

"2. The people's desire to keep the kind of government now in city hall.

"3. Emphasis on the danger of defeat in a light vote.

"4. Confidence in the capacity and sincerity of the Citizens Action-supported mayor and commissioners.

"5. Telling the facts—and pointing out false propaganda.

"6. Dr. Stob's radio speech, reaffirming the basic moral principle of the whole citizen movement.

"7. Growing confidence in Citizens Action as a truly representative group of citizens with no ax to grind, seeking no reward.

"8. Increasing consciousness on the part of all citizens that good government is everybody's business."

Gold Feathers Bring Out Seattle Voters

Sponsored by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, the League of Women Voters and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Seattle's "Gold Feather Citizen Campaign" to get out the vote at the March 11 election met with unqualified success. Patterned after the Richmond, Virginia, project of 1948,[1] the campaign covered all of King County with a population of about 725,000. "Gold Feather Citizen Week" was proclaimed in a resolution passed by the King County commissioners.

According to a report of the Municipal League, support was secured from daily and weekly newspapers, which covered the project in editorials, stories, cartoons and photographs. Eight local radio stations were provided with twenty-second and one-minute spot announcements which they used many times, one station making 50 announcements in the week prior to election. Radio commentators and sponsored programs plugged the gold feather theme. The city's television station gave the campaign its support through spot announcements and special programs.

The city's transit system donated space on the outside of three hundred buses for two weeks for displays. Members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce stenciled large gold feathers and "Vote March 11" on sidewalks in the central business section and outlying shopping districts. Churches were asked to make announcements and organizations were sent letters urging them to announce the program and develop their own gold feather campaigns.

Schools aided in many ways. In Seattle all school children wrote "Gold Feather Citizen" letters to their parents, pupils made posters. PTA groups throughout the county picked up the idea and used it to help get out a big vote for school bond issues.

Many business firms promoted the idea among their employees. Some plugged the project in advertisements.

Results were excellent. In the city alone, out of 253,000 registered voters nearly 160,000 or 63 per cent went to the polls. This compares with a vote of 135,648 in 1948, the previous mayoralty election, or 52 per cent of the registered vote of 261,000.

The county auditor and his election superintendent cooperated in the project by including packets of feathers in the election kits for each precinct. Election officials passed out the feathers to each voter as he cast his ballot. Members of the League of Women Voters distributed gold feathers to hospital patients casting absentee ballots.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1949, page 116.

Cost of the campaign, reports the Municipal League, was $750. Some 250,000 feathers were provided and packaged for each voting precinct in four hours by an eighteen-woman crew from the League of Women Voters.

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County is receiving requests for information from other places which are interested, and reports that Ketchikan, Alaska, may be putting on a similar campaign soon.

'Get Out the Vote' Western Style

"In Texas, where payment of an annual poll tax is a prerequisite to voting," reports *The National Voter* of the League of Women Voters of the U. S., "and wide open spaces breed extroverts, a lot of press agentry went into an LWV pay-your-poll-tax campaign with very happy results. Poll tax payments exceeded the total for 1948 by many thousands."

Western attire was the fashion in poll tax booths throughout the state. Cowgirls in Houston lassoed bystanders to inquire whether they had paid their tax; Fort Worth, in a downtown square, had a calf in a corral, branding irons and posters, "Let us brand you with a poll tax." Some 28 leagues had their members working throughout January, some of them as full-time but unpaid deputy tax collectors. New voters were guests at round-up parties with food and music "straight out of the Old West." Poll tax payers were "branded" with labels.

Not to be outdone by its lusty neighbor to the south, reports *The National Voter,* Wichita, Kansas, sponsored a mid-western style registration party. Results were the registration of 1,400 citizens in one evening with an overflow of several thousands turned away to return another day. Square dancing was provided for all who registered and donated refreshments were served to those who produced registration cards. The local bus company provided free shuttle service to the courthouse and members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce proved excellent barkers. A half-hour panel discussion on voting was broadcast, with an LWV member, a city official, political science professor and the commanding officer of a nearby air base as participants. Open house was held in all courthouse offices. Other efforts are continuing until the slogan, "Register Wichita 100 Per Cent," is an accomplished fact.

Heritage Foundation Conducts National Vote Campaign

A nation-wide, nonpartisan "Register and Vote" campaign has been launched by the American Heritage Foundation in cooperation with The Advertising Council and some 200 national organizations, with the active participation of "twenty great nonpartisan national" groups. The campaign is the major assignment of the foundation for the current year.

Governors of all 48 states have endorsed the program and offered their cooperation. Campaign packets with slogans, suggestions for local advertising, publicity, bulletins, announcements, etc., will go to communities all over the country to be used by local groups to encourage citizens to register now to assure their opportunity to vote in the presidential election.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Department Heads Attend Management Seminars

University Brings Experts to Wisconsin Cabinet Meetings

REGULAR meetings of Governor Walter J. Kohler of Wisconsin and his department heads were turned into high level seminars in public administration in a series of meetings held last year with the cooperation of the Bureau of Government of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division and the Bureau of Personnel of the state government. A mimeographed verbatim report has been issued by the state under the title *Governor's Meetings on State Administrative Management* (45 pages). The report covers three sessions:

January 19, 1951, "State Budget Administration," Governor Kohler presiding, James G. Charlesworth, University of Pennsylvania, speaker;

January 26, 1951, "Overall Management in Public Administration," Arthur E. Wegner, governor's financial secretary, presiding, Dean Paul Appleby, Maxwell School, Syracuse University, speaker;

May 4, 1951, "Techniques of Administrative Delegation and Direction," Arthur E. Wegner, presiding, Lorentz H. Adolphson, director, University of Wisconsin Extension Division, speaker.

The program was undertaken at the request of department heads themselves. The sessions were planned so that lunch intervened between the opening lecture by the visiting expert and the question and discussion period.

This Wisconsin experiment might well be emulated in 47 other states and in hundreds of cities. It might not be a bad idea even in Washington, D. C. The end results of in-service training have often been limited because of the failure of top administrators to keep pace in knowledge of their trade with their subordinates. The fact is that top administrators, including usually the governor or the mayor, are commonly more innocent of training or experience in administration than many of those lower down in the echelons.

This is, of course, a natural, largely unavoidable, result of the quite proper working of our political system that selects persons for top positions more on the basis of policy and public relations than of proved administrative ability. Widespread emulation of the Wisconsin example could provide a much needed corrective for this inherent weakness in the democratic process.

Oldest State Research Bureaus

The Taxpayers Association of New Mexico was organized September 1, 1915, followed in October by the creation of the Research Bureau of the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce. The directors of these bureaus believe that they are the oldest of their kind in the country operating on a state basis.

The New Mexico association was antedated by a similar group in Arizona created in 1914 which was, however, discontinued several years ago.

Welfare Survey

The Washington State Taxpayers Association is conducting a nationwide survey on public welfare legislation by means of a questionnaire to other state associations. The objective is stabilization of Washington's welfare program. The survey includes questions on opening of welfare rolls to public examination, the recovery clause and relative responsibility. Additional information will be given in forthcoming issues of the association's *Tax Facts.*

Bureau Notes

The 1952 conference of the Governmental Research Association will be held at Shawnee Inn, Shawnee, Pennsylvania, on September 10, 11 and 12. Copies of the tentative program are available from the office of the GRA, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana (Baton Rouge), organized a year ago, announces that its membership has risen to 791, an average increase of 73 members per month, with total contributions at $93,907.50. The council plans to provide an analytical reporting and information service to citizens and officials on all activities of the state legislature. The research division will prepare research reports on the need for constitutional revision in Louisiana.

Efficiency, Economy and Sound Management in Local Government is a six-page report on the activities of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research since its organization in 1945.

Bureau Reports

Effective Research, Unified Action, Consistent Results. Oakland 12, California, Alameda County Taxpayers' Association, 1952. 21 pp. Maps, charts.

Theory and Practice—The League Reports on Last Year's Work and This Year's Program. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* January 1952. 19 pp.

Report by the Director—38th Annual Meeting; Held on January 25, 1952. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 18, 1952. 7 pp.

Research Reports and Articles

Aeronautics

Aeronautics Administration in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* March 1952. 4 pp.

Assessments

Equalizing Assessments of City Properties—What, Why and How. By Cecil Morgan. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Technical Bulletin,* March 1952. 27 pp.

1952 Assessed Valuation Trends in Milwaukee County. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 4, 1952. 3 pp.

Authorities

Government by "Authorities" for New Jersey? Newark 2, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental and Economic Research, 1952. 15 pp.

Budgets

Changes in the Form of the Cleveland City Budget. (With sample pages of the new and old budget forms.) Cleveland, The Citizens League and Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952. 3 pp.

City Fiscal Practices Distort Fund Purpose — League Analysis Finds Weak Budget Control. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* February 1952. 3 pp.

Child Welfare

Oregon Adoption Laws and Procedures. Portland (Oregon), City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* March 28, 1952. 28 pp.

Debt

City's Debt Reaches $167 Per Bostonian. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 8, 1952. 2 pp.

Outstanding Debt—City of Houston, December 31, 1951. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 9 pp.

Public Debt Trends of Milwaukee's 91 Local Taxing Bodies. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 12, 1952. 3 pp.

Directories

A Directory of State and Federal Officials 1952. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1952. 2 pp.

Directory of the Personnel of Our City Government 1952. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1952. 6 pp.

Education

High Level of School Expenditures in New Jersey. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* February 1952. 8 pp. Tables.

High School Finances. Poughkeepsie (New York), Area Development Association, *Plans and Action,* March 13, 1952. 13 pp. Tables.

A Recommended State School Support Program for New Jersey (Part One). Report of the New Jersey State School Aid Commission. Trenton, the Commission, 1952. 46 pp.

School Problem Presents Challenge and an Opportunity. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), February 1952. 2 pp.

State Aid to Chicago Schools. (An open letter to the School Problems Commission, State of Illinois.) Chicago 2, The Civic Federation (bulletin), March 13, 1952. 6 pp.

Elections and Voting

Municipal Elections in Washington State. Election Procedure in Municipalities of the Fourth Class. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* February 1952. 14 and 23 pp. respectively.

Voting and Elections in Florida. By Hulda Grobman and William F. Larsen. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 16 pp.

Interstate Compacts

Solving Interstate Problems by Compact. By Harriet M. Shedd. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* February 15, 1952. 3 pp.

Judiciary

Is an Additional City Court Judge Necessary? Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* February 29, 1952. 6 pp.

Wisconsin Court System. Jurisdiction of Courts. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* March 1952. 4 and 3 pp. respectively.

Juvenile Delinquency

Home—School—and Delinquency: Report of Section on Delinquency by J. C. Russell; In Support of the Section's Report by Dr. W. M. Weiner; In Criticism of the Section's Report by Walter Polland; and Discussion from the Floor. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), March 31, 1952. 17 pp. 25 cents.

Legislatures

Legislative Broadcasting and Recording. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1952. iii, 34 pp.

Military Establishments

Michigan Military Establishment. (Staff Report No. 26.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 53 pp.

Municipal Regulations

Municipal Regulation of Blasting. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* February 1952. 3 pp.

Municipal Reorganization

Survey Committee Submits Six Reports. (Municipal Government Survey Advisory Committee submits reports based on surveys of purchasing department, real estate department, accounting, budgeting, records management and the department of public works—only major recommendations and those effecting monetary savings are listed.) San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* March 21, 1952. 3 pp.

Parking

The New Parking Ticket. Waterbury 2, Waterbury Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* February 28, 1952. 2 pp.

Parking in the Newark Central Business District 1951. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1952. 44 pp.

Planning

A Comprehensive Planning Survey of Newton, Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 67 pp. Tables, maps.

Pollution

Stream Pollution Control Program. By R. P. Farrell. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* January 1952. 6 pp.

Population

Population of Counties. By Hugh H. Brown. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* February 1952. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Public Welfare

Selection of a New Superintendent of Public Welfare. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* March 25, 1952. 2 pp.

Social Welfare Survey. An Analysis of General Relief. (From *Effective Research, Unified Action, Consistent Results.*) Oakland 12, California, Alameda County Taxpayers' Association, 1952. 4 and 25 pp. respectively. Tables.

Welfare—Public Assistance. Staff Report to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952. 27 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing in the Schenectady County Highway Department: System and Records. Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* March 26, 1952. 5 pp.

Rat Control

How to Rid the Community of Rodents. By William Hunter Owen. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* February 1952. 5 pp.

Reapportionment

Legislative Apportionment in New Jersey. A Survey of Modern Methods Available. New Brunswick, Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 25 pp.

Legislative Apportionment in Pennsylvania. By Tadeusz Z. Korsak and Richard Di Salle. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, *Law Review,* Winter 1951. 29 pp. $1.

Problems of Legislative Apportionment. By Mrs. Ronald Christie. Chicago 1, League of Women Voters of Illinois, 1951. 13 pp. 15 cents.

Reapportionment. Madison 3, League of Women Voters of Wisconsin, 1952. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Special Districts

Special Districts in Pennsylvania. By Charles F. LeeDecker. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, *Municipal Finance,* February 1952. 8 pp. 50 cents.

Spoils System

Municipal Reform. Political Patronage (in two parts). Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* February 7, 14 and 21, 1952. 4 pp. each.

Statehood

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. By Marvin Meade. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* March 15, 1952. 3 pp.

State Property

Building Engineering and Management. (Staff Report No. 25). Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 38 pp.

State Reorganization

Mississippi—A Report on State Reorganization. (Technical Staff—Bureau of Public Administration, University of Mississippi.) Jackson, Mississippi Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1950. 104 pp.

Taxation and Finance

How New Haven Compares. (Finances of 25 cities compared.) New Haven 10 (Connecticut), Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* February 29, 1952. 2 pp.

The New Mexico Bureau of Revenue. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* February 1952. 3 pp.

1951 City Costs Increased 6.47%. Cities Under 5,000 Increase Costs 11.87%. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *The Iowa Taxpayer,* February 4 and March 3, 1952. 3 pp. each.

Pertinent Financial Data City of Baltimore As At January 1, 1952. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, 1952. 16 pp.

Recent Problems and Developments in Property Tax Exemptions. By Harry W. Wolkstein. (Address before Annual Conference of National Tax Association, Dallas, Texas, November 26, 1951.) Newark, 1952. 7 pp. (Apply author, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.)

Survey of Grade Separation Financing in the United States, States and Selected Metropolitan Cities. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 48 pp.

Taxable Valuations in California. By Richard Winter. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* January 1952. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Ten Years of Total Property Tax Levies in California Counties. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* February 1952. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Trends in Public Finance as They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers in Tennessee—Significant Aspects of Federal, State and Local Government Finance as of June 30, 1951. Nashville 3, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1952. 43 pp.

A Two-year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1952. 5 pp.

Tax Limitation

Proposed Constitutional Tax Limitations. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1952. 6 pp.

Units of Government

Wisconsin Government. Framework of Wisconsin Government Includes Over 7,000 Units; 1,888 General Governments. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* April 1952. 6 pp.

Water

A Basic Water Use Problem in South Dakota. (New state water laws needed.) By Kenneth E. Raschke. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, School of Business Administration, Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Business Review,* February 1952. 3 pp.

Books in Review

Politics Is What You Make It. By Joseph E. McLean. New York, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 32 pp. 25 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

This pamphlet is like a good sermon. It includes a few quick descriptions of the not so private hell of the ineffective citizen and a few tantalizing views of political heaven, and it is full of practical instructions about the good works and guideposts that lead to salvation. If the 23 cartoons are not precisely in the mood of an old edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* they are excellent and thoroughly in keeping with the text.

The pamphlet differs from the orthodox sermon of yesterday in two important particulars. First, it is short and nobody is likely to go to sleep until he has finished it. Second, it admits of more than one road to salvation.

The second point is particularly important. The pamphlet puts proper stress on becoming an active force in the party of your choice, but it recognizes that salvation is not by the partisan road alone. The pamphlet will help puzzled citizens make up their minds, in the light of their own temperaments and the situations in their communities, whether they can best throw their weight by concentrating on party work or by devoting themselves to non-partisan political activity or by combining the two.

The pamphlet appropriately concludes with ten commandments, or rather "suggestions that may help the year-round citizen improve his effectiveness" and includes a brief bibliography and "a check list for the citizen politician" to help him protect himself against missing any important election dates or contests.

Politics Is What You Make It should be read by millions of people, young and old, during the next few months. It is good solid ammunition for the campaign sponsored by The American Heritage Foundation to bring out an unprecedented vote in this 1952 presidential year. More important, the pamphlet should have continuing use for a long time to come both among adults and in civic education programs in schools and colleges. Organizations and institutions that want to help their members help themselves become more effective citizens could well begin by purchasing this pamphlet in quantity.

J.E.B.

Police Organization and Management. By V. A. Leonard. Brooklyn, New York, The Foundation Press, Inc., 1951. xviii, 507 pp. $5.

Like O. W. Wilson's *Police Administration* which appeared about a year ago, Professor Leonard's new book is confined to the problems that arise in city police forces. While this current work has its good points it is overburdened with illustrative material, some of it of questionable pertinence to the subject, and suffers also from inferior standards of editing and manufacture.

Sixty pages, that appear to have been lifted in their entirety from an academic catalogue, list in the most consuming detail the various curricula offered by the Department of Police Science and Administration at the State College of Washington. One-third of the chapter on the executive consists of a preliminary circular and application form that were used in selecting a police chief for Seattle several years ago. Four pages are devoted to a record of earthquake shocks in western Washington since 1950. In these and other respects the book displays a preoccupation with west coast problems, standards and achievements in the police field.

Some of the illustrative materials are outdated. The 1946 range of salaries for police chiefs is scarcely helpful after five years of postwar inflation, and 1944 practices in the use of one-man patrol cars are too much colored by the police manpower shortages then prevailing to have much current application or meaning.

These strictures should not divert attention from the fact that Professor Leonard has substantial qualifications for police authorship, that his professional outlook is elevated, and that he fearlessly evaluates the strength and weakness of our municipal forces.

We liked best Chapter 7—"Patrol—Major Component of Manpower," which is so clear, coherent and penetrating in its analysis as to stand as the best treatment of the subject that we have seen.

Bruce Smith
Institute of Public Administration

The Hampton Roads Communities in World War II. By The Hampton Roads-Peninsula War Studies Committee, Charles F. Marsh, Editor. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951. xv, 337 pp. $6.

This fine job is a historical report accumulated by a War Studies Committee created by the Division of Social Sciences of the neighboring College of William and Mary, financed by a 1945 grant of $31,500 by the Rockefeller Foundation. It covers in turn the social, economic and governmental problems caused by the vast influx of new population, including such diverse topics as prostitution and war marriages, labor relations and the efforts to bring about consolidations of political units and adequate standards of administration, planning and public finance.

A superb study and of interest to all the other areas wrestling with similar turbulent conditions.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Administration

Administrative Procedure Legislation in the States. By Ferrel Heady. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1952. 137 pp. $1.

Bonds

Important Municipal Bond Offerings by Dealers in 1951. New York 4, The Bond Buyer, 1952. 154 pp.

Civil Service

Government Employment. By Michael Marsh. Washington, D. C., Editorial Research Reports, 1951. 16 pp.

Crime

Handbook of Criminal Investigation. A Self-teaching Manual with Over 200 Questions and Answers. By Col. Maurice J. Fitzgerald. Edited by Paul B. Weston. New York, Greenberg, 1951. xvi, 234 pp. $3.50.

Cultural Centers

Cultural Center Plan. Norfolk, Virginia, City Planning Commission, 1952. 14 pp. Charts.

Industrial Dispersion

National Industrial Dispersion Program. A Question and Answer Guide. Executive Office of the President, National Security Resources Board, Washington, D. C., 1952. 12 pp.

Land Subdivision

Suggested Land Subdivision Regulations. By Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Housing Research. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 65 pp. 45 cents.

Noise Abatement

Proceedings of the Second Annual National Noise Abatement Symposium, October 5, 1951. Sponsored by the Acoustical Society of America, National Research Council, National Noise Abatement Council, Armour Research Foundation of Illinois Institute of Technology. Chicago 16, Technical Center, 1952. 108 pp. $1.

Parking

The Effectiveness of Parking Agencies. Trends in Legislation for Offstreet Parking Facilities. By David R. Levin. (Addresses presented before the Annual Meeting of the Highway Research Board.) Washington, D. C., Highway Research Board, 1952. 44 and 38 pp. respectively.

Planning

Financing Capital Improvements in Maryland. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1951. 66 pp.

Public Affairs

A Guide to the Study of Public Affairs. By E. E. Schattschneider, Victor Jones and Stephen K. Bailey. New York, William Sloane Associates, 1952. 135 pp. $1.50.

Public Records

Protecting Local Public Records Against Bombing Attacks. Albany, New York, Division of Archives and History, State Education Department, 1952. 18 pp.

Recreation

Recreation in Western Maryland. . . A Major Economic Asset. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1952. 194 pp. Maps.

Shopping Centers

A Case of Contrast in Suburban Stores. Department Store Trends in the Development of Shopping Centers. By Larry Smith. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* February and March 1952. 3 and 5 pp. respectively.

State Government

Essentials of Missouri Government (Second Edition). By Robert F. Karsch. Columbia, Missouri, Lucas Brothers, 1952. 156 pp. Charts.

Traffic

Directing Traffic—What It Is and What It Does. Skidmarks. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1952. 12 and 10 pp. respectively, 25 cents each. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

THEY LEARN ABOUT ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 245)

seats — Eisenhower, Taft, Warren; Democrats, one — Kefauver; and Socialists, one — Thomas.

A summary of the results for each election was prepared for posting on campus bulletin boards along with the filled in tabular forms from the central count. An abbreviated and somewhat dramatized version of the central count was prepared and given a tape recording immediately after the count for radio presentation.

The demonstration has started a series of questions that keeps a professor of political science busy. The point seems to have been pretty well driven home that western democratic institutions must depend upon the combination of fair representation with effective political leadership and that, though no method of election can be perfect, some methods are more equitable than others.

Edison Plea Stirs Big Response

Charles Edison

An article entitled "Are You a Good Citizen?" by Charles Edison, chairman of the National Municipal League's Council, which appeared in the February 17 issue of *The American Weekly,* aroused a nationwide reaction, indicative of the current citizen concern for the improvement of public affairs.

The American Weekly, which appears each Sunday in 22 newspapers and has a circulation of approximately ten million, reported an unusually large number of favorable comments and requests for reprints.

These came from civic, taxpayer and labor organizations in all parts of the country. Typical comment reported by the publication was, "It is hard to find material which average persons will read on politics but I think Mr. Edison's article is just that."

Senator Owen Brewster read the article into the *Congressional Record* and campaign headquarters for a candidate for United States senator requested copies for distribution.

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs asked for reprints for use in its public affairs program. The Leagues of Women Voters, parent-teachers associations and other groups asked for reprints for use by study groups, as did a history teacher and various individuals.

Mr. Edison in the article inveighed against the failure of many citizens to vote and participate in political party and civic organization activities and argued that "we must look to the roots of our democracy in our home towns, large and small."

"We can't have good government in Washington," he continued, "until we have it at home first."

He wrote that many people who complain against federal centralization actually promote it by ignoring local affairs and "by failing to provide leadership, encouragement and the money needed to support strong citizen organizations . . . in their own communities."

Bates Chosen a Vice President

Lester L. Bates, civic leader and member of the city council of Columbia, South Carolina, was elected a regional vice president of the National Municipal League at a meeting of the executive committee held March 12 in New York.

Mr. Bates, who is president of the Capital Life and Health Insurance Company, Columbia, was active in the successful movement for the council-manager plan in his city in 1950.

He attended the League's Cincinnati Conference and told the story of Columbia's progress before the "All-American Cities" jury.

It was his experience as a member of the city commission under the old form of government that prompted Mr. Bates to become a strong advocate of a modern charter and of greater citizen participation in public affairs.

He was a candidate for governor in the last South Carolina state election, running second to James F. Byrnes.

President Appoints Nominating Committee

A nominating committee of five League members has been appointed by President Henry Bruère to recommend candidates for officers and Council members for election at the annual meeting to be held November 17 in connection with the National Conference on Government in San Antonio.

Members of the committee are:

William Collins, New York, regional vice president; Herbert Emmerich, Chicago, member of the Council; Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge, regional vice president; Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York, treasurer, and Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, New Jersey, member of the Council.

Headquarters Hotel Picked for Conference

The Gunter Hotel has been chosen as headquarters for the National Conference on Government in San Antonio, November 17, 18 and 19.

The Gunter, centrally located, is completely air conditioned. Single rooms are from $5 to $7, double rooms from $6 to $9 (double bed) and $7 to $12 (twin beds).

Room reservations should be made directly with the hotel, which is holding 200 rooms available for Conference goers. The Conference should be mentioned in making reservations.

Model Constitution Used in Puerto Rico

All delegates to the recent convention which revised the constitution of Puerto Rico were provided with copies of the League's *Model State Constitution*, as has also been the case in recent state conventions.

The Puerto Rican edition, reprinted especially for the purpose by the University of Puerto Rico, included a foreword by Jaime Benitez, chancellor.

Reed Report Sent to Sustaining Members

By arrangement with the Citizenship Clearing House, copies of the report, *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*, were sent in April to all NML sustaining members (those paying dues of $10 a year or more).

Thomas H. Reed

The report, by Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed, is based on their nation-wide study of courses and other training in colleges and universities designed to encourage participation in politics. The study, under auspices of the Clearing House, was financed by a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation. Dr. Reed's address at the League's Cincinnati Conference last year was based on this study.

Other publications sent to sustaining members during the first four months of 1952 were:

A Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, a joint project by the League and five other national organizations; *Secretary's Report for 1951*; revised edition of *The Story of the Council-manager Plan; Are You Satisfied?*, a cartoon pamphlet about the council-manager plan; *Politics Is What You Make It*, a Public Affairs Committee pamphlet; and *What Are the Elements of Continued Successful Operation for the Council-manager Plan of Municipal Government?*, an address.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

UNE 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
JUN 16 1952

NEWS for League Members 277
Who Will Watch the Watchman? .... *Editorial*
Jersey Justice Streamlined .... *Willard G. Woelper*
New County Plans Offered .... *Richard A. Atkins*
For Defense or Disaster .... *Glendon A. Schubert, Jr.*
Reorganization Proposed for District of Columbia . 300
Cities and Counties Seek Cooperative Bases 307
Home Rule Changes for New York Counties 309
State Revenues Up, Costs Steady 312
Memphis Campaigns for Large Registration 316
Boards, Commissions Compete with Government 320

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.,
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

State Correspondents

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MacCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
PAUL D. STEWART, *West Virginia*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

Council

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

Regional Vice Presidents

John W. Agnew, Boston
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

Delegates to Dine at Historic Spot

A League member in the New York area telephoned the office recently and said:

"San Antonio seems pretty far away but I've never been there and it's one city I especially want to see. I plan to bring my sister with me and perhaps we'll go on to Mexico City after the Conference."

Actually there will be no more favorable time to see the city in which the crucial battles for Texas independence were fought and to add an economical trip to Mexico than when the National Conference on Government is held there November 17, 18 and 19.

On Sunday, the day before the Conference opens, the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce will give early arriving delegates a taste of Texas hospitality they will not soon forget. They will be taken on a sightseeing tour of The Alamo and other early missions, the old Spanish governor's palace and other picturesque attractions.

Late in the day, delegates will be entertained at dinner at La Villita (Spanish for Little Town), a restored community older than San Antonio itself. Indians dwelling there received Cabeza de Vaca in 1568 but it was almost 200 years later that a permanent Spanish settlement was established.

La Villita, only a short distance from The Alamo, saw much bloodshed and ruin during its early and middle years but somehow it survived and kept its special flavor as the modern city of San Antonio grew around it. Thousands of tourists passed it by without realizing that by walking a block they could step back two centuries in time.

A little over a decade ago it was

(*Continued on next page*)

A glimpse of La Villita, two-century old community within San Antonio, where those attending the National Conference on Government will be entertained November 16.

Childs and Seed Address Civic Groups

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's executive committee, on April 29th addressed the annual joint luncheon meeting of the Citizens Research Institute of Canada and the Bureau of Municipal Research in Toronto. Mr. Childs, who is recognized as the "father" of the council-manager form of government, spoke about the early beginnings and the current record rate of adoptions of the plan.

Richard S. Childs

The institute is a source of information on governmental improvement in Canada.

Citizens Action, aggressive civic organization of Grand Rapids, Michigan, heard Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, at its annual meeting May 14th, tell of the current nationwide civic revival.

Allen H. Seed, Jr.

CA, which won its spurs several years ago by ousting members of the city commission in a recall election after they had dismissed a city manager for doing his duty, currently is keeping a watchful eye on a charter commission that is seeking to bring the city's 35-year-old council-manager charter up to date.

Mr. Seed also spoke the same day before the Grand Rapids League of Women Voters.

Delegates to Dine at Historic Spot

(*Continued from previous page*)

restored—an easy task because nearly all the buildings were in a fair state of preservation. Following the pattern of Spanish architecture, a wall here and a door there had to be redesigned and fitted into the general pattern; but mainly it was a job of renovation. Parts of old wells still were standing and the well which is one of the chief attractions of the "Little Town" remains exactly as it was two centuries ago.

Low Rates Offered to Mexico City

An opportunity to enjoy an economical trip to Mexico City after the San Antonio Conference is offered by American Airlines through their "fiesta fare" rates.

For a few random examples: Continuing to Mexico City would add $19.50 to the round-trip fare from New York to San Antonio, $15.60 to the Boston fare, $32.60 to the Chicago fare. The trip, including stopover in San Antonio for the Conference, must be completed within sixteen days.

American Airlines reports that all-expense first class tours of Mexico are available for as little as $13 a day, including hotel rooms, meals and sightseeing.

Arrangements may be made through local American Airlines offices or travel agents.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 6 **Total Number 422**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for June 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 277

EDITORIAL COMMENT 280

JERSEY JUSTICE STREAMLINED .... *Willard G. Woelper* 283

NEW COUNTY PLANS OFFERED .... *Richard A. Atkins* 288

FOR DEFENSE OR DISASTER .... *Glendon A. Schubert, Jr.* 294

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 300

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 307

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 309

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 312

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 316

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 320

BOOKS IN REVIEW 324

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. **Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.**

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Who Will Watch the Watchman?

ONE of the traditional functions of a legislature is to serve as a continuing grand inquest on the fidelity and competence of other public agencies. It is, therefore, fitting that committees of Congress should have been busy uncovering public scandals and probing problems of ethics that go to the root of our capacity for self-government.

The importance of this role of Congress and the state and local legislatures raises the question of the fitness of these bodies to serve as the people's chief censors of public morals. The Douglas Committee was right, therefore, in devoting a good deal of attention to ethical problems of members of Congress.[1]

A representative legislature is the very heart of any system of republican government. The legislature pretty largely determines the organization, the goals, the standards and the quality of the other branches. The moral tone of government as a whole will not for long remain much lower than that of the legislature nor can it be expected to rise permanently to a much higher level. In so far as governmental ethics is either an internal problem or one of reflecting in government the wishes and standards of the people, the primary responsibility cannot be shifted from the legislature.

Although the current fashion is to view with distaste and alarm bureaucratic evils and evidences of easy virtue on the executive side, particularly of the federal government, there is no discernible compensatory increase in respect or affection for the legislative establishment. The fact is that the decline in public esteem for the executive was preceded by a long era during which it was the fad to disparage and deplore the legislature. The common attitude was expressed year after year in devout prayers that the people might be delivered from the ministrations of their state and federal legislators by an early end of their current sessions. Newspapers expressed gratification over legislative adjournments, taking comfort in the thought that "things might have been worse" and that now the state (or nation) could "breathe easier."

This was reckless frivolity. The American people should have recognized that they were laying up trouble for themselves in the future. They should have understood that since large-scale democracy cannot live without representative assemblies it is vital that the people have legislatures that are not only respectable but respected.

The hour for coming to grips with the sources of the long felt inadequacy of our legislative bodies is late. One reassuring fact is that the Douglas Committee and others have demonstrated that our national legislature is capable of some self-criticism. The report of the committee points to some serious evils. While it does not provide a detailed blueprint for reform, it carries suggestions for action that the American people should heed.

---

[1] *Ethical Standards in Government.* Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U. S. Senate. Washington, D. C., 1951. 89 pages.

The committee goes right down to the tap root of the matter when it points out that the essential integrity of government is necessarily impaired by serious deviation from "a fair system of representation [which] is a sacred element in the American political system." "Yet," the committee observes, "some politicians light-heartedly steal representation from the citizens of their own states by creating grossly disproportionate congressional districts and from rival parties by gerrymandering boundaries. The same situation is often found in state legislative districts." (An understatement if there ever was one).

The report continues with disarming mildness, "The claim of Congress to moral authority is based upon its representative character, yet, have not the two houses sometimes challenged the representative principle in their internal distribution of offices?" The committee, with understandable discretion, pursues this no further but one thinks at once of the seniority system and the irresponsible power sometimes wielded by an inner circle on a rules committee or some other steering group. These or other undemocratic practices make for minority or dictatorial control of many state legislatures and a few large old style city councils.

The need for legislative reform is most acute at the state level where most of the legislatures are grossly unrepresentative, especially of urban and suburban populations in at least one and often in both houses. Is it not worse, in the words of the committee, "to steal representation" than to steal money from the treasury or sell the influence of an office? Those who steal representation deprive their fellow citizens of the means of protecting themselves against every kind of crookedness or mismanagement.

Pressure Groups vs. Public

The Douglas Committee finds that one of the basic sources of moral infection in our system is the attempt of aggressive forces to bend public policy to their own self-centered purposes without regard to the public interest. Questioning the comfortable theory that "the aggressive forces in American life" would neutralize each other, the committee observes that "sometimes they reinforce each other" and suggests that "the greatest and most subtle danger is not a challenge to the constitution or the law of the land, but it is a combining of forces to make public policies which may be completely constitutional and entirely legal but which are not in the interest of the people." Anyone familiar with the end of session scramble in a typical state legislature knows how special interests combine or bargain to enact or defeat legislation in blithe contempt of the public interest.

The evil influence of such aggressive forces is often communicated through the legislature to administrative agencies and officials. This is done partly through the warping of the law itself and partly through direct influence exerted on administrators by reason of the patronage and money powers of legislatures, especially by senators whose "advice and consent" is required for key appointments. It is most unfortunate that influential legislators commonly have their fingers so deep in the patronage pie that they are often utterly disqualified as critics of administrative policies and behavior.

It would be hard to think of any one thing that would do more for the purity of government and politics than to get members of Congress, state legislatures, county boards and city councils entirely out of the patronage business. At the same time, membership in legislative bodies should be made sufficiently attractive to enable good men and women of ordinary means to devote proper attention to the public business without jeopardizing family security or compensating for inadequate salaries by accepting favors from special interests. It goes without saying that every legislature should have enough staff assistance to make it unnecessary to depend almost entirely, as is sometimes now the case, upon obliging lobbyists for information.

The Douglas Committee touches on these and other matters in so far as they relate to Congress. For example, it asserts emphatically that "the principle of fair procedure is as imperative in the legislative as it is in the administrative and judicial processes" and suggests the need for enforcing "the rule of fair play in debates" and for proper protection of citizens brought under fire in Congress. It also recognizes the relationship between Congressional patronage and improper influence in administration and points to the need to strengthen the federal personnel system. These and other matters are suggested as appropriate subjects for further investigation and report by a temporary fifteen-member Commission on Ethics in Government, a majority of whose members would be from private life.

Congress Needs Discipline

Undoubtedly one reason for proposing such a commission rather than a continuing congressional committee is the recognition of the fact that Congress itself is so much involved. As the committee remarks, "Neither house has acted vigorously to tighten its discipline in moral matters or to raise its ethical standards," nor has either one "been particularly diligent in searching out and punishing questionable conduct of any of its members. It is hard for any institution to discipline itself and Congress is no exception."

This puts the whole matter squarely up to the people themselves and this, as we pointed out last month[2] means that "the place to start" is right in the home town and neighborhood precinct. The only people who can take care of patronage-minded Congressmen or of state senators with careless consciences are the people in their own districts and the only way they can do that in the long run is to raise standards of political ethics and action in their communities.[3]

---

[2] See "The Place to Start," the Review, May 1952, page 232.

[3] See "What Can an Angry People Do?" the Review, May 1951, page 239; "How Government Corrupts Politics," November 1951, page 513.

Jersey Justice Streamlined

Chief justice, at head of nation's only integrated court system, modernizes rules, speeds cases, raises standards.

By **WILLARD G. WOELPER***

NEARLY four years have now elapsed since the constitutional revision of the judicial system of New Jersey became effective.

The new constitution replaced one more than a hundred years old, under which had existed a complex system of some seventeen classes of courts,[1] each separately administered and each completely independent. Practice and procedure were governed in part by a variety of statutes relating to specific courts, in part by rules adopted by the various courts, and in some instances by rules adopted by different divisions of a court sitting in one of the 21 counties.

Today New Jersey has an integrated judicial system consisting of seven courts.[2] The Supreme Court has complete power under the constitution to make rules governing the administration of all courts and their practice and procedure. The court has now promulgated a complete set of rules modernizing and simplifying practice and procedures and making them uniform throughout the state, and has adopted a comprehensive set of rules governing the administration of all courts.

This was done after lengthy and careful preparation. For some eight months prior to September 15, 1948, the date when the new judicial article became effective, the justices-designate of the court worked on the task. Suggestions were invited from judges, lawyers and interested citizens, from the state and county bar associations, as well as from the chief justices of the other 47 states. Tentative drafts were submitted to lawyers and judges for criticism and suggestions. New Jersey today ranks first in having established the minimum practical standards of judicial administration of the American Bar Association.

Under the new constitution the chief justice is made the administrative head of all the courts and is granted extensive authority to assign and reassign judges from court to court and from county to county as judicial business may require. For the first time every judicial officer and all court personnel are accountable to a chief justice charged with the responsibility of administering the entire judicial system.

Here are some of the practical achievements of the new courts in the disposition of judicial business.

When the Supreme Court rose for the summer recess at the end of each of its first three years, every appeal ready for argument had been heard and disposed of. The Appellate Division of the Superior Court (intermediate court of appeal) did not quite equal this record but is now completely current. These appellate courts during their third year, in comparison with the appellate courts under the former system, decided 108 per cent more appeals in an average of 79 per cent fewer days between date of argument and date of decision.

---

*Mr. Woelper is administrative director of the Courts of New Jersey.

[1] Errors and Appeals, Supreme Chancery, Prerogative, Circuit, Oyer and Terminer, Quarter Sessions, Special Sessions, Common Pleas, Orphans, Juvenile and Domestic Relations, Surrogate's, District, Justice of the Peace, Recorder's and Police, Family, and Small Cause Courts.

[2] Supreme, Superior, County, District, Municipal, Juvenile and Domestic Relations, and Surrogate's.

Case Backlogs Eliminated

In the Law Division of the Superior Court and County Courts (courts of general trial jurisdiction) backlogs were eliminated and the list of cases awaiting trial became the smallest in the past twenty years. The current status of those cases is apparent when it is noted that 53 per cent were started within a period of less than five months and only 6 per cent were more than fourteen months old. During the three-year period these courts disposed of an average of 12,798 cases per year, 100 per cent more than were disposed of by the comparable courts prior to reorganization. Progress in the district courts showed 55 per cent of the cases pending to be less than two months old.

What are the principal factors responsible for this record? First, it has not been caused by any decrease in the basic volume of litigation, since that has remained relatively constant. Second, it has not been caused by the appointment of a greater number of judges for, on the contrary, today in the Supreme Court and in the three divisions of the Superior Court there are only 40 judges as compared with 62 in the comparable courts under the former system. Toward the end of the first year of operations in the county courts, however, ten part-time judges were placed on full time.

There can be no question but that the principal factors responsible for the present status of the calendars are: (1) a simplified court structure which permits judges and lawyers to operate more effectively; (2) a simplified practice which has eliminated many needless technicalities and which establishes pretrial procedures designed to shorten and simplify trials and encourage settlements; and (3) a system of judicial administration designed to obtain the most effective use of the time and abilities of each judge where and when he is most needed. In general in New Jersey a litigant can today be assured of a prompt hearing in any of the courts and a prompt decision after the hearing.

One feature of the new judicial establishment is the Administrative Office of the Courts. It is the first comprehensive administrative office to be established in any state judicial system, although partial advances have been made in a few states. The real need for such an office is manifest. The powers of the Supreme Court to make rules governing administration and practice and those of the chief justice, as the administrative head of all of the courts, to assign and reassign judges from court to court and county to county can only be exercised effectively if it is known to what extent the rules are operating efficiently and what the exact status of the judicial business is.

Some idea of the variety and magnitude of the administrative problems involved may be obtained if we consider that during their 1950-51 year the courts disposed of 43,169 civil cases. On the criminal side the municipal courts handled 639,697 cases, including all parking and traffic tickets. Consider also that the chief justice has under his supervision 581 full-time and part-time judges, not to mention the numerous clerks, sergeants-at-arms, stenographic reporters and a host of other employees.

Administrative Staff's Duties

Since the chief justice and the Supreme Court are actively engaged as the court of last resort in hearing and deciding appeals and other judicial matters of paramount importance, there must be an effective administrative staff which can devote full time and energies to the task of keeping the court and the chief justice advised as to the status of judicial business and which can execute the details of the basic policies which have been established.

The collection and analysis of statistical data on the work of the judges and the status of judicial business has been the major undertaking of the Administrative Office. It has concentrated rather largely on what may be termed operational statistics. The basic inquiries have been: (1) What has been done? (2) What is being done? (3) What remains to be done? Originally this approach was made necessary by the large arrearages which had developed on many court calendars, but it is always essential to enable the chief justice to utilize the available judicial manpower at maximum efficiency and make adequate plans for the future.

The statistics have been gathered from two principal sources: the judges themselves and the clerks of the courts. Each judge is required to submit a report at the end of each week on the business he has transacted in court. This report shows the number of hours he presided on the bench, the names of cases heard, their nature and outcome, and any cases or motions remaining undecided.

The weekly reports have proved invaluable not only for the factual data furnished for the information of the chief justice and the Supreme Court but as a means of bringing to the attention of each judge the status of his own work, and as a reminder to him to take action where counsel have failed to file briefs on matters pending. Where there appears to be an unusual delay in deciding a case or motion the chief justice directs the administrative director to request the judge in question to report on the matter.

There can be no doubt that these reports have in large part been responsible for the truly remarkable record which our judges have achieved in disposing promptly of all matters submitted for decision. On August 31, 1951, for example, out of a total of 60 judges in the Superior Court and county courts, 51 had decided all cases and motions which they had heard.

Weekly summaries on various phases of these reports are prepared for the use of the chief justice. They have not only kept him advised as to the work of each judge and, therefore, advised either as to his need of assistance or his availability for further assignments, but have also revealed deficiencies in the methods of handling court calendars. The summaries of the hours spent by each judge on the bench revealed that in a number of counties methods of calendar control were such that valuable trial time was being lost by last minute adjournments or settlements. In many instances where cases scheduled for trial could not be heard, no adequate means were available for substituting other ready cases. The Supreme Court appointed a committee to investigate; as a result, improved procedures were prescribed.

The monthly report from the clerks of the courts shows the status of their trial calendars. These indicate the number of cases pending at the beginning of the month, the number disposed of by trial or settlement during the month, the number of new cases added, and the number awaiting trial at the end of the month. This last figure also contains a breakdown of the ages of the cases awaiting trial.

These statistics enable the Administrative Office to advise the chief justice and the Supreme Court of the current status of judicial business and of the situation of each judge. Where the calendar of a particular court and judge is light, it is immediately apparent that he is available for assignment elsewhere. Similarly, where the trial calendars are congested and judges are falling behind in their work, their need for assistance is apparent.

While temporary assignments of judges can be made, and are made, on short notice where an emergency arises, most temporary assignments are made a month in advance not only to better suit the convenience of the judges involved but to enable the clerks to adjust calendars.

Special Studies Made

The Administrative Office has made a series of special statistical studies for the use of the Supreme Court, the governor and the legislature. The Supreme Court, for example, has been particularly interested in improving standards for admission to the bar. In this connection the Administrative Office made an exhaustive analysis of the records of applicants for bar examinations during the past ten years, giving particular emphasis to educational backgrounds and to the number of times each applicant took the examinations.

In another instance, where the legislature was considering an increase in the statutory jurisdiction of the county district courts from $500 to $1,000, a statistical analysis was made of the size of the verdicts in the superior and county courts over a period of five years, to determine to what extent such an increase would result in a shift of litigation from these courts to the county district courts.

During the first months of operation of the Administrative Office a major phase of activities turned on its function as a clearing house for a great variety of inquiries from judges, lawyers, officials and the general public with reference to the new system of courts and the new rules of practice and procedure. The Administrative Office has continued to serve as a channel through which any complaints or suggestions relating to the judicial establishment may be funneled.

Under the rules of the Supeme Court provision is made for a judicial conference of all the judges, the attorney general, county prosecutors, representatives of the legislature and approved law schools in the state, delegates from the state and county bar associations and laymen. The conference is held "to devise means for relieving congestion of dockets where this may be necessary, to improve procedure in the courts, and to exchange ideas with respect to the administration of justice." The administrative director is secretary of the conference and, in addition to furnishing statistical data for its consideration, has been responsible for the receipt and organization of proposals submitted and has prepared the agenda and reports for the meetings.

Conference Aids Rule-making

The judicial conference has already established itself as one of the most important and effective agencies in the rule-making process. It has been a continuing source of aid to members of the Supreme Court, all of whom have agreed that their rule-making duties are among the most arduous imposed under the constitution. Out of the discussions and recommendations emanating from the judicial conference have come each year a series of amendments and new rules.

As to fiscal and business affairs, prior to September 15, 1948, state funds for the judicial system were appropriated and expended under more than five separate budgets, each of which was prepared and administered independently by a different official: the Court of Chancery, the clerk of the Court of Chancery, the Supreme Court, the clerk of the Supreme Court and the Court of Errors and Appeals. Under the new system the Administrative Office is charged with preparing and administering a single budget for all state moneys to be expended on the courts. As approval officer, the administrative director now prepares a single payroll in lieu of the five existing formerly. He is responsible for determining what supplies and equipment shall be purchased and is required to make arrangements for the accommodations of the courts, the judges and their staffs.

There can be no doubt that general public respect for law and order is based in large part on the just and efficient operation of the courts. Unfortunately, the public press does not ordinarily assign its reporters to "dig out" material for featured articles on the smooth and efficient operations of the judicial system or on the faithful and conscientious work of judges. All too frequently the reader of our daily newspapers finds the only mention of the judicial system in articles on the delays or technicalities of justice

(Continued on page 315)

New County Plans Offered

New York repeals its old unused law, which provided many variations, and substitutes four basic government forms.

By RICHARD A. ATKINS*

FOR FIFTEEN years New York State counties have had a wide variety of optional plans of county government available to all of them except those in New York City. Only Monroe County, which includes the city of Rochester, ever adopted one of the alternatives, when it chose a county manager plan in 1935.

The 1952 session of the legislature, following the recommendations of the Uniform County Law Commission, substituted four basic options, with variations, for the multiplicity of plans offered by the original statutes. These revised options are now in force. The repealer of the old laws takes effect in 1954.

The legislature has also started on its way a constitutional amendment which mandates the legislature to set up machinery under which counties may draft, adopt and amend special forms of government for themselves. The amendment must be passed by the legislature again next year and then go to the voters for approval.

Interest in county management in upstate New York goes back at least one full generation. Conditions following World War I resembled those which followed the second world conflict. It was a period of adjustment, greatly complicated by inflation. As a consequence, New York State launched an inquiry into the state tax system and the organization of local government.

Much of the original leadership fell to then State Senator Frederick M. Davenport and the commission which carried his name conducted a study of local affairs during the early 1920s. After the commission investigated city government, it turned to the other civil subdivisions. Its members were impressed with the incohesive structure of county government and need for introducing control devices which were gaining favor in municipal administration. The commission foresaw a place for a county executive. With considerable insight it offered the thought that the powers of the clerk of the board of supervisors might be strengthened so that he could fulfill the functions of such an executive pending development of alternatives to standard county government.

Once the trials of the period following World War I had been surmounted, interest in county reorganization subsided. Little was heard on the subject until the depression era. Then a commission under the guidance of State Senator Seabury C. Mastick began a long and arduous effort to steady the course of state and local finance in New York. The Mastick commission picked up the threads of the Davenport inquiry and entertained ambitious views for the reorganization of local government. Counties were to have played a pivotal part. The research staff of the commission pictured the county as a natural unit to assume many of the responsibilities of smaller subdivisions and by transfer of powers and functions to eliminate what appeared to be a large amount of duplication in such areas as tax assessment and collections, highways and welfare administration.

---

*Mr. Atkins, formerly secretary of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, is director of the Governmental Research Bureau of Syracuse, New York.

Optional Plans Adopted

Pressure for economy lent urgency to the findings of the Mastick commission. It drafted plans for county manager government patterned upon city manager precedents. Concrete expression appeared in the first Buckley act of 1935, which contained two optional county government plans—one calling for an executive elected at large by the voters of the county, the other for a county manager appointed by and responsible to the board of supervisors. The Buckley act options were somewhat restricted in scope and reflected uncertainty as to what could be done in the absence of constitutional changes later approved by the voters in 1935.

Monroe County acted immediately under the manager option and the plan was accepted by the voters. The Monroe County manager charter was sponsored by the Democrats but, with a turn in political fortunes, the Republicans initiated the county manager program and guided the transition from the standard form. After a period of vicissitude, largely explained by failure of the Buckley act to dovetail with general county law, the Monroe County program shook down and has since enjoyed confidence and success. County manager government has gained a reputation for quiet competence, accomplishment and effective administration.

The constitutional amendment adopted in 1935 and modified in 1938 required the legislature to provide alternative forms of government for counties outside New York City as well as methods for submitting such options to the voters of a county. It also permitted much more elaborate alternative forms of county government. Constitutional changes lifted restrictions against abolishing county offices, transferring local functions and altering the relation of the county to other units of local government.

In accordance with its mandate the state legislature passed three major acts in 1936 and 1937 encompassing a variety of optional plans, further entailing many subsidiary permissive features. It then became possible for upstate counties to make changes in existing structure ranging all the way from relatively minor modification to the most comprehensive reorganization.

Separate action was taken in Westchester and Nassau Counties to secure elected county executives under special law. These special charters were the outgrowth of particular demands for change in counties which are substantially in a class by themselves. Both, of course, are thickly populated and rapidly growing suburban sections of the New York metropolitan area, and each presents a set of problems typical of the suburban complex.

Availability of alternative forms of county government served to quicken interest upstate. Preliminary action occurred in the populous counties and in a few instances the question of county change was taken to the voters. A county executive plan narrowly failed in Erie County. County manager government was a subject of contention in Onondaga County for two or three years just prior to the second world war. Onondaga County experience was unfortunate in the sense that a moderate and well balanced plan failed after an earlier and less realistic move toward county reorganization had fallen of its own weight. The war intervened and once again the issue subsided.

Growth in County Duties

The question refused to die in the populous counties, however. Continuing interest could be traced to the presence of groups naturally disposed to improving county government and to tendencies which are becoming more and more evident. In the large counties, those which embrace a sizeable central city such as Rochester, Syracuse or Buffalo, there has been a surprising growth in county government and county activities. Metropolitan influences contribute to the result, and the state of New York as a matter of policy has tended to use the county as an administrative district in expansion of established services and development of new functions of government.

While New York State counties are traditionally judicial districts, with added responsibility for highway administration and institutional care, the inherited pattern is being affected by the emergence of more nearly municipal functions. This interesting development has been most conspicuous in Erie County, which has taken up the burden of welfare, libraries and health.[1] The trend is plainly visible in Monroe and Onondaga Counties and is assuming noticeable proportions elsewhere. Growth has imposed strains upon standard county government which are apparent to outside observers and to thoughtful and responsible county officials.

Growing importance of county government underlies many of the refinements which will be found in the recent revision of the standard county government law. Progressive legislation in 1950 flowed from the labors of the Uniform County Law Commission under the leadership of Assemblymen Harry R. Marble and Allan P. Sill. The Uniform County Law Commission, appointed in 1944, took several years to complete its work and results show grasp of the enlarging significance of county government. Among other things the revised standard law clarifies the powers of the board of supervisors, introduces procedural improvements in county finance and extends a liberal grant of home rule power to upstate counties.

When the Uniform County Law Commission completed its initial assignment, it turned to the fifteen-year-old optional county government statutes. With some reason the commission could conclude that, aside from Monroe County, progress under these statutes has been non-existent. It could also argue that the complexity of the law discouraged local action. Members of the commission have included legislative leaders and county officials with an intimate personal background of local government and with only a qualified disposition toward the more preconceived approach which had been followed by draftsmen of the original county government options.

---

[1] See "Erie County Gets New Tasks," the REVIEW, November 1948, page 534.

It so happened that the work of the Uniform County Law Commission coincided with a fresh attempt in Onondaga County to revive an executive plan of county government. There a program was offered by the Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau modeled on Monroe County experience. When sufficient interest in the research bureau program had been stimulated, especially in the town areas of the county, the county leadership sought an alternative which would retain the essential features of a manager program but which would avoid certain features contrary to the settled views of county officials.

Those immediately involved agreed to the appointment of a joint committee of county officials and representative citizens to frame legislation which would be mutually satisfactory but which would not sacrifice the principles of executive management. Shortly after the joint committee convened, it merged its efforts with those of the Uniform County Law Commission on the assumption that a good general law would be preferable to a special Onondaga County statute.

The Uniform County Law Commission put a draft of a revised alternative county government law in the 1951 session of the legislature with no thought of enactment. It was designed for study purposes and in the interim the commission made several desirable changes in its bill and solicited the views of interested individuals. While the commission was rounding its measure into final shape, further interest in county management was manifested in Oneida County, where an official group, with staff aid from the Utica Bureau of Municipal Research, submitted an excellent report calling for changes more in line with the Mastick commission proposals for county government reorganization than with the limited program which was to be introduced into the 1952 legislature by the County Law Commission.

Old Options Toned Down

The new alternative county government law as enacted in the 1952 session represents a toning down of the earlier laws which it will supplant. Options have been narrowed and permissive features have been restricted.[2] In short, the law might be said to mirror the ideas of those brought up in close contact with county government, entirely sympathetic to the concept of a county executive but not inclined toward broad organizational changes except as they originate locally with the board of supervisors under home rule.

The alternative county government law is also deferential to the towns. A special majority feature whereby acceptance of a county executive plan would depend upon favorable majorities both in the cities of a county as a unit and the towns of a county as a unit has been reinstated despite the fact that present constitutional provisions impose no such limitation. To clinch the matter, the commission has accompanied its law with a constitutional amendment which would rivet the double majority requirement in place.

---

[2] See page 309, this issue.

New Forms Available

The alternative county government law contains four basic options:

County president form—providing for an executive elected at large by the voters of the county,

County manager form—providing for an executive appointed by and responsible to the board of supervisors,

County director form—providing, with some modifications, for an executive appointed by and responsible to the board of supervisors.

County administrator form—providing for the appointment of a nominal administrative officer with restricted authority.

The president form is a carry-over from the earlier laws and bears a parallel to the Nassau and Westchester County charters. The administrator form represents the opposite idea and calls for no more than a nominal head to the county government. Under the new law the chairman of the board of supervisors could serve as administrator. Thus the plan merely represents an extension of the responsibility which the chairman of the board now assumes.

The county manager and county director options are not far apart. The county director is explicitly subject to the board of supervisors so far as appointments and the initiation of organizational changes are concerned, and the director option places a resident qualification upon the county executive. Both the manager and director plans transfer executive and administrative supervision over most county departments from the board of supervisors to the executive. These plans vest the manager or director with considerable power and give him control over preparation and enforcement of the county budget.

The county manager serves for an indefinite term and is removable by a majority vote of the board of supervisors for any reason at any time, whereas the county director serves for a four-year term and is removable only for specified serious reasons by a two-third vote of the board.

The manager or director becomes responsible for the conduct of the financial affairs of the county, including budgeting, treasury functions, purchasing and contracting. A county comptroller, with responsibility for accounting control and approval of payments, would become head of a department of audit and control. Under the county manager form he would be appointed by the board of supervisors; under the county director form he would have an independent elective status unless specifically provided otherwise in the ballot question.

Some slight organizational changes are required and the law allows the county executive and the board of supervisors, working together, to make further changes which they deem necessary. There is considerable flexibility in the revised county options since the board of supervisors can add to responsibilities of the executive as it sees fit. The plans are, therefore, to some extent a framework rather than a finished product. Elective officers would in general retain their current status, except for the treasurer, who becomes appointive head of a finance department. However, any elective officer except supervisors and judges could be made appointive by special vote of the people. Certain miscellaneous officers or boards might still answer directly to the board of supervisors.

Under the alternative county government law the board of supervisors continues as the legislative and policy determining body of the county. No change is required in the method of election or membership of the board. The board of supervisors would retain final control over appropriations, county debt, the compensation of county employees and local legislation. The board would have authority to guide the county through the transition from the standard form of county government to an executive plan.

The new law leaves town government alone. The plan does not infringe upon town affairs—it does not mean any arbitrary change in town functions. Permissive features in the law allow some rearrangement of governmental functions, but these features are in no sense a part of the basic executive options. Each such feature, if it appeared on the ballot at all, would be separately voted on.

Counties seeking individual solutions still have recourse to the old county charter commission law of 1934, but there are limits to the changes which such a commission could propose. Elsewhere the new alternative county government offers an opportunity for improvement. More important, it represents a fresh start. Populous counties are certain to grow in responsibility. With the trend already established and its future direction plainly forecast, it is reasonable to anticipate that county government will come to include executive management, firmer administrative controls and more efficient organization.

For Defense or Disaster

Program of preparedness for local catastrophes offered as standby for war and way to get citizen participation.

By GLENDON A. SCHUBERT, JR.*

EFFECTIVE organization of civil defense as a nation-wide, permanent function of government has met with stubborn resistance. The major obstacle is a natural distaste for thinking about the possibilities of destruction by atomic explosives. This popular attitude is reflected in Congress which has thus far done little beyond admonishing the states to do something about the situation. The evidence is against the view of the ex-military state civil defense administrator of a large industrial state that the way to get Americans to cooperate with the civil defense program is to "scare the hell out of them" with atomic bombs.

A more hopeful possibility for overcoming inertia is the merging of civil defense efforts with a general disaster control program. This possibility was suggested by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, speaking on New Jersey's statewide civil defense alert of April 29, the first in the nation involving public participation since the war. Although these exercises took the form of an air raid warning alert, the governor, explaining the need for civil defense, declared: "While the immediate efforts of civil defense are directed toward the war emergency, their long-range planning has been with one eye on the peacetime benefits."

The governor pointed out that New Jersey has had its share of disasters—a hurricane, a major explosion, train and airplane wrecks, fires and floods. "The men and women volunteers who make up the New Jersey Division of Civil Defense are giving New Jersey something we couldn't buy," he commented, "the backbone of an organization that some day will operate, from one end of New Jersey to the other, permanent peacetime disaster control."

There are two principal statutes which form the basis for federal disaster policy and operations. The federal disaster act (Public Law 875) approved September 30, 1950, appropriated $5,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the president to support the activities of any federal agency in assisting state and local governments faced with a "major disaster." Such a disaster must be so designated by the president on request of the state governor(s) concerned before action may be taken. The inadequacy of the amount was demonstrated in July 1951, when Congress appropriated an additional $25,000,000 to support disaster relief operations in the areas hit by the Kansas - Missouri - Oklahoma - Illinois floods—an increase of 500 per cent to provide for a single catastrophe.

---

*Dr. Schubert, formerly lecturer in political science at Rutgers University, is chairman of the Department of Political Science at Franklin and Marshall College.

This pattern is being repeated on an even larger scale for the May 1952 Missouri-Mississippi floods.

The other statute was the federal civil defense act of 1950 (Public Law 920), approved January 12, 1951. Apart from bomb shelters and materials for stockpiling, it contemplated an appropriation by Congress of not more than $240,000,000 for equipment, training, research, communications, publicity, organization and similar objects during the three-year period ending June 30, 1954.

FCDA Functions

The Federal Civil Defense Administration had already been created by the president's executive order of December 1, 1950, and this agency was given statutory status and responsibility for coordinating activities under the federal civil defense act. There is no apparent recognition in that statute of any kind of disaster except that caused by enemy action, so the legal powers and responsibilities of the FCDA have been limited thus far. Pending the completion of the organization of FCDA, presidential authority under the federal disaster act was delegated by executive order of March 2, 1951, to the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The understanding was that this was of an interim nature only.

Now that FCDA is completing the staffing of its regional offices, an agency Committee on Disaster Relief has recently submitted its report to the deputy administrator of FCDA, recommending that HHFA functions under the federal disaster act be redelegated to FCDA so that federal responsibility for both natural and enemy-caused disasters will be integrated in the same agency. This is certainly a logical and desirable step and appears to have the support of state and local civil defense organizations.

Our national policy of "half a loaf" for civil defense has been matched by inadequate state appropriations with the result that the problem has been kicked on down to the local governments. But lack of funds is not the only handicap with which civil defense has been saddled.

Lip service is frequently paid to the principle that civil defense is essentially a problem of civil administration—the statement of the New Jersey Civil Defense Plan is characteristic: "Civil defense is and must remain a civilian function." But the pattern of organization, the language, the concepts and the approach of the plan itself are permeated with militaristic thinking. New Jersey, Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio are no different from their sister states in their apparent assumption that retired army officers are the individuals best suited to fill the positions in the state hierarchy of the civil defense organization.

Moreover, we have been particularly shortsighted in our approach to the reconciliation of area and function in having selected counties, or groups of counties, as the basic unit of state regional organization. Plainfield, New Jersey, for instance, is the center of a metropolitan area within the outer limits of the Greater New York Area.

Putting to one side the obvious desirability of a single regional civil defense administration for the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut metropolitan area, at least it should not be necessary to put North Plainfield, Plainfield and South Plainfield—each located in separate counties but actually forming one urban community—into three different disaster districts whose headquarters are at great distances from one another, with no central point of coordination short of state headquarters.

It would be much more effective to divide the state into natural regional units centered around such metropolitan areas as Plainfield, with its hospitals and efficient police and fire equipment and with communications ranging from commercial radio stations to short-wave, two-way radios in taxis.

Perhaps even more important than any of these external limitations upon the several thousand local units of civil defense administration is the generally limited conception of the job to be done and of how best to do it. The very label that has been accepted for this function—civil defense—implies a more or less passive resignation to the unpleasant duty of salvaging as much of our human and material resources as may be possible when "Der Tag" arrives.

We are preoccupied with the catastrophic effects that atomic bombs dropped on our major cities will have. We certainly cannot neglect to prepare for such contingencies, but there are limitations to homeopathic therapy. The administrative problems of recruiting, equipping, training and retaining over an extended period of time—perhaps one year, perhaps five, perhaps ten, perhaps longer—a staff which can do little except engage in dry runs, and which can acquire no realistic experience until after it is called upon to act in a moment of crisis, are already considerable. They will probably grow more difficult if time passes and no bombs fall. Even if our anxiety remains unlessened, there will be the tendency to sublimate our fears by ignoring them.

Something to Do

If civil defense is to depend upon the efforts of millions of citizen volunteers, they must be given something to do that has some immediate and continuing goals and social values in addition to the long range objective. Apart from employees of local governments, those with most to contribute—technicians such as communications specialists, professional people and World War II veterans—are not going to be interested in serving in an organization which, rightly or wrongly, they associate primarily with lady air raid wardens searching the heavens with binoculars for enemy aircraft.

A characteristic example of this point of view is found in the March 1952 *Monthly Bulletin* of the League of Women Voters of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Following the announcement of an address by a retired army officer, on the subject "Atlantic Union and Defense," there is appended: "N. B. The subject is not *civil* defense." (Emphasis in the original.)

Nevertheless, there is a job, a socially important job, that the volunteers can do right now which will contribute most to their future effectiveness if and when the time comes to act in the crisis of an enemy attack. This, however, necessitates redefinition of the mission of civil defense organizations at all levels of government in terms of disaster planning and operations.

Thirty-one states already make statutory provision for the use of civil defense organizations to cope with natural as well as enemy-caused disasters. The importance of such legal authorization was dramatically illustrated during the midwest floods of July 1951. Missouri lacked such a law and was handicapped; right across the river in Kansas civil defense forces were authorized to operate during such a disaster and were in fact active.

There are many other less publicized instances in which local civil defense organizations are being called into action, even in the absence of specific plans and organizational relationships, to cope with civil disasters. When a spot tornado struck York, Pennsylvania, on April 5 of this year, inflicting $1,000,000 damages within less than half an hour, the local civil defense organization was called out and became a major force in dealing with the catastrophe.

There can be no doubt of the general and nation-wide need for such services. The question is: should civil defense forces be called out in a sporadic and uncoordinated manner, or should we recast our premises to countenance the handling of civil disasters as the norm and the meeting of enemy-caused disasters as an abnormal but inescapable contingency?

Coordination Achieved

Such a change in emphasis and direction has already taken place in one regional civil defense district in New Jersey, where disaster operations as defined above are authorized by both the governing civil defense statute and the state civil defense plan. Raritan Area (Middlesex County) was visited by three major civilian disasters in less than a year: the ammunition ship explosion at South Amboy in May 1950, the near hurricane of November 1950 (which was significant because it demonstrated what can happen when methods of communication are destroyed), and the Woodbridge train wreck of February 1951.

In each of these cases, confusion and waste did not arise because there were too few ambulances, insufficient hospital beds, not enough doctors, or for lack of police and fire personnel and equipment, lack of volunteer citizen assistance or inadequate publicity of the fact of disaster. The problem was one of abundance, of the lack of a coordinated plan of action, of any common source of administrative authority to integrate and to control the utilization of the resources available.

The logical agency to move into this vacuum was the Raritan area civil defense organization, and it has done so. Existing community facilities, such as police, fire, hospital, ambulance, public works equipment, communications, transportation and public information, are now under the central direction of the Raritan Area Control Center. On May 17, 1951, for instance, a mobilization plan for the coordination of the activities of the area's 24 first aid and rescue squads with those of the five general hospitals in the county (as well as the five in neighboring counties on the borders of Middlesex), physicians, and medical supplies was agreed upon by representatives of the local rescue squad organizations and the director of the medical, health and welfare division of Raritan Area.

The medical services plan would nevertheless be ineffective if it were not tied in with similar mutual aid pacts among the police and auxiliary police units and the fire departments, both professional and volunteer. Area Control Center, located in the stadium of Rutgers University about two miles from the center of New Brunswick, is able to direct the utilization of special engineering equipment as it may be needed, the use of emergency transportation to evacuate non-casualty personnel, and should be—but is not—in a position to call upon similarly organized reserve resources in neighboring counties in the advent of a catastrophe which surpasses the competence of the area's forces.

Some of the experiences that induced this kind of cooperation, and the acceptance of central control and direction of all community facilities, were pretty bitter. Eighty-three people were killed and over three hundred injured in the Woodbridge train wreck. Local radio stations remained silent about the wreck after one experience with community panic at the time of the ammunition ship explosion. Many ambulances could not get through to the scene without considerable delay, however, because a radio station in New York City broadcast a general appeal for volunteer help and the roads within a mile of the scene were choked with do-gooders, relatives and sight-seers. Those ambulances that did get to the scene took patients to hospitals that were already filled to the corridors with patients and relatives instead of to others with plenty of room only a few more minutes distant. No one was in effective charge of anything at the scene itself. A newspaper reporter's interview with the local police captain is illuminating:

Wants Professional Aid

Q. "Did you call in civil defense?"

A. "No."

Q. "Why not?"

A. "Frankly, I never thought of it."

Q. "Would you have called them in if you had thought of it?"

A. "No. I needed professionals and not amateurs."

This is similar to the point of view of City Manager L. P. Cookingham of Kansas City, Missouri.[1] Although I concur in all that Mr. Cookingham says, in so far as his remarks apply to Kansas City and other cities of similar size, it by no means follows that his prescription is valid for the majority of Americans who live in rural and suburban areas. Even though included within the Census Bureau definition of the New York metropolitan area, Raritan includes many relatively small units of local government and lacks a full cadre of well staffed and professionally led municipal forces.[2]

---

[1] See "A Plan to Meet Disasters," the REVIEW, February 1952, page 74.

The problem in Kansas City may well be the coordination of civil defense and other volunteer forces under the direction of the municipal chief executive who already has the political and administrative authority to act in what is at least a major segment of the disaster area. Even Mr. Cookingham refers, however, to "the added problem of cooperation with the other governmental units comprising the metropolitan area of Kansas City." The city manager's desire for autonomy in his own bailiwick is understandable, but it differs from the position of the Woodbridge chief of police not in kind but only in degree.

The over-all problem of coordination exists in either case, but it is particularly acute in a suburban region where any major disaster will be beyond the capacity of the orthodox units of local government. Here, as in Raritan Area, the civil defense organization must fill the gap in the generally decentralized structure of local government and provide the nucleus of administrative direction and control that exists within the legal boundaries of the large city.

Although considerable assistance can be given to the development of disaster control organization through insistence upon the present military emergency, the disaster control organization will not itself be well organized if it is considered to be only a small part of civil defense activities. It would be much better to place the greater emphasis on the general civil disaster operations program, and to think of this as a permanent part of the protective facilities of local government rather than as an emergency phenomenon.

Shift of Emphasis

What specific benefits can be anticipated from a general shift in emphasis to administrative preparedness for all major civilian disasters that may, and inevitably will, take place? Disaster planning and operations will make it possible to: (1) induce more intensive and more sustained citizen interest and participation; (2) provide experience for the personnel who must cope with an atomic emergency if and when that arrives; (3) create administrative arrangements for the planned, cooperative utilization of existing community facilities so that emergency operations will become a matter of standard operating procedure; (4) save civilian lives and property that would otherwise be needlessly destroyed; and (5) induce greater legislative support by proffering a program which offers real, immediate and measurable benefits in which local electorates, as such, can become interested.

---

[2] See "Volunteer Rescuers on Guard," the Review, November 1951, page 527.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Reorganization Proposed for District of Columbia

Aim of Governmental Efficiency Furthered

THERE has been much discussion and controversy among officials and citizens of Washington, D. C., concerning reorganization of the District of Columbia government proposed by the district commissioners and the Federal Bureau of the Budget. President Truman on May 1 transmitted to Congress a plan under authority of the reorganization act of 1949, representing chiefly the ideas of the district commissioners and giving them substantial power to reorganize administration. The plan of the Budget Bureau was a modified council-manager form, necessarily with the council not elected but appointed by the president, as is the case now.

In his message to Congress the president expressed his desire for district home rule but stated that this could not be accomplished under the reorganization act. He urged enactment of home rule legislation.

The plan proposed is known as Reorganization Plan No. 5 of 1952. If not rejected within 60 days by either house by a majority of its total membership, it will become effective.

The District of Columbia has a unique commission type of government, which dates from 1874 when Congress suddenly terminated self-government and created a temporary three-member commission appointed by the president to administer district affairs pending development of a new plan. Four years later, no plan having been worked out, the appointive three-member commission with modifications was made the district's permanent governing body. Since then the government has grown without plan until it now consists of some 80 separate agencies of which 50 are boards or commissions. While the board of commissioners is the legal head, it lacks effective control over many of the agencies.

The reorganization plan does not, itself, reconstruct the district government. Instead, it empowers the board of commissioners to effect a general reorganization. This is done by first transferring to the board the functions of all but thirteen of the 80 odd agencies and their officers and units, abolishing the agencies and then authorizing the board to delegate its functions to such officers and agencies as it may provide.

The combination of these provisions will give the board complete control over the organization and administration of most of the district government other than the school and library systems. The board will be able, if it sees fit, to consolidate the government into a reasonable number of departments and even to establish a manager or other chief executive officer to supervise and direct administration. The commissioners have pledged themselves to organize the government into departments, but they have also strongly opposed the creation of a manager to perform the supervisory functions now divided among the commissioners with respect to assigned groups of agencies.

The president's plan follows the lines proposed by the board early last winter. At the suggestion of the president an alternative proposal was developed by the Bureau of the Budget which would have substituted for the three-man board of commissioners a commission of five to nine, created a manager to be appointed by the commission, and consolidated administrative agencies into ten departments. The proposal was vigorously attacked by the Board of Trade and part of the press which, for a number of years, have led the fight to prevent legislation providing self-government for the district. The attack on the bureau's proposal stressed the assertion that the community had not been consulted in the development of the plan and that manager government is not being used by any city as large as the district. A real though unexpressed cause of the opposition, however, is believed to have been the fear that the creation of a larger governing body, even though its members necessarily would have to be appointed by the president rather than elected, would assure a measure of popular representation in the local governing body, including some representation of Negroes who make up one-third of the population.

Though the plan proposed does not assure an adequate reorganization, it does make possible a major simplification and modernization of the district government.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The council-manager plan was adopted in **Washington, North Carolina,** (1950 population 9,698) on December 7 by a vote of 786 to 551.

Woodstock, Illinois, (1950 population 7,192) voted 1,421 to 942 on April 29 to adopt the provisions of the council-manager enabling act. This was one of the largest votes ever cast at a special election in that city. The plan was backed by a coalition of the Civic and Independent parties, the new mayor, the new city clerk and at least six of the eight aldermen. It takes effect after the organization of the council under the new mayor and the employment of a manager.

The borough council of **Sharpsville, Pennsylvaina,** (5,414) has adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance.

Needles, California, (4,051) voters adopted the council-manager plan on May 8 by a two-to-one majority.

Sylvania, Georgia, (2,939) on April 15 adopted a council-manager charter drafted by a charter commission.

The city council of **Coon Rapids, Iowa,** (1,676) voted on April 7 to establish the manager plan by ordinance according to Iowa's optional manager law.

The **Massachusetts** Supreme Court in an advisory opinion on April 11 held that no town can amend a town manager charter to any substantial extent without specific state enabling legislation.

At a meeting on April 23 in **Beckley, West Virginia,** attended by city councilmen and others interested in charter revision, Dr. Carl Frasure, head of the Political Science Department at West Virginia University, agreed to a request to submit alternative council-manager plans to the Charter Revision Commission. The commission has recommended a permissive manager plan, discretionary on the part of the city council. Dr. Frasure indicated preference for a definite charter provision for a manager as chief administrative officer rather than a subordinate of the mayor.

Petitions have been circulated in **Marietta, Ohio,** for a vote at the next election on adoption of the council-manager plan.

A proposal to adopt the council-manager form of government in **Nicholasville, Kentucky,** was defeated by a vote of 908 to 234.

Four cities in **Illinois** have defeated proposals to adopt the state's optional council-manager plan law. In **Bushnell,** voting May 13, the vote was 1,258 to 236 against the plan; in **Quincy,** voting May 20, 7,772 to 7,014; in **Galesburg,** the same day, 5,195 to 4,748; and in **Olney,** voting May 27, 1,446 to 535.

A citizens' committee to campaign for the manager plan has been formed in **Rock Island, Illinois.**

The Rotary Club and various other organizations in **Monmouth, Illinois,** are interested in the manager plan.

Voters of **Chisholm, Minnesota,** defeated a charter amendment providing a city manager 1,129 to 475.

At a meeting held under the sponsorship of the Citizenship Committee of the Lions Club, representatives of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, CIO, AFL, League of Women Voters and other local and statewide groups discussed ways and means of enabling **Indiana** cities to adopt the council-manager plan.

In **Topeka, Kansas,** a Committee for City Manager Government has been formed to secure adoption of the plan. It is expected that petitions will be circulated shortly. The League of Women Voters is assisting in the campaign.

The Civic Betterment Committee of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Birmingham, Alabama,** is studying the council-manager plan with a view to sponsoring state legislation to make the plan available for cities.

In **Webster Groves, Missouri,** a movement in favor of the manager plan has been started.

At the city election in **Slaton, Texas,** a proposed charter amendment to permit a popular vote on adopting the manager plan was defeated, 347 to 137. The present charter specifies that Slaton cannot have the manager plan until it attains 12,000 population. The 1950 census showed 5,036.

A campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Helena, Montana.**

At an election on April 8 in **San Leandro, California,** which has had the manager plan since 1928, a proposed charter amendment to make the mayor elective instead of being chosen by the council was defeated 2,835 to 2,645. Another proposition, adopted 3,123 to 2,307, provides for nomination of six councilmen by districts and one at large and the election of all councilmen at large for four years.

The sixth annual institute for **Florida** city managers was held at Ocala, April 17-19, with 30 of Florida's 60 city managers in attendance. The institute was under the auspices of state-supported colleges and the Florida City Managers' Association.

Rhode Island Cities Seek New Home Rule Charters

Voters of Rhode Island continue their interest in securing new charters. Under the state's home rule constitutional amendment of 1951 machinery for new charters is in motion in some eight cities.

The commission recently elected in Pawtucket has been holding hearings on such matters as the form of government, partisan versus nonpartisan elections, and other questions. Civic groups generally are supporting the council-manager plan with nonpartisan elections while Mayor McCarthy and other public and party officials are backing the strong mayor plan with partisan elections. In a poll of the Business Chamber, the vote in favor of the manager plan was 255; in favor of the strong-mayor plan, 49. A similar poll among League of Women Voters members showed 62 for the manager plan, three for the strong mayor.

Woonsocket, which has been ruled for years by a tight political machine, revolted in a special election on April

22 and chose an independent charter commission of nine members endorsed by the newly formed Woonsocket Citizens' League, as against the machine candidates.

Other cities in Rhode Island with charter commissions at work include East Providence, Newport, Bristol, Jamestown and Central Falls. North Kingstown will decide as to electing a charter commission in June. In Warwick a petition for a charter commission has been circulated.

Four of the nine U. S. cities over 5,000 with bicameral legislative bodies are in Rhode Island — Pawtucket, Woonsocket, Central Falls and Newport. It seems to be generally agreed in all these communities that the two-house bodies should be eliminated in favor of unicameral councils.

Most of the commissions now at work hope to finish their drafts in time for submission of charters to the voters at the November election.

'City Beautiful' Movement Revives

In reporting a Dearborn, Michigan, ordinance establishing a fifteen-member City Beautiful Commission, *The American City* asserts that a revival of the "city beautiful" movement seems to be in the making. The magazine comments: "Several cities have recently adopted ordinances which restore the importance of esthetics in municipal life, after long neglect of the city beautification efforts which flourished so vigorously in the early 1900s."

The Dearborn ordinance requires the new commission to develop plans for the beautification of streets, alleys, utility installations, parks, playgrounds, streams, yards, lots and buildings, and for improving the health, sanitation, safety and cleanliness of the city; to foster the prevention of fires, disease and other casualties; to encourage the planting and preservation of trees, shrubbery and flowers; to collect and study information on community improvements and make recommendations thereon; and to promote public interest in the general improvement of the city's appearance. The powers and duties of other city agencies are not to be abridged or supplanted.

Ex-officio members of the commission are the directors of public works, safety and research, the health officer and the city planner. Otherwise the commission members are unpaid.

Pittsburgh Establishes Complaint Bureau

In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the handling of all complaints regarding municipal services has been centralized in one bureau—the city service center. All complaints against the city are received by the center, which refers them to the proper municipal departments for action. Information is forwarded to the departments on brief forms, carbon copies of which are kept by the center for follow-up purposes.

Complaints have generally been about such things as clogged sewers, faulty water meters, uncollected garbage, etc., and formerly took up much of the time of individual departments.

It is also planned to have the center serve as a municipal information bureau giving out weather reports and data on civic events.

Model Traffic Ordinance for Colorado Cities

As a result of joint efforts by the Bureau of State and Community Service of the University of Colorado and the Colorado Highway Safety Council, a model traffic ordinance for Colorado cities and towns has been drafted.

Since Colorado has an adoption by

reference law, this clears the way for municipalities to bring their traffic laws into conformity with state laws and national recommendations with a minimum of effort and expense.

Actual drafting of the ordinance was the work of the University Bureau. State departments assisted substantially and paid for publication of the 52-page booklet.

Cities Increase Efforts in Public Reporting

Annual reports issued by cities in the United States in 1951 showed a 50 per cent increase over 1949, according to the International City Managers' Association. Even last year, however, the number issued was only 154. These reports were more widely distributed—an average of one copy for every five citizens—and were more timely and shorter than in previous years. A typical 1951 report was 32 pages long and issued thirteen weeks after the end of the year covered as compared with the 1949 report which contained 48 pages and appeared after 22 weeks.

The most popular size for annual reports was the six-by-nine inch booklet; however eleven cities issued their reports in tabloid or newspaper size and format. The reports were distributed by mail in most cities. Copies were sent to each taxpayer in 22 cities, while all utility customers in 21 cities received a copy by mail. Most of the reports were printed by letterpress, but nineteen were printed by offset and sixteen were stencil-duplicated.

Cities also reported using other media to tell their story. Of the 154 cities which issued reports, 21, or one-seventh, also made use of radio or television. The use of motion pictures, like that of radio, decreased in 1951 from the previous year, as only eleven cities utilized this method as compared with sixteen in 1950. Among other reporting techniques used were special leaflets or folders enclosed with tax or utility bills in 66 cities, the open house in ten cities and special pamphlets issued for residents of newly annexed areas.

Penn State Sponsors Municipal Report Contest

To encourage the publication of more understandable annual statements the Institute of Local Government at the Pennsylvania State College has announced a contest for modernized reports.

The competition will be open to all Pennsylvania towns, cities, boroughs, townships, counties and municipal authorities. The reports will be judged on content, understandability, utility, attractiveness, and uniqueness of preparation. Appropriate certificates of award will be presented to winners in each division.

Arkansas Establishes State Medical Examiner

By Act 398 of 1951, Arkansas established the Office of State Medical Examiner under an ex officio commission composed of the dean of the Medical School of the University of Arkansas, director of the State Police and director of the State Board of Health. This commission is given authority to make rules and the head of the Department of Pathology of the Medical School is named to serve as director of the Office of State Medical Examiner.

The act requires the Medical School to provide a central office and laboratory for autopsies and pathological, bacteriological and toxicological examinations.

Elective county coroners remain unaffected except that they, as well as any other person having knowledge of a death which might have been caused by a criminal act, must report such deaths to the state medical examiner who has authority to require an autopsy. The power of the coroners to exhume bodies has been fortified and embalmers are put under penalties to prevent them from proceeding with embalming in suspicious cases.

Passage of the act is the result of the activities of Dr. Anderson Nettleship, now the state medical examiner under the new law, who carried on a one-man campaign to exhibit the inadequacies of the elective county coroners' medico-legal work and, without stirring up opposition from coroners and other interested parties such as the State Embalmers Association, secured passage of the bill unanimously in the Senate and with but three dissenting votes in the House.

R.S.C.

The Clock But Not The Law Was Stopped

The West Virginia Supreme Court has ruled that the 1951 state legislative district apportionment was legally adopted. The act was challenged because a senator had inserted in the *Journal* a statement calling attention to the "stop-the-clock" procedure employed at the end of the session. The court stated that the record was not so confused that "extrinsic evidence" had to be examined. The apportionment act had reduced the number of delegates from Ohio County from four to three.

PAUL D. STEWART

Marshall College

Arizona Legislature Invokes Referenda

In its second annual session, the twentieth Arizona legislature made another attempt to provide for a limited amount of administrative reorganization, referred the state retirement system, adopted by initiative action in 1948, to the voters for final action in the November election, rejected a measure to establish an easier municipal annexation procedure, and failed to initiate two constitutional amendments to reapportion membership in the State Senate and limit the size of the House.

The legislature in 1951 provided for consolidation of a number of agencies and functions into the departments of (1) public health, welfare and correction, (2) finance, (3) law and, as part of the program, submitted two constitutional amendments and a referendum measure to the voters. By referendum proceedings, opponents prevented establishment of the three new departments until the voters could pass upon the program in November 1952.

Because this legislation, if approved, could be changed only by direct action of the voters and hence would be inflexible, and possibly because of the criticism that the legislature had acted arbitrarily in adopting the reorganization measures, the 1952 legislative session repealed the 1951 program. In its stead, it placed on the November ballot three propositions which, if adopted by the voters, will authorize the legislature to set up three new departments—health and welfare, finance, and law.

Legislative action in referring the public employees' retirement act to the voters was supported by the argument that the public, in light of figures on probable cost as presented by the legislative committee on state operations, should have a second opportunity to pass on the question. Proponents state that a majority of the legislators are opposed to the law, as evidenced by the steadfast refusal of the legislature since 1948 to appropriate money for the plan.

The committee on state operations has estimated that activation of the retirement law would cost approximately eight and a half million dollars during the first year. Accepting this, the legislature has provided for a referendum on a measure which would appropriate $8,503,253 if the voters do not repeal the law.

Spokesmen for the Arizona Employees Association and other advocates of the retirement system claim that $1,284,000 is sufficient to activate the plan, if prior service benefit costs are spread over a period of 25 years. They point out that this figure is in line with the recommendations of the actuary engaged by the committee on state operations to study costs.

The constitutionality of the legislative action referring the retirement law, adopted as an initiative measure, is questioned on the ground that it violates the constitution which states: "The veto power of the governor, or the power of the legislature, to repeal or amend, shall not extend to initiative or referendum measures approved by a majority vote of the qualified electors."

The defeated simplified annexation procedure bill would have permitted ten or more real property taxpayers to petition a city or town for annexation of the area in which they resided. The city or town council would have been given discretionary authority to submit the question of annexation to the real property taxpayers of the area at a special election. If a majority approved, the council by ordinance would proceed with annexation.

The legislature killed two proposed amendments which would have given each of the state's fourteen counties equal representation in the Senate. Five now have two senators each and the other nine one each. The amendments were backed by three of the faster growing counties which, although they have but one senator each, have larger populations than some of the counties with two. One of the amendments would have fixed the size of the House at 75, the other at 81. The present House consists of 72 members, that of the next legislature will number 80.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Two States, One City Seek Students for Employees

Special efforts to recruit high school and college graduates for public employment have recently been made by the Mississippi State Board of Health, the state of Illinois and Kansas City, Missouri.

Specially designed announcements have been sent by the Mississippi Board of Health to all accredited high schools, junior and senior colleges in the state, listing jobs for which different types of students are eligible, together with salaries and knowledge or performance requirements.

In Illinois civil service representatives have been making trips to some 60 high schools and fourteen colleges and universities throughout the state attempting to recruit graduates for their job openings. On these visits they also instruct faculty members as to administering tests for recruits.

Kansas City's personnel department has sent out a special letter inviting all high school graduates to take typing and stenographic examinations and describing the advantages of city employment.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Cities and Counties Seek Cooperative Bases

Philadelphia Appoints Integration Committee

FURTHER steps to develop a plan of complete integration of city and county governments in Philadelphia[1] were taken recently by the city council when it created an Advisory Consolidation Commission to "make a detailed study of all problems dealing with city-county consolidation and the merger and integration of former county functions in the structure of the city government and the appropriate means for implementing the consolidation amendment."

The commission is an eleven-member, bipartisan body appointed jointly by the mayor and the president of the council. The ordinance provides an appropriation of $10,000 for the commission's expenses.

The Contra Costa, California, Intergovernmental Conference, composed of representatives of the taxpayers and major local governments in the county, recently developed a plan of coordinated capital improvement construction. The county board of supervisors and the mayors of the municipalities currently are developing the plans of their respective jurisdictions to effectuate the recommendations of the conference.

A study by the American Municipal Association indicates that the joint occupancy of building office space by city and county governments is proving a success in at least the 35 communities studied. In fifteen cases the buildings were owned jointly by the city and county governments, in eleven the counties owned the buildings in which the municipalities occupied space, and in the remaining nine the buildings were owned by municipalities and office space was furnished to some or all county offices.

Extremes are noted. The governments of Ohio County and Wheeling, West Virginia, occupy an 80-year old building, and Greenville County and Emporia, Virginia, occupy a 171-year old edifice. These may be contrasted with the $20,000,000 city-county building now being constructed jointly by Wayne County and Detroit, Michigan. Plans for large jointly owned buildings are also developing in Oakland County and Pontiac, Michigan, and in Dane County and Madison, Wisconsin.

A Florida state legislator has recommended removal of the Halifax area from Volusia County and establishment of this area as a separate city-county.

The Daytona Beach *Evening News*, in editorial support of the proposal, points out the advantages of a single set of local administrative officials under the general supervision of a city-county manager. The editorial refers to the attitude of Daytona Beach's new city manager as serving as an effective model for the prospective city-county unit.

North Carolina Counties Cooperate on Library Service

The boards of commissioners of Surry and Stokes Counties, North Carolina, have agreed to share the services of a chief librarian. Under this arrangement, the librarian will be paid jointly by the two counties and divide her time between them.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1951, page 591.

Since both counties will have the services of a certified librarian under this arrangement, they will be entitled to share in the state aid fund for library services.

Tri-county Health Unit to Dissolve

The three-county health unit serving Midland, Ector and Howard Counties, Texas, will disband on July 1 because two of the counties believe they are sufficiently large to maintain independent units. The state health officer recently declared that "The three-county setup has been unsatisfactory because it covered too big a territory and spread services too thin. One man couldn't cope with all the problems."

Ramsey County Adopts Pay-As-You-Go Plan

Ramsey County, Minnesota, which established a pay-as-you-go plan in 1942, will see success by the end of 1956. The county has a population of more than 350,000, and its indebtedness in 1942 was in excess of $13,000,000. No bonds have been issued by the county since that time, and the indebtedness was reduced, as of January 1, 1952, to $284,000. Another $157,000 will be retired during the current year and the very small balance will be paid off during the following four years.

Economic Survey Proposed for Montgomery County, Md.

The manager of Montgomery County, Maryland, has proposed to the county council that an economic base survey be made similar to that recently completed in Arlington county, Virginia.[1]

The Montgomery County Real Estate Board is urging the study, but it has met opposition from the Upper Montgomery County Planning Commission. The latter has released a progress report in which it urged that Upper Montgomery County remain agricultural in nature.

Prince George's County Discusses Recommendations

The survey report on administrative improvement of Prince George's County, Maryland, continues to be the subject of many hearings and discussions.[2]

Currently, a series of three hearings are being conducted by the Board of County Commissioners, and the Citizens' Committee for Good Government is continuing its drive for home rule, the manager plan and other proposals of the report.

Wisconsin Court Upholds County Zoning

The Wisconsin State Supreme Court recently upheld the constitutionality of county zoning ordinances. The chief of the State Planning Board hailed the decision as a milestone. He explained that it was the most important court decision in the quarter century since Wisconsin counties have adopted ordinances under powers detailed to them by state statute. Wisconsin was the first state in the country to authorize counties to adopt rural zoning ordinances and many counties, in cooperation with town boards, have put land use rules into effect.

After the court litigation was begun, electors of one town at a special meeting voted to rescind its zoning ordinance. The court held, however, that the town meeting cannot withdraw from previous action of the town

(Continued on page 311)

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1952, page 256.

[2] *Local Government in Prince George's County, Maryland.* Distributed by Citizens Committee for Good Government, 1951. 85 pp. See the REVIEW, February 1952, page 100.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Home Rule Changes for New York Counties

New Law Eliminates P. R. and Other Election Options

A BILL just passed by the New York legislature[1] will take away many of the present options for the government of New York counties outside New York City, including proportional representation, nonpartisan voting and other variations from the usual method of electing New York county boards of supervisors. If all goes well, however, another action taken by the same legislature will lead to even wider home rule than counties have enjoyed hitherto.

The two measures were both sponsored by the state's Uniform County Law Commission, which has been revising and recodifying the statutes relating to county government. The commission was disturbed by the great length and complexity of the optional county government law, made up of several legislative enactments with overlapping options, and has now replaced it by a much shorter alternative county government law.[2]

The old law stays in effect until May 15, 1954, however, and any county which elects in the meantime to act under it can do so and keep whatever optional plan it adopts. It would thus be possible, for example, either this year or next, for a county to adopt by petition and popular vote the manager plan of government with a governing board elected by proportional representation on a nonpartisan ballot at large, as recommended in the *Model County Manager Charter* of the National Municipal League.

Because the Uniform County Law Commission realized that it was reducing the available forms of government to an extent that might leave some counties unsatisfied, it also sponsored a constitutional amendment to let counties draft, adopt and amend their own charters, as cities can, subject to such restrictions as the legislature may impose by general law. This amendment passed both houses unanimously. If passed again by next year's legislature it will go to the people in the fall of 1953. Under its terms the legislature will be required to set up the new home rule machinery not later than July 1, 1955. The withdrawal of the right of counties to adopt improved election methods may therefore be but temporary.

Citizens and Press Protest Legislation Against P. R.

On May 6 Governor Dever of Massachusetts signed the measure described last month in this department, lowering the number of signatures required on a petition for a referendum to repeal proportional representation in cities governed by "Plan E" council-manager charters. Now only 5 per cent of the registered voters need sign, whereas other referenda to adopt or repeal municipal charters require the signatures of 10 per cent of those eligible to vote.

Nine of the twelve legislators from Worcester districts voted for the measure, a circumstance which prompted Thomas S. Green, Jr., president of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, to comment:

---

[1] Chapter 834 of the Laws of 1952.

[2] See "New County Plans Offered," by Richard A. Atkins, page 288, this issue.

> What is happening is important to Worcester voters because it involves imposing the preferences of the state legislature on a matter we in Worcester should decide. Plan E was adopted in Worcester by a two-to-one vote. The P. R. method of voting has been used twice so far and with success. Provisions exist for changing to some other charter if the voters so choose. But the legislature wants to eliminate P. R. because it weakens partisan political control of the city government by giving the voters direct control over the elections. It is doing everything it can to force a referendum on P. R. since it has been unable so far to abolish it outright.
>
> When we adopt a new charter by a two to one vote and then most of our state legislators work to change it, are they representing us?

The Worcester League of Women Voters, in a wire to Governor Dever urging him to veto the measure, declared: "This 50 per cent reduction in the number of signatures will make it too simple to wage a campaign against a form of election that has proved advantageous to our city. Our government should be spared such unreasonable expense."

Three legislators from Lowell, another Plan E city, voted for the measure, but two representatives from Lowell and two representatives of adjoining municipalities opposed it. The vote (on reconsideration) in the House of Representatives was 112 to 103 for the measure.

The Lowell *Sun* accused the legislature of harassment and "dealing in small potatoes," remarking editorially:

> Ever since the Plan E form of government was adopted in a number of Massachusetts cities, a coterie of politicians in the legislature has been attempting to deal it out of existence by harassing legislation. Some moves have been successful, others were not.
>
> The latest instance, while not of much significance, nevertheless demonstrates the end to which those who oppose the Plan E form will go. There are a number of model forms of charters in effect in Massachusetts, but the legislature, by a narrow margin, recently adopted legislation which singles out the Plan E form with respect to the manner in which it may be placed on the ballot with a view to repealing it. . . . It seems that the legislature is dealing in small potatoes.

Said the Worcester *Gazette,* in its editorial, "A Law that Loads the Dice Against P. R.":

> This law is absolutely unjust. It discriminates. It rigs the mechanism so that it is easier to get P. R. repealed than any other law. . . . Opponents of P. R.—and make no mistake about it, they are using P. R. to get at Plan E—have tried every known dodge to rob Worcester and other Plan E cities of the kind of voting which cripples ward politicians. They finally resorted to this device and put it over.
>
> Those who voted for it—Republicans or Democrats — should be thoroughly ashamed of themselves.

A move is already under way in Cambridge to place the repeal of P. R. on the November ballot.

Local Elections in Hesse Held by List System

Local elections were held in Hesse, one of the states of the West German Federal Republic, on May 4 by a party list form of P. R. Most interest abroad centered on the statewide distribution of party strength revealed in the totals of votes for all communities. These showed a gain for the Social Democrats compared with the last local elections held in 1948 or the federal elections in 1949, although the percentage of votes cast by them was less than that obtained in the state elections of 1950, according to the *New York Times.*

Lewis Jerome Johnson — P. R. Advocate

Lewis Jerome Johnson, a member of the Proportional Representation League's Advisory Council since 1923, died on April 15 at the age of 85. Dr. Johnson, professor of civil engineering at Harvard University and designer of Harvard Stadium, was long active in the improvement of local government. He was especially interested in the use of proportional representation for city councils and was the principal author of legislation providing this form of election, together with the council manager plan, as an option (Plan E) for Massachusetts cities. The proposal, passed by the legislature in 1938, was adopted by his home city of Cambridge in 1940 and is now in use also in five other cities in the state. Dr. Johnson was a leader in the initiative and referendum movement, in particular the successful effort to secure the constitutional initiative in Massachusetts in 1917.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 308)

board, despite the fact that municipalities can repeal as well as enact ordinances. The court pointed out that the zoning ordinance actually was enacted by the county board, and the town action was merely acquiescence to make the ordinance effective within its limits.

Two Oregon Counties Defeat Manager Plan

New charters providing the manager plan for two Oregon counties were defeated on May 16. In Lane County the vote was 24,400 to 11,182; in Clackamas the defeat was by 750 votes out of 27,000. Both counties had turned down similar charters in previous years.

Republican and Democratic party officials worked against the new documents. In Clackamas, where the local newspaper and county employees opposed the manager plan, the "Joint Committee Opposed to the County Manager Form of Government" was composed largely of committeemen of both parties.

Citizen groups working for manager government in the two counties have agreed that the campaign for efficient government and a manager plan charter will continue.

National County Association Meets This Month

Between 800 and 1,000 county officials and guests are expected to attend the sixteenth annual convention of the National Association of County Officials to be held June 15-18 in San Antonio, Texas. On the program will be former Congressman Martin Dies, who will speak on "Current Trends and the Public Servant," a discussion meeting on "Recent Developments in Federal-County Relations," and a luncheon meeting to discuss "Advances in Improved Administration."

County and Town Officers Organize in Fairfield

The Fairfield County, Connecticut, Association of First Selectmen has organized to pool experiences and opinions for solving mutual and individual problems. It will study overall problems in zoning, state aid to towns in welfare cases and road improvement.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

State Revenues Up, Costs Steady

Debt Reaches New Peak, Reports Census Bureau

REVENUES of the 48 states reached a new peak in fiscal 1951, as did state debt, but expenditures flattened out slightly, principally because of a reduction in unemployment conpensation payments. In contrast to 1950's operations, the states took in more money, including borrowed money, than they expended, including capital expenditures from borrowed funds. These are some of the highlights afforded in the Census Bureau's summary report on 1951 state fiscal operations.[1]

State revenues from all sources in the 1951 fiscal year aggregated $16,858,000,000, an increase of 9.8 per cent over fiscal 1950. This total included borrowing of $1,284,000,000, however, down 10.1 per cent from 1950, and revenue receipts alone at $15,574,000,000 were 11.8 per cent higher than in the preceding period. Sales and gross receipts taxes aggregated $8,934,000,000 up 12.7 per cent; license taxes totaled $1,359,000,000, up 10.7 per cent; individual income taxes represented $805,000,000, up 11.1 per cent; and corporate net income taxes were $687,000,000, up 17.3 per cent, to mention the larger tax items.

Payments from the federal government—for welfare, education, highways, etc.—were $2,508,000,000, only 3.5 per cent higher than in 1950, and receipts from local government amounted to $149,000,000, 1 per cent higher. Employee retirement, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance and similar collections totaled $2,254,000,000, up 22.3 per cent.

Expenditures by the states in 1951 aggregated $15,445,000,000, a mere 2/10 of 1 per cent above 1950. There was a 19.1 per cent gain in expenditures for debt redemption, to $346,000,000 in 1951, and expenditures for all other purposes at $15,098,000,000 were 2/10 of 1 per cent lower than in the preceding year. This was due almost entirely to a 50.3 per cent reduction in unemployment compensation payments, which dropped from $1,845,000,000 in 1950 to $916,000,000 in 1951.

By object, major 1951 expenditures included education, $3,722,000,000, up 8.7 per cent; highways, $2,989,000,000, up 11.5 per cent; health and hospitals, $1,139,000,000, up 9.3 per cent; and interest on debt, $130,000,000, up 19.3 per cent. Expenditures included $2,506,000,000 for capital outlays, 11.8 per cent more than in 1950.

Total state indebtedness at the end of fiscal 1951 was at a new peak, $6,223,000,000. This was an increase of 17.7 per cent over 1950. Long-term debt was $5,974,000,000, up 15.6 per cent, while short term debt rose 112 per cent to $249,000,000. The net long term debt, after deduction of sinking fund assets, etc., was $4,944,000,000, a rise of 16.4 per cent.

California, New York and Pennsylvania were the big three in revenues, borrowing and expenditures, but not in the same order. In revenues exclusive of borrowing, California led with $1,608,000,000, closely followed by New York with $1,605,000,000, while Pennsylvania showed $1,021,-

---

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Summary of State Government Finances in 1951.* Washington, D. C., 1952, 20 pp. Tables.

000,000. Pennsylvania led in the amount of borrowing, $160,000,000, followed by California, $151,000,000, and New York, $123,000,000. Total expenditures were $1,468,000,000 for New York, $1,446,000,000 for California, and $1,277,000,000 for Pennsylvania.

Smallest revenues were shown by Nevada, $32,000,000, which also ranked 48th in expenditures, $26,000,000. The state's borrowing of $240,000 was also the smallest among the states which borrowed money during the year. However, nine states reported no borrowing: Arizona, Maine, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont and Wisconsin.

In terms of total debt outstanding at the end of fiscal 1951, Pennsylvania ranked first, with $958,650,000, followed closely by New York with $941,163,000. Illinois was third with $405,708,000, and California fourth, $395,231,000. On a per capita basis, the indebtedness ranged down from $260.83 in Delaware to less than $1 in Nebraska. For the four states with the largest dollar indebtedness, the per capitas were: Pennsylvania, $90.90; New York, $63.07; Illinois, $46.36; and California, $37.31.

Personal Earnings Taxes Void

Efforts of two cities to tax income of individuals in the guise of a tax based on earnings were voided late in 1951 by the courts in Michigan and Washington. In the former, the Saginaw County Circuit Court ruled that a 1 per cent earnings tax approved by Saginaw voters at an election in May 1951, and scheduled to take effect January 1, 1952, was invalid because the home rule act limited taxes for local use to those under general law for state, county and school purposes, and incomes are not included as taxable subjects under the general law.

In the Washington case, a tax levied by the city of Bellingham at 1/10 of 1 per cent of the earnings of "every person engaging in the city in any activity" was ruled invalid in so far as it affected workingmen, on the basis that it was an income tax, not an excise levied under a licensing ordinance, and discriminatory since it was not assessed equally against all income.

St. Louis Earnings Tax Authorized

In Missouri the legislature has authorized St. Louis to impose again a tax on earnings at a rate up to 1 per cent and to require employers to withhold the taxes on all salaries, wages and other compensation paid to residents and non-residents. St. Louis first imposed an income tax in August 1946, when a ¼ of 1 per cent levy was enacted. This ordinance was invalidated within a year by the state courts, however. Thereafter the legislature remedied the court's objections and the city levied a tax at ½ of 1 per cent from September 1, 1948, to July, 1950, when the enabling law expired.

Norfolk Issues Assessor's Manual

Preparation of procedural manuals for the guidance of staff workers in the various departments of city, county and local governments has become fairly commonplace, but it is not often that such a manual recommends itself to the lay citizen as interesting and informative reading on some phase of local government. Such a manual has been prepared for the real estate assessor's office in Norfolk, Virginia, however, and, according to a recent notice from the city, has been printed and made available to the general public and interested officials elsewhere.[1]

---

[1] *Manual for the Office of the Real*

While the volume is, of course, specifically directed at assessing problems and techniques in Norfolk, it contains a good summary of the background necessary for an understanding of assessment work and numerous photographs and tables illustrating the application of formulae to specific types of properties. Its price (five dollars per copy) will limit its availability to the general reader with limited interest, but to many organizations currently engaged in studying local problems of property valuation it will undoubtedly be stimulating.

Assessor Uses Photo Review

Visual education, now a byword in the nation's schoolhouses, has been taken up by the Board of Assessment Review in Detroit as a means of bringing added pertinency to hearings on complaints of property owners.

Based on initial experience, the procedure calls for the taking of a picture of the property at the time the complaint is filed, and the printing of the photo on a small glass projector slide. At the hearing the picture of the property is flashed on a screen, illuminating the proceedings to everyone's evident satisfaction. According to the National Association of Assessing Officials, property owners and assessors have both been highly pleased with the procedure.

Bond Field Offers Some Unusual Developments

Several recent developments in the field of state-local financing emphasize the fact that even routine fiscal transactions do not follow an unvaryingly set pattern.

In New Jersey, where a new State Division of Investment was formed last year[1] following allegations of unbusinesslike practices in purchasing securities for the investment of various state funds, something of a milestone in state-local investment policy was reached when the state went into the commercial paper market to better the yield on its invested funds.

Invested by New Jersey was $12,000,000 of idle funds, largely from motor vehicle registration fees and prepayment of other taxes not required until November. The loan, advanced to the General Motors Acceptance Corporation[2] for nine months, carries an interest rate of 2½ per cent. It is believed to be the first instance of the purchase of commercial paper for investment purposes by any governmental unit in the United States. That the deal was advantageous to the state is indicated by reports that New Jersey's investments in 1951 yielded approximately 2.2 per cent.

Housing Bonds Cancelled

Another unusual development was the cancellation of a proposed multimillion-dollar offering of housing authority bonds following passage of a bill, by the House of Representatives, amending the housing act to prohibit payment of federal subsidies to a housing authority where any tenants were members of "subversive" organizations. The housing bonds are in effect guaranteed by the federal subsidies and federal housing officials, who under the law make the formal award of the bonds, withdrew the of-

---

Estate Assessor of the City of Norfolk, Virginia. Norfolk 10, Assessor's Office. 1952.

[1] See "Care of State Trust Funds," the REVIEW, May 1951, page 254.

[2] G. M. A. C. is the financing agency of the motor manufacturing corporation, its funds used largely to finance the installment purchase of automobiles; like several of the other large installment financing concerns, it has for years placed its paper privately rather than through commercial paper dealers.

fering because the amendment clouded the security of the obligations. It was held that the administrative problem of screening and investigating tenants so as effectively to avoid the withholding of subsidy payments was insuperable.

Finally, the state of Maryland, which offered $20,532,000 bonds for sale in April, got itself involved in what proved to be an impossibly complicated formula for determining the best bids, and had to reject all bids and readvertise the sale. The state had offered two school issues and three for other purposes. It indicated it would receive individual bids or bids on an all-or-none basis, with bids submitted on an all-or-none basis not to be accepted unless those for the two school loans included were the highest received for each of the two school loans. The official explanation of the reason the bids were rejected, as published in *The Daily Bond Buyer,* indicates the complexities that arose:

"All bids submitted on the all-or-none basis, including the two school issues, were less than the individual bids on the two school issues. The all-or-none bids were rejected because they did not contain the highest bid for the two school issues.

"There was a bid submitted for each of the five issues not contingent upon the all-or-none acceptance. In computing the cost to the state, it developed that acceptance of the five individual bids in the aggregate would cost the state approximately $41,000 more than the best all-or-none bid which was submitted but ruled out because it did not qualify."

JERSEY JUSTICE

(Continued from page 287)

and occasionally in a sensational story involving the misconduct of an individual judge. Litigants who have had experience in the courts are likewise usually silent, except where they have lost a law suit and rationalize a proper defeat as a miscarriage of justice.

A judge cannot, consistent with judicial dignity and decorum, undertake to advance his own worth and merit in the public eye. The Administrative Office, however, is a suitable vehicle to bring to the attention of the public information on the judicial system. This phase of public relations has been carefully observed in the Administrative Office. Press releases have been prepared on the new rules and amendments adopted by the court. Bulletins have been issued from time to time on the work of the judicial conference and special committees appointed by the court to solve problems in the system.

The Administrative Office of the Courts has had an important part in aiding the operations of a modern and highly integrated judicial system. It has lightened the ministerial burdens and responsibilities that are placed on the chief justice and other members of the Supreme Court, and has enabled them to devote the greater portion of their time and energies to problems of over-all policy and their purely judicial duties.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Memphis Committee Seeks Large Registration

Certificates Awarded Clubs, Businesses, etc., 100% Signed

WITH 5,000 persons registered during the month of March alone, the Civic Research Committee of Memphis, Tennessee, is continuing its drive to make all the city's citizens eligible for voting. Since Memphis has permanent registration, such success means that, unless voters change their addresses or names, they are continued on the registration list without further effort.

The committee, both last year and this, has divided its registration drive into three phases. The first, called the courthouse campaign, is conducted during March when automobile tags go on sale at the courthouse. Persons applying for tags are handed circulars by volunteer workers urging them, while they are at the courthouse, to register also if they have not already done so, thus saving a second trip.

In the second phase of the campaign clubs, unions, industrial plants and businesses are urged to secure a 100 per cent registration of members or employees. The third is a ward effort, with captains in each ward precinct heading a door-to-door drive with volunteer doorbell ringers. Persons unregistered are urged to do so and transportation to the courthouse is offered.

The Civic Research Committee held a general membership meeting on March 10, reports Charles E. Pool, executive secretary, at which 78 firms and businesses were awarded certificates "for the patriotic execution of citizenship responsibility" during last year's campaign. After this year's drive is over, certificates will go to clubs, church groups, unions, veterans groups and other organizations, as well as businesses, for a 100 per cent registration of members and their immediate families.

This year the committee is asking the political parties to participate in the drive, to furnish volunteers to canvass neighborhoods on a nonpartisan basis.

The committee has issued an eleven-page mimeographed report, prepared by its Election Locations Committee, on the "Voting Places of the Wards and Precincts in the City of Memphis."

Citizens Take Over a Party Organization

The old and charming town of Greenwich, Connecticut, recently witnessed a citizen uprising which resulted in the wresting of control of the all-powerful Republican organization from a group that had been in power for more than twenty years.

Various citizens who had attempted to make the party organization more democratic in operation and friendly to progressive reforms were thwarted by the party rules. Only two days were allowed, after announcement of the candidates of the organization leaders, to file petitions for independents and only two weeks to conduct a campaign prior to the Republican caucus.

This year, however, independents formed the Republican Citizens Committee, drew up a slate of candidates for 37 of the 40 seats on the Republican Town Committee, and conducted a vigorous campaign. Arguing for direct primaries, members of the group campaigned door to door, advertised in newspapers and distributed circulars by mail.

The Citizens Committee won 34 of the 40 seats.

Civic Group Scares Parties Into Nominating Good Candidates

For years a hotbed of torrid politics, Santa Fe has suddenly seen the light. Last year a group of civic-minded citizens, including members of the League of Women Voters and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, organized the Citizens Union of Santa Fe and enrolled some 400 members pledged to fight for good government and to vote only for honest, able candidates, regardless of party.

Their action evidently frightened the two party organizations, who had been handpicking "third rate hacks" as candidates for city office. Both parties suddenly turned over a new leaf this year and blossomed out with new faces. Both nominated able candidates for mayor who had never held office before and who pledged themselves to work for the council-manager plan. Candidates nominated for the city council were also of much higher grade than usual.

The Citizens Union picked no slate to support but worked to bring all candidates to the attention of the voters. It was felt that, regardless of who was elected, the city would secure able officials. The League of Women Voters published a Voters Directory and held a meeting to which all candidates were invited. The election resulted in a council of five Republicans and three Democrats, with the Democratic candidate chosen as mayor.

Radio Programs Describe Citizen Endeavor

"The People Act," a series of radio programs showing American citizens uniting to solve their community problems, has been on the air over the Columbia Broadcasting System since January.[1] Each program as it is given is made available both in pamphlet form (no charge) and on records (twelve inch LP). The latter, costing $1.85 each, contain two programs. Both pamphlets and records may be secured from The People Act Center, Box 342, State College, Pennsylvania.

The first broadcast was devoted to the story of how the women of Gary, Indiana, united to deal with crime and corruption in their city; the second was on the activities of citizens in Arlington, Virginia, in securing new schools. Other programs given thus far include stories on Blairsville, Georgia; Kansas City, Missouri; Upper Winooski Valley, Vermont; Chicago, Illinois; Tupelo, Mississippi; New Sharon, Maine; Tin Top, Texas; Mt. Adams, Washington; Syracuse, New York; Belleville, Illinois; Seattle, Washington; and Binghamton, New York.

To serve a local need, the Richmond (Virginia) Citizens Association, with the cooperation of three radio stations, presented a series of twelve programs, three each week, during February. Titled "The Citizens Spotlight," the program turned the spotlight on a different function of the city government each week—health, welfare, parks and recreation, fire prevention, schools, etc.

Each program was divided into three parts. In the first, the moderator interviewed the speaker of the evening to develop a background of information on the subject. Next a panel of three representative citizens interviewed the speaker. The last portion was devoted to questions invited from the radio audience by telephone. Response on this was excellent, sometimes as many as 30 questions being

---

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 54.

asked. "We believe," says Thomas H. Austin, executive director of the association, "we passed on to a large segment of citizens information as to how our council-manager form of government is carrying out the major responsibilities of municipal administration."

"Let's Talk Taxes" is the title of a radio program broadcast by the New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation every Saturday evening. It is "designed to answer taxpayers' questions regarding tax matters for all levels of government." Heads of various state departments have taken part in the discussions. Questions are solicited and taxpayers desirous of asking their questions in person are invited to take part in the program.

Education Project Aids Citizenship in Schools

Improving Citizenship Education (44 pages) is "a two-year progress report of the Citizenship Education Project" of Teachers College, Columbia University. A map shows the number of school systems collaborating with the CEP at three consecutive stages of its existence. "By the end of the 1951-52 school year," says the map's caption, "the total number should be over 400."

To quote the pamphlet, "CEP is a service—not a research—project. Its efforts are centered on diffusing among the schools improved teaching methods and a wider variety of instructional materials designed to help pupils become good American citizens. Previous research has already shown that the teaching methods proposed by CEP, and the use of abundant materials, are educationally sound. The kind of citizenship education program stimulated by CEP includes the participation of teachers, administrators, pupils and the general public—both in planning and carrying out the program."

As resource material the organization has published eleven pamphlets lettered from A to K, including these titles: *Knowing and Serving the School, Participating in School Responsibilities, Student Government and Elections, Discovering the Community, Participating in Political Work and Elections, Our Government Machinery in Operation, Reporting on and to the Community, Student Service in the Community, Understanding the Economic Community, Science and Community Problems,* and *Citizenship Education and the National Emergency.*

A "Materials Card File" is available enabling "teachers to acquaint themselves with a wide variety of instructional materials in a relatively short time." An "Organization Guide" is "designed to assist teachers in incorporating laboratory practices and a greater variety of instructional materials" into the courses they now teach.

"Better Citizenship Education can't wait," says the Project. "If CEP is successful in stimulating a diffusion that reaches all American schools in, say, fifteen or twenty years instead of the normal fifty years, it will be the first time so rapid a spread has ever taken place in American education. Diffusion cannot come too fast. H. G. Wells' oft-quoted 'race between education and catastrophe' has increased its tempo immeasurably since he first made the statement in the days of World War I. Education—if it is to win—must be of the kind that produces citizens who accept freedom as their responsibility as well as their right."

Civic Exchange Organized

The Illinois Civic Exchange has been organized to "provide a medium through which Illinois organizations with a civic purpose can exchange information and present their programs to leaders of other civic groups and to provide a medium for joint investigation into matters of common state and local interest." Its functions are informational only. The exchange will endorse no program nor commit its constituent groups in any way. All statewide organizations with a civic purpose may join by paying an annual contribution of $10; individuals may join for a $5 contribution.

Dr. D. E. Lindstrom, professor of rural sociology at the University of Illinois, is chairman; Samuel K. Gove, of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois, is secretary-treasurer. Meetings have discussed the council-manager plan, the recommendations of the Illinois Commission to Study State Government regarding the state welfare department and what needs to be done to implement the study committee's recommendations on all phases of the state government.

The April meeting discussed legislative apportionment. After a talk on the subject by Tom Page, of the University of Illinois, the membership voted to create a committee to study the question.

Facts Forum

Its primary aim to stimulate interest in local, national and international affairs, Facts Forum has been founded to encourage people to organize themselves into discussion groups for an exchange of ideas and information. The forum has prepared a twenty-page prospectus describing its plan of action, available from the Facts Forum, 720 Mercantile Securities Building, Dallas, Texas.

Every three weeks the forum conducts a public opinion poll on a question submitted by lawmakers or other public figures. Letter-writing contests on subjects of current interest, with cash prizes as awards, are also conducted. Anyone may form a local group. The organization is supported by H. L. Hunt of Dallas, Texas. No dues or contributions are solicited from members.

New Publications

A new edition of *They Represent You—in Washington, Albany, New York City* (sixteen pages) has been made available by the League of Women Voters of New York City at ten cents. It lists members of Congress, the New York state legislature, the local city council, with maps to aid the voter in locating his districts and representatives.

A description of the local government setup will be found in *The Friendly Village—Mamaroneck, New York,* (sixteen pages), issued by the League of Women Voters of that community. The leaflet contains a historic sketch, lists governmental services, election information of all kinds, and charts the village government.

Parks and Playgrounds in Tucson (24 pages) was prepared by the League of Women Voters of that city after a survey of the metropolitan community.

Strictly Personal

George A. McLaughlin of Cambridge is reported by the Massachusetts Civic League as its one thousandth member in the league's recent membership drive. Mr. McLaughlin is one of the founders and past president of the Cambridge Civic Association and past president of the Cambridge Research Association. He also helped organize and was first president of the Massachusetts Plan E Association (now the Council-manager Government Association of Massachusetts).

Boards, Commissions Compete with Government

Widely Different Practices in Manager Cities Reviewed

THE habit of entrusting important services to more or less independent boards and commissions dies hard in city government. A recent study prepared for the Des Moines city council by Corbett Long, administrative assistant to the city manager, however, indicates a definite trend away from this practice in larger council-manager cities. The 42-page report, *A Report on Boards and Commissions in Council-Manager Cities with Particular Reference to Des Moines,* was issued in February to help the city council determine what ought to be done about the 24 boards and commissions with administrative responsibilities with which Des Moines is saddled by state law and local ordinance.

The report is based on a survey of approximately half of all council-manager cities over 50,000 population scattered among sixteen states. The survey shows that in order to bring Des Moines, which has more boards than any other city in the group, in line with prevailing practice, it would be necessary to reduce the number of such boards to ten and the powers of some of the ten would need to be substantially curtailed.

Aside from boards of education the only administrative boards found in a majority of the cities reporting are planning, zoning appeals, building code appeals, civil service, public housing, electricians examiners, plumbers examiners. Forty-eight per cent of the cities have library boards with administrative responsibility, while 28 per cent have library boards with advisory duties only and 24 per cent get along without any library board at all. Only 31 per cent of the library boards with administrative powers control the fixing of employees' pay, purchasing and accounting.

Thirty-seven per cent of the cities have administrative park boards, 20 per cent advisory park boards and the largest number, 43 per cent, have no park board. The report finds evidence of a trend away from administrative park boards in that five out of the six cities that had adopted the council-manager plan within the last three years have no park board or only an advisory park board.

Although most of the cities own their own water works, less than one out of four provides water service through an administrative board. Fewer than one out of six have an administrative board with responsibilities for public health service. Forty-two per cent of the cities have advisory health boards.

While three-fourths of the cities have a civil service board with administrative responsibility, 14 per cent use an advisory personnel board only. The report notes "a distinct trend among cities adopting council-manager government in recent years . . . both to place the responsibility for over-all personnel administration with management and to allow the civil service commission or personnel board much wider participation in the personnel program in an advisory capacity."

Des Moines found that it had a number of boards for which it could find no counterpart in any other city. One of these, required by the Iowa code, is the Comfort Station Commission consisting of three persons including at least one woman, responsible for all public comfort stations. Another unique body is the Bench Committee, consisting of the city engineer, the city license collector and city street car supervisor, empowered to "approve applications for licenses to place benches" at bus stops.

The report concludes that, although boards and commissions may be considered a useful means of obtaining desirable citizen participation in city affairs, they should usually have advisory powers only, not legislative and administrative powers. The report argues, "If it is taken for granted that the principle of government by representatives elected by the people and responsible to the people is the democratic way to manage and control all local affairs. then giving to any board or commission the power to modify, contradict, delay or preclude the will of the elective city council obviously is not the means either for the most responsive and responsible government or for the promotion of citizen participation."

Professional groups that maintain that certain local services will not receive proper attention unless managed by independent boards "appear fundamentally to be disputing the validity of representative local government itself," observes the report, which points out also that administrative boards and commissions give the elected representatives of the people an opportunity to evade "part of the total responsibility for local affairs." The report concludes, "There are very few municipal functions which neither a city council nor the management of the city is constituted to handle properly."

Conference on Government

The Empire State Association of Commerce conducted a Conference on Organization and Functions of Government, October 18 and 19, 1951. A number of speeches given at the conference are available in mimeographed form from the association in Albany, N. Y. Among the subjects covered are: New York State's tax system, revenues of local government, town government and officers, the effect of federal actions on state and local finance, the legislative process, and administrative and fiscal management in state government.

New Organization

Three Kansas organizations—Kansas Association of School Boards, Kansas County Commissioners Association and The League of Kansas Municipalities—have joined together in the maintenance of a local government research service.

Bureau Notes

The Governmental Research Association announces the 1952 GRA Annual Awards Competition for the "most noteworthy piece of research" and the "most effective presentation of a subject" submitted by a member agency. The awards will be made at the 1952 annual conference in September.

In a *Special Bulletin*, for April, the Woodbury County (Sioux City, Iowa) Taxpayers Conference has set forth "A General Statement of Policy."

The Michigan State College Governmental Research Bureau, established in July 1951, has published an attractive eleven-page pamphlet presenting information on its aims, current research projects, public service pamphlets and training program.

Summaries of the findings and recommendations of studies made by committees of the Mississippi Economic Council have been published and distributed by the council. The two-color seven-page brochures are entitled: *Why Mississippi Needs a Good Adult Probation Law, Facts About Our State's School Crisis,* and *Ways to Improve Government in Your Home Town.*

The Toledo Municipal League is making a survey of its *Toledo Municipal News.* Through evaluation of the April issue by members, the league hopes to "learn how to improve the *News* so that it will be a more effective medium of citizen education."

The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana held its annual council meeting March 27. A resume of the meeting and the report of the executive director may be found in the April issue of the *PAR Reporter.*

Annual Reports

Annual Report and Year Book 1952. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, 1952. 31 pp.

19th Annual Report. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Economy League, 1952. 16 pp.

26th Annual Report—Taxpayer Plans and Progress. By N. Bradford Trenham. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* April 1952. 8 pp.

Thirty-eighth Annual Report 1952. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1952. 14 pp.

Strictly Personal

Joseph S. Slavet has succeeded Francis X. Moloney as executive secretary of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. Joseph F. Turley has become the new assistant secretary.

Research Reports and Articles

Authorities

Bi-State Port Agency — Compact Would Give Port Unit Many Powers, Subject to Varying Degrees of Control. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 28, 1952. 4 pp.

Budgets

A Report on City and County Budgets 1952. By James E. Larson and Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1952. 64 pp. Tables.

The Story Behind the Tax Cut—The League Analyzes the 1952 Allegheny County Budget. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* March 1952. 10 pp.

Education

City-School Relationship Needs Revision. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), March 1952. 2 pp.

Education—The Finance Problem. Education—Pupil Transportation. Vocational Education. (Staff Reports 22, 28 and 32 to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government.) Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952, 1951 and 1952. 43, 46 and 51 pp. respectively.

Education Salaries. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* April 10, 1952. 4 pp.

Fire Protection

Increased Fire Protection for Harrisburg—An analysis of the distribution of existing fire stations and apparatus as related to the fire protection needs of the city of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Economy League, Dauphin County Branch, 1951. 34 pp.

Initiative and Referendum

The Initiative and Referendum in Maine. By Lawrence Lee Pelletier. Brunswick, Bowdoin College, *Bowdoin College Bulletin,* March 1951. 35 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

Intergovernmental Relations in Public Health. By Laurence Wyatt. (Number 4 in a series of research monographs edited by William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner.) Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1951. 212 pp.

Local Government

Comparison of Borough and Township Government. By Dorothy M. Kirkpatrick. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, 1952. 20 pp.

Parking

Parking in Connecticut Towns and Cities. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Informational Bulletin,* March 1951. 15 pp.

Purchasing

Lower Prices in County Highway Department Purchasing. Schenectady 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* April 9, 1952. 3 pp.

Refuse Collection

Proposed Refuse Collection Ordinance. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* April 4, 1952. 3 pp.

Research

Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Western Governmental Research Association. Berkeley, the Association, 1952. 32 pp. $1. (Apply 346 Library Annex, University of California, Berkeley.)

Research Bureaus

Effective Citizen Action. By Alfred F. Smith. New York 20, Governmental Research Association *GRA Reporter,* March-April 1952. 3 pp.

Retirement Systems

Retirement of Public Employees in Kansas. By William H. Cape. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* April 15, 1952. 3 pp.

Salaries

Report of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on City Salaries and Wages. Rochester, New York, the Committee, 1951. 73 pp.

Taxation and Finance

City Operating Expenditures—Compared with Other Cities, Philadelphia's Per Capita Operating Expenditures Are Small. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 7, 1952. 4 pp.

County Tax Levies Up $61 Million in Six Postwar Years. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* April 1952. 2 pp. 10 cents.

The Permissive Gross Receipts Tax. By Homer E. Scace. Albany, Empire State Association of Commerce, Department of Governmental Affairs, 1951. 16 pp.

"A Tale of Three Cities"—Comparative Tax Rates and Taxes. (Duluth, Minneapolis, St. Paul). **1952 Tax Dollar.** Duluth 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Citizen's Business,* December 26, 1951, and January 25, 1952. 1 and 2 pp. respectively.

Tax Control Is the Solution For Our Tax Problem Here in Dade County. Miami 32, (Florida) Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* March 10, 1952. 5 pp.

Trailers

The Regulation and Taxation of Trailer Housing. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, University of Pennsylvania, *Municipal Administration,* March 1952. 3 pp.

Transit

Transit Situation. Philadelphia Transportation Company's Request for Increased Fares Leads to Discussion of City-P. T. Co. Relations. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 17, 1952. 5 pp.

Municipal Railway Deficit. Transit Fares in Twenty Metropolitan Centers. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, February 15 and 29, 1952. 1 p. each.

Books in Review

Government Organization in Metropolitan Areas. By Betty Tableman. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1951. vii, 200 pp.

The first half of this admirable and important pamphlet looks over the 168 metropolitan areas where 56 per cent of our population dwells and examines the disorderly tangle of governmental problems that have arisen by reason of the sprawling out of population beyond the reach of the old annexation procedures. The makeshift and belated adjustments which time and necessity have produced throughout the country are surveyed and the news of their experience and condition is brought down to date.

The second half relates with similar care and competence the problems of metropolitan areas in Michigan and the failures to solve them by logical processes such as modernizing county governments to enable them to provide municipal types of service over enlarged areas — an advance that county officers themselves have stoutly resisted. Sales of services by cities to their fringe areas are the favorite Michigan palliation of the difficulties. Hopeful interest in county planning is reported.

The value of the volume is in the unique and immense assemblage of past experience rather than in drawing therefrom conclusions and forward programs.

R.S.C.

American Urban Communities. By Wilbur C. Hallenbeck. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1951. 617 pp. $6.

This obviously competent volume undertakes to survey the geographic, historical, governmental, economic and social realities of American cities as such and to gather the significant phenomena into a single up-to-date picture. Its material is largely a selection of the pertinent facts and authoritative reports developed by specialists and the best local workers all over the country—an immense collection, well analyzed and illustrated, uncolored by originality of interpretation or purpose.

Making Good Communities Better. By Irwin T. Sanders. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1950. 174 pp. $2.50.

A common sense check list of methods whereby citizens outside of government can avoid mistakes and stir communities to accomplishment. Seventeen authorities have contributed chapters in identical form on such topics as "Organizing Communities Composed of Diverse Cultural Groups" or "How the Public School Can Serve the Community" or planning a meeting.

The handbook was developed primarily to aid community workers in Kentucky.

The Labor Problem in the Public Service. A Study in Political Pluralism. By Morton Robert Godine. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1951. xii, 305 pp. $5.

The continuing controversy over the rights and responsibilities of government and its employees in their mutual relations has been penetratingly studied and set forth in this compact volume by a participant in industry and an observer of government. It covers a wide scope and shows a sweeping acquaintance with public personnel problems and authorities, administrators and students who have dealt with and written about them—although the style of presentation might well have been more simple.

The author traces the development of labor problems and employee organization in the public service, the theoretical and practical relations of employees and the public employer, the field for employee activity and the forms it takes, and suggests principles and methods for collective negotiation.

The justifications and opportunities for employee organizations are stressed with special emphasis on collective bargaining— which he suggests might be otherwise designated because of vital distinctions between governmental employment and work in the competitive field of private-profit industry. He disallows the strike as a means of enforcing demands but does not rely on a narrow legalistic viewpoint of governmental authoritarianism. He advocates a public wage policy imbued with legislative principles and standards, without undue limitation of administrative action and with adequate opportunity for employee participation in wage determinations within and with the protection of a legal framework of principles and criteria.

He would preserve the right of employee groups to attempt to influence the legislature but says, "A basic purpose of collective negotiation conducted in good faith is to render the resort to lobbying less necessary through the substitution of more satisfactory administrative procedures."

H. M. O.

State Court Systems (Revised). Chicago, Ill., Council of State Governments, 1951. 27 pp. $1.00.

Seven tables setting forth the status of judges in all the states in respect to method of selection, salaries, qualifications, etc., with changes made by the 1951 legislatures, bringing up-to-date the council's similar report of 1950.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Administration

How to Make a Procedure Manual. By H. John Ross. Miami 25, Florida, Office Research Institute (Post Office Box 4099), 1951. 130 pp. Illus. $4.50.

Blighted Areas

Public Services and Blighted Areas. A Study of Two Areas in Louisville, Kentucky. A Joint Report of the Louisville and Jefferson County Planning and Zoning Commission and the City of Louisville Municipal Housing Commission. Louisville, Kentucky, The Housing Commission, 1951. 41 pp.

Consolidation

Annexation, Governmental and Functional Consolidation, and City Planning. Letter from the Board of Public Land Commissioners to the City of Milwaukee Administrative Survey Committee. Milwaukee, Board of Public Land Commissioners, 1952. 11 pp.

Kalamazoo City-township Consolidation? A Report Prepared for the Greater Kalamazoo Home Improvement Committee. By Elton W. Ham. Kalamazoo, Michigan, City-College Bureau of Municipal Research Library, 1951. 61 pp. (Copies available only on loan.)

Council-manager Government

Report on Accomplishments of Commission-Manager Government in the City of Manhattan. Manhattan, Kansas, Office of City Manager, 1952. 7 pp.

Defense Industry

Impact of Defense Industries on Communities—A Selected Bibliography. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1951. 6 pp. 50 cents.

Door-to-door Selling

Restrictions on House-to-House Selling. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Domestic Distribution Department, 1952. 3 pp.

Education

Specialized Services — Cincinnati Public Schools. Superintendent's Annual Report 1950-1951. Cincinnati 2, Public Schools, 1952. 35 pp. Illus.

Fire Prevention

Fire Prevention Ordinances. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1951. 19 pp.

Licenses

Miscellaneous License Fees in New York State Cities and Villages. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors, Bureau of Municipal Information, 1951. 43 pp.

The Use of the Licensing Power by the City of Chicago. By Malcolm B. Parsons. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1952. x, 198 pp. $3.50 paper, $4.50 cloth.

Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Problems — Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on Public Affairs—1951. Wichita, University of Wichita, 1951. 40 pp.

Salaries

Pay Fringe Benefits—Current Municipal Practices. A survey of 28 cities in the 300,000-and-over population group relating to shift differential, overtime, sick leave, holiday and vacation practices. By Robert C. Garnier. Milwaukee, City Service Commission, 1951. 21 pp.

Wage and Salary Survey in Los Angeles County. City of Los Angeles, City Schools of Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, Los Angeles City Housing Authority. Los Angeles 12, Mayor's Office, 1952. 16 pp.

Service Charges

Fire Service Charges to Persons and Agencies Outside of Minneapolis. Minneapolis, Office of Research Engineer, 1951. 10 pp.

Streets

A Guide to Street Naming and Property Numbering. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1951. 47 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Federal Excise Taxes—Exemptions Allowed Local and State Governments—Revenue Act of 1951. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1952. 4 pp. 50 cents.

Textbooks

Essentials of American Government. By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray (Seventh Edition). New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. x, 774 pp. $5.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme July 1952, **Vacation Driving.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Somebody Gambled. Safety Kit. Chicago 11, Advertising Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Urban Redevelopment

A Selected Bibliography Related to the Legal and Financial Aspects of Urban Redevelopment. By Charles F. O'Brien. Columbus, Ohio State University, College of Law Library, 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Urban Redevelopment—A Tool of Reconstruction. Cleveland 14, Regional Association, 1951. 22 pp.

Water

Fundamental Considerations in Rates and Rate Structures for Water and Sewage Works. A Joint Report. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1951. 126 pp.

Mayor John B. Hynes (left) of Boston and Antonino F. Iovino, chairman of the New Boston Committee, receiving "All-American City" award from Spencer Miller, Jr., (right) who presented the certificate on behalf of the National Municipal League and The Minneapolis Tribune, co-sponsors.

Boston Honored for Civic Progress

Hailing the leadership of the New Boston Committee as "a new moral crusade for civic decency," Spencer Miller, Jr., president of American International College and a member of the National Municipal League's Council, presented the "All-American City" award to the citizens of Boston at a dinner at the Parker House April 22.

The award, received by Mayor John B. Hynes and Antonino F. Iovino, chairman of the New Boston Committee, was, as Dr. Miller pointed out in his address, "in recognition of the progress achieved through intelligent citizen action."

Terming the successful drive of the New Boston Committee to save the city from "Curleyism" one of the "notable revolts of this century," Dr. Miller called it logical and inevitable that it should have been organized and led by youth, as another revolt was by Boston young men at the beginning of the American revolution.

"True reform begins at the grass roots with a few concerned citizens who have a vision of a better social and political order and a will to achieve it," he said. "It is achieved when the will to reform of the few has become the conviction of the many. Our duty as good citizens is to encourage the few in their efforts even as it is our privilege to rejoice with the many in their achievements."

"Responsible participation by the citizens in the processes of local government is both the beginning of wisdom and the essence of responsible citizenship," Dr. Miller went on. "Such a citizenship is our great need today.

"So many of the functions of local government in recent years have been transferred to the state and federal

(*Continued on next page*)

Edy, Noted City Manager, Dies in Houston

John N. Edy who, over a period of twenty years served as city manager in five cities, died May 10 in Houston, Texas, where he had remained as president of the Industrial Road Equipment Corporation after being city manager of that city from 1943 to 1945.

Mr. Edy had been city manager of Berkeley, California; Flint, Michigan; Dallas, Texas; and Toledo, Ohio, in addition to Houston. He also held several high administrative posts with the federal government in Washington. He was president of the International City Managers' Association in 1927-28.

Long active in the National Municipal League, Mr. Edy served on the Committee on a Model City Charter and other committees and had been a member of the Council and an honorary vice president.

H. L. Shattuck Leaves Harvard Leadership

Henry L. Shattuck, long an active leader of the National Municipal League, retired in May as senior member of the seven-man Corporation of Harvard University after twenty-three years of service in Harvard posts.

Mr. Shattuck, who has served at various times as vice president and member of the Council of the League, is of the Boston law firm of Shattuck and Brooks.

Boston Honored

(Continued from previous page)

governments that the average citizen has become bewildered about his role as a participant in civic affairs. He tends to forget that local government is our oldest government and should be our best, that better government begins at home.

"With this loss of participation in local affairs, there has developed a sense of irresponsibility toward all government and even a neglect of the duty of citizenship. The price we pay for gaining our rights as citizens is that we become immediately aware of our responsibilities. Rights have no existence apart from duties. The possession and assumption of both is the earmark of the good citizen."

Dr. Miller urged the New Boston Committee, which began as a group of young people and later expanded to include others, to remain watchful and to maintain a strong, well supported organization.

He stressed the fact that the citizens of a historic city like Boston, well known throughout the world, have a special obligation to demonstrate effective democracy. "One of the finest achievements of your effort is the spirit of friendly tolerance and good will that has prevailed among racial, religious and economic groups composing the New Boston Committee. You have brought all these groups together on the basis of their common citizenship. You have established the fact that the desire for a working democracy prevails among all groups and all men of good will. That, too, is the new Boston spirit —that is the democratic faith at its best."

"The country as a whole has a vital interest in the civic struggles, victories and defeats of every community," he said. "That is why the National Municipal League was founded. That is why it has continued to exist. That explains this latest civic award that has been established. Your victory here in Boston becomes a victory in which the whole nation can take pride—and does."

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

LY 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO. 7

KANSAS CITY, MO.
PUBLIC LIBRARY
JUL 14 1952

NEWS for League Members 329
Taking the Curse Off Politics .... *Editorial*
States Try Reorganization .... *Ferrel Heady*
Reformer's Task Never Done .... *William Seal Carpenter*
What Cure for Voter Apathy? .... *Henry J. Abraham*
Maryland Commission Urges Home Rule 351
Virginia County, City, Town Consolidate 358
Ohio Floats a Record Loan 361
Private Groups Use P. R. 363
Citizens Committee Seeks Urban Highways 365
How to Stretch Research Dollar 371

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.,
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
PAUL D. STEWART, *West Virginia*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

'Best Conference' Pledged in '52

San Antonio will stage the best annual National Conference on Government in the history of the National Municipal League, in the opinion of Alex R. Thomas, regional vice president of the League and chairman of a community-wide San Antonio civic committee in charge of planning for the expected 600 delegates at the Alamo City November 17-19.

Speaking at a recent meeting of the planning committee Mr. Thomas told the group how San Antonio was chosen after local citizens had made a spirited bid for the meeting.

He pointed out the League's San Antonio Conference will mark the third time in 58 years that annual sessions have been held west of the Mississippi River and the first time as far south as San Antonio.

Mr. Thomas revealed that one of the highlights of the San Antonio meeting will be a pre-conference get-together, to be termed "A Night in Old San Antonio," which will be held at historic La Villita, the little Spanish town in the heart of the downtown area and one of the city's show places. Civic clubs and other community organizations will join with the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce in arranging the Mexican dinner and entertainment at La Villita.

(Continued on next page)

A gala welcome is planned for delegates to the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government in San Antonio, November 17-19. Members of the San Antonio committee planning the entertainment include (from left) Mrs. Tom Blue, president, City Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. E. C. Calhoun, president, Business and Professional Women's Club; Mrs. B. H. Passmore, president, League of Women Voters; W. I. Herndon, president, Cosmopolitan Club; Col. T. M. Cornell, president, San Antonio Lions Club.

Seeking a record attendance at all sessions of the League's annual Conference at San Antonio will be this committee composed of (from left) Mrs. Jessie Benavides, Pan-American League; Sam Riklin, president, San Antonio Junior Chamber of Commerce; and Mrs. Josephine H. Henning, Daughters of the Republic, all seated. Standing—Mrs. A. J. Pape, Council of Catholic Women; Mrs. W. W. Jackson, City Federation of Women's Clubs; and Jack Tallent, executive assistant, city of San Antonio.

Best Conference in '52

(Continued from previous page)

Plans also are in the making for sight-seeing trips around the city for early conference arrivals Sunday afternoon which will precede the social event at La Villita.

In arousing local interest in the League's Conference, Mr. Thomas told civic leaders: "The Conference means a lot to the community and its citizens. The three-day meeting will provide an opportunity for all of us to learn how citizens in other areas work together to improve their governments."

Mrs. B. H. Passmore, vice president of the committee and president of the San Antonio League of Women Voters, echoed Mr. Thomas' remarks when she said: "San Antonians will obtain a better understanding of the League's work and will profit by the experiences of citizens from other communities."

Civic organizations and luncheon clubs will be asked to cancel or postpone their own meetings during the three days of the Conference, so that club members will be able to attend the three scheduled luncheons. Each of the luncheons will be sponsored by one or more local organizations with a view of turning out a large attendance.

San Antonio's five universities and colleges also will be invited to share in the planning of the Conference and to participate in the sessions.

A regional committee embracing the entire southwest is being formed under the direction of Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president of San Antonio's Research and Planning Council, who is also serving as secretary of the local Conference committee.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 7 **Total Number 423**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for July 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 329

EDITORIAL COMMENT 332

STATES TRY REORGANIZATION .... *Ferrel Heady* 334

REFORMER'S TASK NEVER DONE ...... *William Seal Carpenter* 339

WHAT CURE FOR VOTER APATHY? .... *Henry J. Abraham* 346

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 351

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 358

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 361

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 363

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 365

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 371

BOOKS IN REVIEW 375

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. **Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.**

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

Taking the Curse Off Politics

THE bad reputation of politicians is no new thing but recent revelations of politico-criminal alliances, influence mongering and official dishonesty have intensified it. The Senate Subcommittee on Ethical Standards in Government, headed by Senator Paul Douglas, shows that much of the evil that creeps into government is admitted through the political door, while less publicized improvement in governmental ethics is due to increasing professionalization of the service and extension of the merit system.

For further improvement along the same lines the committee makes several suggestions, including greater use of voluntary codes of professional ethics. The value of such codes is evidenced by the famous code of the International City Managers' Association which has promoted higher standards, ethical as well as administrative, in manager communities and in many others as well. Other avenues to progress through extension and strengthening of the merit system are suggested by the former president of the New Jersey Civil Service Commission, Professor William Seal Carpenter, in the article on page 339 of this issue, based upon his recent book.

It is still true, however, that politics must clean its own house, which is simply another way of saying that the people must assume more responsibility for politics. There couldn't be a better time than the crucial presidential election year, 1952. Our moral leadership, to say nothing of our respect and confidence in ourselves, will depend as much on how we conduct our politics during the next few months as on who are elected to the federal, state and local offices at stake next November.

Charles Edison, speaking at the National Conference on Government in Boston shortly after the 1948 election, asked why 43,000,000 eligible Americans failed to vote for president that year. He attributed their non-voting partly to disgust and confusion resulting from the political double standard and the tendency of political campaigners, including major candidates, to "double talking or mumble talking" intended to "hide rather than to convey meaning."

It is neither necessary nor statesmanlike for every candidate for public office to pretend that he has the final answer on every one of "the issues" or that he can predict just how he will act in every conceivable situation. Forthrightness and honesty with the voters require admission that some questions must have continuing study and must be dealt with as they come to a head in the light of the latest information. But it is dishonest, as well as frustrating to the voters, for people to run on platforms made of planks deliberately arranged to point in all directions at once.

No one has a right to campaign for any public office unless he is ready to assume, even at the risk of defeat, the responsibility to increase the political understanding of the electorate. If a campaigner does not feel some of the dedication of the honest teacher, he has no business in politics. We need a code of political ethics to match codes of professional ethics. Two cardinal points in the code should be truth and fair play. Nothing is so discouraging to the amateur citizen politician than the old smear technique that has recently been showing alarming new potentialities.

The Douglas Committee raises the problem of money in politics. The availability of campaign funds may make or break a candidate or a party. From this fact arises the temptation to accept money which after election may speak louder than the public interest or the votes of unsuspecting citizens. The committee reviews without final recommendation the possibility of reducing the opportunity for tainted or selfish money by providing basic financing for campaigns out of the public treasury or from sources that would involve fairly wide public support.

One suggestion heard with increasing frequency is to permit individual taxpayers to deduct modest contributions to political campaigns for income tax purposes. Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon was probably not entirely facetious when he testified that he regarded contributions to the Republican party in much the same category as contributions to the church. Since honest political campaigning is necessary to the public interest, the strict line drawn in the internal revenue act between non-political and political causes may be unrealistic and self-defeating.

No doubt corrupt practices acts can be tightened up and laws can be enforced so as to induce fuller and more timely disclosure of the sources and amounts of campaign contributions. In the long run, however, the only effective way to counteract the effect of selfish money and other evil influences in politics is for more citizens to become active part-time politicians. Effective prohibition of undesirable political activity might simply create a sterile vacuum.

We need to break down the barriers against the widespread participation in politics that would drive the mere self-seeker out of business or show him to be the lonely character he actually is. Much ingenuity has been expended in trying to limit the political activities of private corporations and voluntary associations. Such ingenuity would be better spent in trying to free the employees of corporations, from president on down, and the members of other associations from self-imposed restrictions and from inhibitions created by professionally rigged election laws and party organizations.

There is no mystery about what determined citizens can do to make politics reasonably congenial, to make election procedures reasonably responsive, in short, to make democracy work. In many communities local campaigns have long been conducted on a high level because responsible citizens of all parties have banded together in nonpartisan efforts to clarify the political battleground, to eliminate legal and other booby traps and to enforce a decent code of political ethics. What is needed is the extension of these activities and methods.

States Try Reorganization

35 'little Hoover commissions' examine government to make recommendations to voters and legislators.

By **FERREL HEADY***

IN AN unprecedented concentration of interest and effort, many of our states have been busily examining their administrative machinery and drawing up recommendations for administrative reorganization. No one can venture to say yet what the final results of all this study and all these proposals will be. The voters and state officials, legislative and executive, who must make the decisions are still in the midst of their deliberations. Enough of the reorganization reports are now publicly available, however, to show the general pattern as to what the "little Hoover commissions" in the states have found out and what they propose to do about it.

Official reorganization agencies have been created in 33 states and two territories. By the end of 1951, final or partial reports had been filed by study groups in 25 states and in Puerto Rico and Hawaii. In five states, the reorganization effort was authorized only during 1951 and proceedings were still at a preliminary stage. Agencies in three other states, although set up earlier, had not yet reported.[1]

Whatever their composition, assignment or method of operation, these reorganization bodies have been commonly referred to as "little Hoover commissions." This is misleading in that it hints at much more uniformity than actually exists, but it does appropriately recognize the fact that the federal Hoover Commission set an example which the states have followed. Emulation of the federal government's much publicized reorganization effort is only one reason, however, for the current state interest. This is a continuation of the whole state reorganization movement which goes back to early in the century. It also reflects a concern over the spectacular growth in the activities, cost and complexity of state governments in the short period since the end of World War II, and a desire to fashion the governmental structure to cope with these new demands upon it.

With this common background as to origins, the little Hoover commissions show also many common features in their makeup and working methods, some of which distinguish them from earlier state reorganization agencies. For instance, in only three states has the reorganization unit been set up by independent ac-

---

*Dr. Heady is associate professor of political science, as well as assistant director of the Institute of Public Administration, at the University of Michigan. He is author of *Administrative Procedure Legislation in the States* and other publications and articles in the governmental field.

[1] The Council of State Governments has reported on current developments in state administrative reorganization in various of its publications. The most recent of these reports is in *Book of the States,* 1952-53, "State Administrative Reorganization, 1950-51," pages 147-153. The most comprehensive treatment of the general trends is in *Reorganizing State Government,* 153 pages (1950).

tion of the governor; the other 32 reorganization bodies are based on statutory action. Of these, in eighteen states a special commission of some kind was created, and in the remaining fourteen a legislative committee or the state legislative council was assigned responsibility for reorganization. A few of the groups are "mixed" commissions in the sense that the Hoover Commission was, with legislators, administrative officials and private citizens included in the membership, or they consist of some combination of two of these three groups. Usually, however, the reorganization committee or commission consists entirely of legislators or of private citizens appointed by the governor.

All Branches Studied

Many of the reorganization agencies have assignments which extend beyond the traditional concern with just the executive branch. In four states all three branches of government were subject to study and in five others attention was given to both the executive and legislative branches. At the other extreme there are a few states in which the reorganization was given a narrow focus, as in Kentucky and Maine, where the revenue system was the primary subject for examination.

Another characteristic of the typical little Hoover commission is the use of home talent in mapping out reorganization plans. Instead of hiring an outside research organization to come in and do the job, the states are favoring maximum reliance on investigative and research staff available within the state. Similarly, widespread citizen participation is fostered, not only by naming many private citizens to the reorganization agency itself (Texas tops the other states in this respect with 537 members on its Economy Commission), but also by setting up citizen advisory committees or citizen committees for selling reorganization plans to the public.

Perhaps the most remarkable kind of uniformity is in the findings as to what is wrong and what needs to be done by way of reform. Here we find that the recurring recommendations in the reorganization proposals of the little Hoover commissions are much like those of the federal Hoover Commission and of earlier state surveys. By and large, recent reports show no major deviations from the tenets of reorganization developed in the decades from 1910 up to World War II and presented as a fairly firm body of doctrine by A. E. Buck and others in their writings, as well as in numerous official reorganization reports.

This consensus is the more noteworthy because in recent years numerous criticisms have been directed at these "principles" of reorganization, both as to their general validity and as to their particular application in organizing state administration. Among the numerous dissenters, on one ground or another, have been such influential and experienced persons as Charles S. Hyneman, William H. Edwards, Herbert S. Simon and Marshall E. Dimock.[2] As a result, opinion which can claim to be "expert" is much more divided now than it was ten or fifteen years ago as to what the objectives of reorganization should be.

---

[2] For a recent article questioning some of the proposals of the "orthodox" reorganizers, see Dimock, "The Objectives of Governmental Reorganization," *Public Administration Review,* Autumn, 1951, pp. 233-41.

These hesitations and reservations may be a portent of a new emphasis in working out answers to organizational problems sometime in the future. However this may be, there is little evidence that there has been much of a carryover of this attitude in the current outpouring of reorganization reports. The main objectives are much the same now as before. The only significant difference is a less rigid insistence upon a pat formula for reorganization and a greater willingness to adapt the pattern of specific recommendations to the traditions and peculiarities of the state concerned. The ultimate goals remain fairly fixed and stable.

Governorship a Focal Point

What are the most important of these objectives held in common by most of the little Hoover commissions? First of all, the governorship continues to be urged as the focal point of responsibility and authority for the conduct of administration. The reports show adherence to this concept not only by stating it explicitly but also by specific suggestions to move toward it. For instance, many of the reports propose a reduction in the number of elected officials in the executive branch, an extension of the governor's term of office from two years to four, increases in his powers of appointment and removal, strengthening of the item veto and of executive budget systems, and similar efforts to remove barriers which now exist to effective gubernatorial leadership in administration.

No support appears, on the other hand, for splitting the dual role now assigned to our governors and separating their functions in legislation and policy formation generally from their functions in the execution of policies already decided upon. Transfer of the essentials of city manager metropolitan government to the state level in some such fashion as was suggested a number of years ago by Professor Harvey Walker gets no backing from state reorganizers. Nor are they at all intrigued with the hint dropped by the committee which framed the latest version of the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League that some state might experiment with the cabinet form of government. There is no departure here from the proposition that the state governor should continue to double in brass as a political and as an administrative official.

Another common note, insistently struck, is that the governor needs help in the performance of his myriad functions, particularly those in the field of administration. This calls for additions to his immediate staff, so that he will have as a minimum one administrative assistant, a personal secretary and a liaison man with legislators, party leaders and citizen groups. In larger states a considerably expanded staff in the governor's office is called for.[3]

The development of more adequate auxiliary staff agencies with central management functions is another facet of aid for the governor. The idea of a department of administration, which groups all or most of these "housekeeping" activities together in an integrated agency directly responsible to the governor, receives widespread support. Minnesota and Michigan furnish examples of such departments which have been in operation for several years,[4] and in 1951 Rhode Island, Kansas and Oregon set up agencies of the same type. In seven other states reorganization commissions have asked for the creation of such an agency. Since budget preparation and control functions lie at the heart of a department of administration, divisions of budget and of accounting are the core units, with usual additional duties including centralized purchasing, operation of motor pools and mail and messenger service, conduct of administrative management surveys, supervision of public building construction, and property management.

---

[3] See Homer E. Scace, "The Governor Needs Staff," the REVIEW, October 1951, pages 462-67.

In line with the continuing trend to replace the civil service commission form of organization for personnel management, several reports recommend placing this function in a department of administration or otherwise bringing it within the orbit of the governor's central management controls. In Rhode Island the department of administration even includes revenue administration among its responsibilities.

In view of the experience so far and the growing interest in a consolidated central management agency, the department of administration concept marks an important step in state administrative organization. The head of this department, whether called controller, commissioner, director or by some other title, shows signs of becoming a sort of general manager of administration for the governor, much as the *Model State Constitution* contemplates in its suggestion for an administrative manager to ease the governor's burden of administrative supervision.

Limit Administrative Agencies

The old campaign for cutting down on the number of administrative agencies is pushed with renewed vigor by the little Hoover commissions. At the same time, there is less attraction than has often been shown to some magic number such as twelve or fifteen as the ideal for span of control purposes. Instead, while almost unanimously coming to the conclusion that there are too many separate agencies, the reorganizers are willing to settle for something less than the drastic reduction in number of agencies which has so often been urged in the past. They do not seem to be starting with a decision as to how many agencies ought to exist and then trying to jam everything in without regard to previous experience or practical obstacles.

Connecticut and Minnesota are examples of states which have gone farthest in recommending fewer agencies. The Connecticut Commission of Reorganization advocated grouping of about 200 existing agencies into fourteen operating departments, plus three staff service agencies and the governor's office. In Minnesota, the proposal was to have seventeen departments replace 35 departments and 70 boards and commissions.

---

[4] A study of the Michigan agency, to be published soon, is being made at the Institute of Public Administration of the University of Michigan.

The Delaware report called for reducing 98 agencies to 24, and attaching to them 23 semi-independent boards. Similarly, in Arizona the recommendation was to scale down from 115 separate units to fifteen departments and two independent agencies, with an additional 38 boards attached to the departments. The Michigan reorganization reports would cut the number of operating agencies in the executive branch from 99 to 37.

The average total of agencies contemplated by the recent reports thus seems to run higher than might have been thought desirable a decade ago, and there is much less insistence that a "scientific" treatment demands thorough-going functional departmentalization according to a standard stereotype.

Boards and Commissions

The perennial question as to the proper use of boards and commissions receives consideration in many of the reports. One of the aims most stressed in the state administrative reorganization movement has been the substitution of single-headed for plural-headed agencies, at least for agencies engaged in administrative as distinguished from quasi-judicial tasks. With a few exceptions, the reports have accepted this as good doctrine. In New Hampshire, however, the commission form was favored even for administrative functions, and the Mississippi report proposed the establishment of a board or commission for all but one of the major departments.

More often, elimination of numerous existing boards and commissions has been advocated, with perhaps retention of boards for major agencies in isolated instances where the board's operating record has been exceptional or where popular support for continuance of the board is too strong to be overcome. In Michigan, for instance, staff reports recommended single heads for most agencies but not all, and retention of other existing boards has been insisted upon by citizen advisory groups and the Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization. The fields of education, conservation and highways, in particular, are often considered suitable for board control.

Even when the board form is rejected for administrative purposes, the usefulness of boards for advisory purposes and for the exercise of quasi-judicial functions receives recognition in many reports. Although the Connecticut Commission on Reorganization called for a single head for each department, it proposed the creation of a citizens advisory council for each department with five members serving overlapping five-year terms. Moreover, in each department with quasi-judicial powers, these were to be exercised by an administrative adjudication board with three members appointed for overlapping terms by the governor, with Senate confirmation.

Many other reports have pushed the idea of advisory boards or have favored vesting adjudicatory powers in boards rather than single officials.

(Continued on page 345)

Reformer's Task Never Done

Expert points out three basic measures in civil service to insure more efficient operation of the merit system.

By **WILLIAM SEAL CARPENTER***

THE merit system has too long been one of the "sacred cows" among American political institutions. Created to thwart the spoilsman, it has evolved a set of procedural regulations the unraveling of which consumes time and energy and contributes to the waste of public funds. A frontal attack upon the red tape and inefficiency of any civil service system will be met by loud outcries from its beneficiaries and their friends that a return to the spoils system is threatened.

This is merely a confusion of the issue to gratify selfish interests. The choice is seldom between the maintenance of the existing civil service system and the indiscriminate distribution of the patronage. All that is desired is more efficient administration of the personnel which has been selected on a basis of merit and fitness. There is nothing sacrosanct about the merit system.

Eighteen states now have civil service laws covering all departments, while thirteen other states have one or more departments under some form of merit system in addition to those departments with merit system laws under the social security act.

In the states which provide for general coverage within the merit system, all except Maryland have established civil service commissions or personnel boards. These are appointed by the governor for fixed terms, usually with senate confirmation. Most of them are bipartisan, but this is not always required by law. The executive officer is ordinarily chosen for an indefinite term by the commission or personnel board, although in recent years some states have lodged this appointment directly in the governor.

Among the states where the merit system extends to all departments, there are, broadly speaking, five different forms of personnel control. When civil service reform was first undertaken in the states, complete authority was vested in civil service commissions. These commissions were entrusted with the administration of the civil service system as well as with the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial powers appropriate to such agencies. Almost none of the persons appointed to the commissions possessed any technical knowledge of personnel administration and nearly all of them received their appointments as rewards for political services. It is really surprising that civil service reform did not perish in its infancy in the hands of the commissions to which it was en-

---

*Dr. Carpenter, professor and former chairman of the Politics Department at Princeton University, was president of the New Jersey Civil Service Commission from 1944 to 1951. This article is composed of excerpts from his book, *The Unfinished Business of Civil Service Reform,* copyright 1952 by the Princeton University Press.

trusted. Since 1920 the trend has been away from the amateur bipartisan civil service commission.

Some states have retained the civil service commission but have created a director of personnel or other executive officer who administers the civil service system. This executive officer is frequently chosen after a competitive examination and must be qualified in personnel administration. He brings to the department a technical knowledge of civil service matters almost never found among the commissioners.

Commission and Its Executive

The division of authority between the commission and its executive officer has not always been satisfactory. The executive officer has lacked the authority and the responsibility necessary to carry out the administrative work of the department at the same time that the commission has not confined its activities to matters of policy, rule-making and hearings. The result has been in most instances to handicap the executive officer in the conduct of routine departmental duties and to lay the members of the commission open to charges of irregular interference with the administration of the civil service system.

The third form of organization, to be found in a few states, seeks to avoid the division of authority and responsibility between the executive officer and the commission. There is created a personnel director flanked by an advisory committee with limited powers. Some advantages can be claimed in behalf of the advisory committee because it serves as a sounding board to test public reaction to proposed innovations in the civil service system.

Another modification has been attempted through the lodgment of greater powers in the president or head of the commission. This was undertaken in New Jersey in 1944 and was recommended for adoption in the federal government by the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government in 1949. The extent to which the recommendations of the Hoover Commission were adopted is reflected in Reorganization Plan No. 5 of 1949. The title of the head of the United States Civil Service Commission is changed from president to chairman. The responsibility for the administrative direction of the commission's operations is placed upon the chairman, although the three commissioners continue to be responsible for determination of policy and adjudication of appeals.

The fifth form of organization is the single commissioner who administers the civil service system in Maryland. This complete break with established tradition has been praised but not followed in other jurisdictions.

In New Jersey the legislature in 1944 enacted a law reorganizing the civil service commission in an attempt to correct the evils arising from a division of authority between the commission and the executive officer—the chief examiner and secretary. This law provided that "all the executive functions, powers and duties vested in the commission . . . shall be performed, exercised or discharged, as the case may be, solely by the president."

What this quaint phraseology means, nobody has taken the trouble to inquire. It plainly intended to subordinate the chief examiner and secretary to the president of the commission, from whom he received his appointment, and to exclude the commission from the exercise of any control or direction of the administration of the civil service system. The commission was left in the possession of the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions set forth in the statute. Fortunately, the president of the commission first appointed under the act received the unfailing support of his colleagues as well as the chief examiner and secretary in supervising the civil service administration.

Whether the New Jersey innovations will lead to the establishment of sound civil service procedures in all likelihood depends upon the competence and integrity of the president of the Civil Service Commission and the chief examiner and secretary. The other part-time salaried commissioners have few duties to perform, except the holding of hearings. They are excluded by the law so completely from the administration of the civil service system that they are unable to know its operations unless these are reported to them by the president.

Since the commissioners are confined to very meager duties, the result may be that they will become focal points in the political pressures which strive for irregular interference in the administration of the civil service system. Unless some way can be found for the commissioners to participate in the promotion of the merit system more significantly than at present, it will become increasingly difficult to justify the expenditure of public funds for their salaries.

Connecticut Plan Praised

The Connecticut civil service law is generously praised by civil service reformers because it vests the appointment of the personnel director in the governor and associates with him a commission in an advisory capacity.[1] The personnel director is further strengthened in his administrative control over the civil service through membership on a personnel board with the governor and the commissioner of finance. This board determines all salaries except those of legislative and judicial employees. Appeals from employees who have been dismissed or otherwise disciplined are brought before a special appeals board. Whatever may be the merits of the Connecticut system, there can be no doubt that the governor has more direct and immediate control over personnel administration than is the case in most states under the merit system.

The time has passed when a civil service department can be maintained external to the administrative hierarchy without sacrificing much that is essential to good government. The emphasis in public employment has shifted from the exclusion of unqualified party workers to the inclusion of competent public employees. The problem is not so much that of "keeping the rascals out" as it is that of getting intelligent and capable men and women to accept public employment. In this shift of emphasis civil service reform has been only one factor. Much greater importance must be ascribed to increased skills required in the public services and to the need for economy in government. The new and more complex services being performed by government require qualified employees beyond the capacity of party organizations to provide.

---

[1] Since Dr. Carpenter's book was prepared, the Rhode Island legislature has established a department of Administration, under which is a division of personnel administration, headed by a personnel administrator. The state's civil service commission has been abolished and a board of appeals created, with advisory powers only, to report to the governor. Editor.

Merit vs. Spoils System

It would be very simple to hire qualified people to perform the public services and also retain the party workers "on the pad" if this did not increase the cost of government unduly. High tax rates and unreasonable assessments bring the scrutiny of taxpayers' associations, chambers of commerce and other civic organizations into the structure of government as well as the public policies at all levels of government. Civil service reform is therefore required to enlarge the scope of its activities to include positive assistance to government in solving the problems of public employment.

Historically, the merit system was introduced to supersede the spoils system. That is to say, appointments to jobs were to be on a basis of merit and fitness, and protection against dismissal for political, racial or religious reasons was guaranteed. Security of tenure was not intended to protect incompetence or misconduct. The appointing authority was not to be restricted in the internal operations of his department by the adoption of the merit system. Rather what he must do is to make his appointments from civil service eligible lists. What he must not do is to discriminate among his employees on political, racial or religious grounds. It was never the purpose of the merit system to transfer to the central personnel agency the control of public employees so that the heads of operating departments lost their authority effectively to deal with them.

The security afforded by a civil service system is not against loss of employment. Unfortunately a minority of civil service employees or their spokesmen have forgotten the basic principles of the merit system. Employee leaders have frequently perverted the security of tenure under civil service laws to assert in behalf of a civil service appointee an indefeasible right to a job and its emoluments, and to oppose any governmental alterations which affect adversely the employee. Lay-offs, reductions in force, the abolition of unnecessary positions and the consolidation of services in the interest of economy are always fruitful sources of complaint. The stand-pat attitude of an organized group of public employees will often deter legislators from embarking upon governmental changes highly desirable from the point of view of the general welfare.

It may be argued that arbitrary

and high-handed conduct by department heads has compelled civil service employees to stick together. The fact remains that good employees seldom get into trouble. Every department head knows that he will be held responsible for the prompt and efficient performance of the public services entrusted to him. Even those political heads who have nothing to recommend them except slavish attention to party activities will hesitate to remove civil service employees unless the reasons for the removal are sound and in the public interest.

What more often happens is that incompetent and misbehaving employees are continued on the payroll because the task of dismissing them is too great to be undertaken. The appointing authority, burdened with the duties of his office, shrinks from the unpleasantness which attends a dismissal. Statistics have been compiled to show that the dismissal rate in state and local governments has been slightly lower than the current discharge rate in private industry. At the same time, the dismissing authorities have been upheld by civil service agencies in more than 95 per cent of the cases which have been appealed.

Educational Requirements

The most serious indictment of civil service employees stems from their opposition to increased educational requirements for public employment. There was a time when the grammar school could provide the necessary training for most civil service positions. This was followed by the requirement that candidates for many positions be graduates of high schools. With the increasing complexity of government services there has arisen a large number of positions for which a college training is required. In a great many civil service jurisdictions the most persistent opposition to higher educational qualifications has developed on the part of employees already in the system. Civil service departments are often obliged to grant credits for routine experience in the service in lieu of professional qualifications. The result is a general weakening of the government service to pave the way for the promotion of the unqualified. There can be no strong and vigorous civil service where the employees are permitted to have a hand in determining the qualifications for admission or promotion.

The Maryland merit system law protects the civil service employee at the same time that it exacts from him the full measure of his ability in the performance of his duties. The State Employment Commission in Maryland comprises a single commissioner who is directly responsible to the governor by whom he is appointed. The commissioner is not merely the administrator of the merit system but also the personnel officer whose advice and assistance are available to the governor whenever required. In a recent decision the state employment commissioner stated his functions as follows: "The merit system was enacted to prevent the removal for political or religious motives of loyal, conscientious and efficient employees. The present commissioner is determined to prevent any violation of this principle and as chief personnel officer of the state he is also opposed to nepotism, favoritism or any other type of unfair treatment of the employees of the state.

"On the other hand, classified employees must recognize that merit system status is not a guarantee of unconditional permanent job tenure. Section 19 of article 64A provides that no removal shall be allowed because of the religious or political opinions or affiliations of any employee but there is no provision in the law or rules against the removal of any merit system employee for causes which would result in his dismissal from private employment. The best guarantee which any person should rely upon to hold any job is to so perform his duties as to create a desire in his superior to retain him in that job. In these days of rising governmental costs, the taxpayer is entitled to know that the civil servant who does not produce satisfactory work is no more likely to be retained in his job than he would be if he were engaged in private industry."

Three Basic Reforms

Three fundamental reforms are necessary to enable civil service systems to function efficiently in present day governments:

1. The amateur bipartisan civil service commissions should be replaced by personnel departments under the direction of a single commissioner responsible to the chief executive. Having introduced the merit system into the federal government and the governments of many states and municipalities, civil service reform must now strive to enable the chief executive to utilize the public personnel to the best advantage to accomplish the purposes of government.

2. There should be created by law adequate machinery to solve the problems of employer-employee relationships. Between public officials and the employees of government there must be a genuine partnership if the public services are to be efficiently performed. Few genuine grievances arise as a result of violations of civil service laws and regulations. The most common causes of complaints fall wholly outside the provisions of civil service laws and are incapable of inclusion within the normal jurisdiction of civil service departments. Representatives of the public employees must have ready access at all times to the officers of government. Whether the employees are organized in unions or in independent civil service associations not engaged in collective bargaining is a matter for the employees to decide. Where honest differences of opinion arise between department or agency heads and the public employees, negotiations should not be terminated but the dispute should be transferred to some impartial tribunal where the paramount public interest may pronounce a final decision. In other words, there must be set up in the law some competent scheme of arbitration.

3. Citizen organizations interested in the promotion and extension of the merit system should be strengthened. The safeguards of the

merit system remain precisely what they were in the early days of civil service reform—an enlightened electorate which recognizes the evils, nuisance and waste of the spoils system. It is idle to suppose that civil service commissions comprised of political appointees will become staunch defenders of the merit system. The members of such commissions are sometimes busy manipulating the civil service system in the interest of party organizations. The defense of the merit system can be assured only through citizen groups such as the National Civil Service League. The members of these citizen groups should look beyond the recruitment of public personnel to the efficient management of the civil service. In effect, the ideals of civil service reform are identical with those of economy and efficiency in government.

STATES TRY REORGANIZATION

(Continued from page 338)

Nevertheless, these reports do not show any general swing away from the single-headed to the plural-headed type of agency. Most of the reorganization groups accept the conclusion of the Washington Legislative Council that boards and commissions "have not proven effective means for supervising governmental activities which are primarily administrative in character."

Beyond the area of agreement outlined above for reorganization within the executive branch, the little Hoover commissions often show a refreshing realism in pointing out that even a thorough-going attempt at executive reorganization by statutory or administrative action may not be enough. In many states modernization of state government can only come through major constitutional revision which paves the way for reform of the legislative and judicial branches as well as of the executive branch. While the Connecticut report was exceptional in the scope of its recommendations, other reports have also ventured beyond a mere concern with internal executive reorganization and some, barred from making recommendations involving constitutional changes or legislative or judicial reorganization, have at least pointed to the handicap of such a limitation in attacking the over-all problem.

The little Hoover commissions have found out much the same things as their predecessors did as to what is wrong with the organization of our state governments. The recommendations being made are familiar in their main themes, despite interesting variations in details. The question that remains is how successful these commissions will be in marketing their product. If experience so far is typical, the little Hoover commissions, as has happened with so many earlier reorganization groups, are facing and will face their most serious problems in selling their programs for reorganization to skeptical electorates and legislatures.

What Cure for Voter Apathy?

Compulsion not the answer, says author; points to need for education, improvement in voting techniques, etc.

By HENRY J. ABRAHAM*

INTEREST in the forthcoming elections runs high, but electoral participation in the United States has been extremely low for some time. There are millions of Americans who are apparently willing to do everything for their country but vote. In the 1948 elections, for example, 95,000,000 men and women were theoretically able to vote, yet only 66,811,000 registered, of whom a mere 46,680,009 actually cast ballots. Indeed, the over-all participation in presidential elections since the turn of the century has been but 55 per cent of the eligible electorate, with a far lower percentage participating in state, local and primary elections.

Since in democratic systems popular influence characteristically exerts itself through voting, it is with chagrin and dismay that responsible persons in public and private life have noted this persistent popular apathy. Thus, in order to decrease the degree of indifference and inertia, compulsory voting has frequently been suggested as a remedy.

The practice of the obligatory vote is prevalent abroad in close to 30 countries, among them Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Luxembourg. Over 90 per cent of the qualified electorate regularly cast their ballots where the practice exists. Hence it is not astonishing to find agitation for its adoption in the United States. While we do not now have such statutes, the issue is never completely dormant and has had a perhaps natural tendency to become alive during major election periods.

Among the American adherents of compulsory voting have been officials high in government: Governors from New York, Massachusetts and Missouri; members of the cabinet in the Taft and Wilson administrations; United States senators from Kansas, Michigan, North Dakota and Pennsylvania; United States representatives from New York; a host of state legislators; a chairman of the national committee of a major political party; and numerous prominent citizens in private life, who not only cited its presence abroad but also its existence in the colonies of Plymouth, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina and in Revolutionary Georgia.

Their pleas did not fall entirely on deaf ears. Three states, North Dakota (1897), Massachusetts (1918) and Oregon (1919), passed constitutional amendments making obligatory voting possible, subject to an enabling act of the state legislature. Popular referenda approved the North Dakota and Massachusetts amendments in 1899 and 1918 respectively, but the voters of Oregon rejected it in 1920. A total of 57 bills calling for some type of compulsory voting were introduced in the legislatures of Massachusetts, Maryland, New York, Indiana, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, California, Maine and Kansas between 1888 and 1952, although none was passed.

---

*Dr. Abraham is an instructor in the Department of Political Science of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, and author of articles and other publications on the compulsory vote.

Kansas City, Missouri, had compulsory voting between 1889 and 1895, when it was declared unconstitutional by the Missouri Supreme Court in an opinion by Chief Justice Brace, who remarked: "The ballot of the humblest voter in the land may mould the destiny of the nation for ages. Who can say it will be for weal or woe to the republic? Who that it is better that he should cast, or withhold it? Who dares put a price upon it?"[1]

Claims of Proponents

Champions of compulsory voting customarily advance some or all of the following contentions: (1) voting is an inalienable right, guaranteed by the United States and the state constitutions; (2) total participation is eminently desirable and should be enforced for the good of society; (3) voting can be compelled since it is not a privilege but a duty, a public trust, held by the elector for all the people; (4) compulsory voting impresses a sense of duty and responsibility toward the state; (5) compulsory voting puts politics on a higher plane; it brings out the educated, the intelligent vote; (6) compulsory voting can be likened to many other civic duties, such as compulsory taxation, compulsory military service or *posse comitatus* membership, compulsory jury duty and compulsory education; (7) compulsory voting can be readily enforced via the threat of sanction of fines, unfavorable publicity, disfranchisement or even imprisonment, all of which are provided by the practicing countries.

There is no doubt that compulsory voting, if enforced, would materially increase participation at the polls in the United States. Yet the fundamental question arises whether mandatory voting goes to the root of the matter of non-voting? Apathy and indifference are but *symptoms* of non-voting. They are not its *cause*. Will the obligatory vote serve to eradicate the causes of the evil? Certainly absence from the polls does not always denote inertia or neglect. Among its many other causes are the lengthy and complex ballot that confronts a majority of the voters, the frequency of elections, sundry registration obstacles, artificial barriers to voting deliberately imposed by states, disfranchisement for varied reasons, unattractive candidates and, last but not least, the frequent absence of genuine issues, the failure of a sincere and honest presentation of fundamental principles by our political parties.

Since compulsory voting fails to address itself to these causes its wisdom may be doubted. Yet there are a number of additional reasons why the adoption of the obligatory vote in the United States of America would seem to be inadvisable:

(1) Voting is not an inalienable right. It is a privilege, bestowed by government, in the United States by the several states, subject to certain

---

[1] *Kansas City* v. *Whipple*, 136 Mo. 475 (1896).

federal and state constitutional provisions and latent congressional oversight. The franchise privilege is deniable to certain classes of citizens through legal qualifications. Limitations to denial have been imposed by the federal constitution and by Supreme Court interpretation, but there has not been an affirmative guarantee of a "right to vote." Merely the "denial" or "abridgment" of "the right to vote" has been circumscribed. The judiciary has held that the constitution does not confer the right of suffrage on anyone, that it is not a necessary incident of citizenship. Therefore no inalienable right to vote exists.

Voting a Moral Duty

(2) Voting is not a social duty which should be made a legal duty. It is a moral obligation, a demonstration of responsible citizenship, a worthy endeavor, but not a duty enforceable at law. Voting is a privilege bestowed upon the citizen, which once bestowed becomes his personal right, a right which he must be free to exercise or not. A maximum exercise by conscionable citizens is to be welcomed and encouraged. Indeed, it is a moral—as distinct from a legal—obligation, but one which cannot be statutorily enforced without reducing privilege and right to a hollow mockery. These terms fail to retain validity if the concept of free choice of exercise is removed.

(3) Total participation by the electorate is not necessarily desirable. It is not the absolute number of voters that counts, but the number of informed voters. To some extent a welcome sifting of the electorate may take place under optional voting. In the absence of adequate civic education, the self-imposed exclusion of the disinterested and the uninformed may be salutary. It is extremely doubtful that it is desirable to conscript the voter's attention and interest upon public questions to the extent of obliging him to vote against his will. It is hardly possible to obtain the desired judgment in this manner. If the individual deliberately chooses not to vote, it would be imprudent to compel him to go through the motions counter to his express feelings. Moreover, non-voters vote, too: By not casting a ballot the non-voter influences elections. He constitutes a force in the political realm.

(4) Compulsory voting is probably unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court has never been called upon to determine its constitutionality but in the one case on record, that involving a provision of the city charter of Kansas City, Missouri, the highest court of that state found the practice unconstitutional. The judgment of the Missouri Supreme Court was never appealed, nor has any other case involving compulsory voting been taken to court since that time. In the Kansas City case Chief Justice Brace maintained that "voting is not such a duty as may be enforced by compulsory legislation," that it is distinctly not within the power of any legislative authority, national or state, to compel the citizen to exercise it. Whether the United States Supreme Court would sustain this reasoning is conjectural, of course.

(5) Compulsory voting would be extremely difficult to enforce in the

United States. One of the characteristics of compulsory voting in action has been its lackadaisical enforcement, despite the presence of various penalties, ranging from monetary fines and publicity to disfranchisement and imprisonment. Assuming for the sake of argument that the authorities in the United States would be willing to enforce the legislation strictly, it is at least doubtful that it would prove successful in view of the country's size and complexity. Australia with eight million inhabitants and Belgium with eight and a half million, two compulsory voting countries that enforce the obligatory vote with reasonable conscientiousness, have found the cost and the administrative burdens heavy.

Enforcement a Huge Task

The United States with 154,000,000 people had 46,000,000 abstentions in the presidential election of 1948 alone. While it stands to reason that this large number of abstainers would be substantially reduced by a compulsory voting law, it seems improbable that even a hard core of 10 per cent of non-conformists could be duly notified, summoned, convicted and reprimanded, fined, disfranchised or jailed. Many a jury would fail to convict. Moreover, if the lack of enforcement of some of our criminal statutes is any indication at all, a compulsory voting law would, in all probability, be enforced sporadically at best. Finally, little stands to be gained with negligible, easily payable fines, while heavy fines or imprisonment would be out of proportion to the offense committed.

(6) What is really demonstrable with compulsory voting in non-totalitarian countries is enforced attendance at the polls. As long as we remain under a democratic form of government and retain the secret ballot, it is possible to cast spoiled or blank ballots deliberately. The percentage of such invalid, or "informal," ballots, as the Australians refer to them, has risen sharply in each country where the practice has been introduced. In non-compulsory voting countries the rate of invalid ballots is customarily 1½ per cent, but in those practicing compulsion it has averaged 5 or 6 per cent. The latter may not be considered high as a price for an increase in over-all participation of 15 or 20 per cent, yet it indicates a definite protest-register on the part of unwilling electors.

It is possible that enforced appearance at the polls would breed the custom of attendance and instill a conscientiousness of habit in the voter, causing him to reflect upon the issues, if any, of the election. By the same token it could repel and disgust others who have been faithful voters. Compulsory voting is not really accomplished by compulsory attendance at the polls. The voter, like the proverbial horse, can be forced to the voting trough, but he cannot be made to drink.

(7) A compelled vote is not synonymous with an intelligent vote. We could conceivably enforce voting, but we could hardly enforce informed, intelligent voting. Little would be gained by a mass of uninformed voters in the ballot booth. The problem is one of education; we must cause

our potential electorate to become acquainted with the issues of the day; we must attempt to provide political education. Given genuine issues, an intelligent, informed electorate will of itself come to the polls: We have the recent examples of Great Britain, Sweden, France and Canada, where 82, 82, 78 and 74 per cent of the eligibles, respectively, cast ballots under the voluntary system. More impressive still is the record of the citizens of New Zealand. During the sixteen-year period from 1935 to 1951, covering five general elections, 92 per cent of the electorate went to the polls of their own volition. In 1946, a total of 95 per cent cast ballots there. Our first task is to endeavor to create an informed electorate.

(8) Compulsory voting is undemocratic. It is difficult to see how we can remain faithful to the principles of democracy by compelling people to exercise an ostensible privilege contrary to their will. Since the ability to vote is a privilege conferred upon the citizen it ceases to be such when he is compelled to exercise it. How can he be deprived of his right *not* to vote? By being compelled to vote he ceases to enjoy the basic grant. The argument that there are many other civic performances to which we are compelled, such as jury duty, education, military and *posse comitatus* service, and taxation ignores the fundamental differences between the nature of compulsory voting and these elements of compulsion:

Compulsory Taxation. Taxes are a necessity, born of the cost of operation of government and community needs. Since we belong to a governed community, and presumably benefit by its services, we should contribute to its expenses. While voting, too, is an integral part of the framework of government, it is—unlike taxes—a privilege of the elector, his to exercise in accordance with his convictions. Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard professor and delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917-18, quipped that a state has a perfect right to tax a citizen simply because he has a head, but to require him to use the brains in that head is something else again.

Compulsory Jury Duty. It is significant that many lawyers are opposed to unwilling jury duty. They know from experience it is unsatisfactory and ineffective. Further, it is comparatively easy to avoid duty, for a confession of bias will almost certainly result in disqualification.

Compulsory Education. Only youngsters up to a certain age bracket are affected by compulsory education; compulsory voting would presumably affect all otherwise eligible voters.

Compulsory Military Service. The principle is not one of universal military duty but of selection of those liable, distinctly limited in number. Military service is a necessity to the existence of the state; voting, though eminently important, is not. Draft legislation in the United States has always been established on an emergency basis. What may well be justified in times of national crisis may be dangerous and

(Continued on page 357)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Maryland Commission Urges Home Rule

Asks That Constitution Limit Local Legislation

THE Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, appointed by Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland early in 1951[1] issued its second report last month. It deals with the use of local legislation in Maryland and recommends constitutional home rule for cities and counties.[2]

The report points out that at the 1951 session of the Maryland legislature 70 per cent of the bills passed were local in nature, applying to only one, or sometimes a few, of the state's municipalities and counties. It comments: "Although over three-quarters of the states have placed substantial provisions in their constitutions limiting the passage of local laws and in nineteen states municipalities have been granted power to amend their own charters, Maryland has done neither except to grant home rule authority to Baltimore city and to counties."

Two constitutional amendments are recommended, one to limit local bills relating to municipalities, which should cut the total number of bills passed by about 20 per cent, the other to prohibit local legislation for counties, which should reduce the legislative work load by another 30 per cent. The recommendation as to municipalities reads as follows:

"A provision should be added to the Maryland constitution prohibiting the enactment of local laws relating to municipal corporations, except for local laws establishing maximum local property tax and debt limits. Such a constitutional provision should authorize municipalities to amend their own charters or adopt new ones."

An analysis of the problem of local legislation in Maryland is contained in the report, the basic investigational work for which was undertaken by the commission's intergovernmental relations committee, headed by Enos S. Stockbridge. The staff work was primarily by Richard D. Andrews, assisted by Elwyn A. Mauck, the commission's staff director, and other consultants.

The commission last year designated twelve study areas: Governor and over-all management; finance; personnel; intergovernmental relations; conservation, development and utilization of natural resources; education; health, welfare and economic security; military, police and civil defense; public works and buildings; correctional institutions; regulatory administration; election administration. Several committees were designated by Chairman Simon E. Sobeloff to consider specific subjects. The commission held a number of regional meetings to which members of the legislature, the advisory committee and representatives of the press were invited.

Governor McKeldin also appointed an advisory committee of more than 80 members to aid the commission and serve as a sounding board of public opinion.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 261.

[2] For recommendation regarding county government see page 358, this issue.

Tennessee Votes on Constitutional Convention

The people of Tennessee will again have the opportunity, August 7, to authorize a limited constitutional convention to revise that state's 82-year-old unamended constitution. The 1951 legislature adopted an act[1] authorizing the call for the convention and permitting the latter to draft proposed amendments relating to six specific matters: the amending process, legislators' pay, the governor's term, the veto power, the suffrage and home rule for cities and counties.

The question of calling the convention will appear on the county general election ballot on August 7 and if a majority of those voting on the issue favor a convention 99 delegates will be chosen in the November election, in the same manner as state representatives. The convention would meet in April 1953. Proposed amendments would be submitted in a statewide referendum at a date fixed by the convention.

Thirteen previous efforts to change the constitution have failed. The present effort to call a convention is led by the Tennessee Citizens Committee for a Limited Constitutional Convention, aided by the Tennessee Municipal League, the League of Women Voters and various other civic associations.

Illinois to Vote on Four Amendments

Voters of Illinois will pass on four constitutional amendments at the November 1952 general election. Their submission was made possible by the "gateway" amendment adopted by the voters in 1950[2] which removed from the constitution its provision that only one amendment might be submitted at a given election.

The first amendment deals with taxation. Its chief provision would permit the classification of property, which would make it possible for the legislature to tax personal property and real estate at different rates, as is usual elsewhere. It would also allow forest lands and mineral rights to be separately treated. Another section would permit the levy of miscellaneous types of taxes, uniform as to class. A graduated income tax is specifically barred.

The second would eliminate a constitutional prohibition against a sheriff or county treasurer succeeding himself in office.

The third would eliminate the constitutional salary limits of 1870 as to certain county officials and would give the legislature power to prescribe such limits.

The fourth would remove the provision for double liability on stockholders in state chartered banks except for existing liabilities, within limits, as has been done in all other states except two.

30 States Have Judicial Councils

With establishment of a judicial council by the 1951 Wisconsin legislature, the number of states having provisions for judicial councils is increased to 30, reports the Council of State Governments. The new Wisconsin agency will collect judicial statistics regularly in addition to examining and making recommendations on improving the administration of justice.

In addition to Wisconsin, 21 states authorize creation of judicial councils by legislation. Eight others have created councils by rule of the Supreme Court or resolution of the Bar Association.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 260.

[2] See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 88.

Membership of the judicial council usually is composed of representatives of the state judiciary from the lowest to the highest courts. Frequently law school professors, the attorney general, members of the legislature and representatives of the public and press are included.

Statutory provisions for judicial councils vary from state to state. California's council has the power to adopt or amend rules of practice and procedure for the several courts not inconsistent with other laws and is required to submit to the legislature at each regular session recommendations for amendments and changes. Other states, including Ohio, Massachusetts and New York, require their councils to make continuous study of the organization, rules and methods of procedure and practice of the judicial system, the work accomplished and results obtained. The legislatures in New York, Massachusetts and Kansas refer proposed legislation concerning judicial matters to their judicial councils for recommendations.

At least ten states—Missouri, New Jersey, Virginia, California, Idaho, Maryland, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Dakota and Utah—hold annual judicial conferences the membership of which includes both appellate and trial court judges. In at least thirteen other states the judges of *nisi prius* courts meet annually for mutual exchange of ideas.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The city council of **San Carlos, California,** (14,371) adopted an ordinance providing for the council-manager plan in December. Since it proved to be in conflict with a civil service ordinance adopted by referendum in 1948, the manager plan could not be made effective. On April 8, however, the civil service ordinance was amended by popular vote and the manager plan is now established.

Richlands, Virginia, (4,648) and **Ogunquit, Maine,** (1,200) have recently adopted the council-manager plan.

The town moderators of **Natick** and **Millbury, Massachusetts,** have appointed committees to study the advisability of the use of the town manager plan.

Efforts of the Municipal League of **Warwick, Rhode Island,** to place the election of a charter commission on the ballot have failed because its petitions have been declared insufficient. The city solicitor has ruled that there is no precedent for granting the league's request for permission to resubmit faulty signatures or add new ones to the petition.

The Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Charter of **New Haven, Connecticut,** is circulating petitions to place the matter of electing a charter drafting committee on the ballot.

The **Barnesboro, Pennsylvania,** council has appointed a committee to study the practicality of the manager plan for that borough.

The Joint Committee for Council Manager Government in **Savannah, Georgia,** on June 2 filed its petitions calling for the election of a seven-member commission to frame a council-manager charter. Although only 10,500 names were needed the petitions carried several thousand additional. Meantime, another group has given Mayor Cunningham a proposed act for incorporating a council-manager form of government. This charter would be enacted through the General Assembly.

In **Evanston, Illinois,** the League of Women Voters has been studying the council-manager plan. In April a forum on the subject, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, resulted in formation of a committee of seven civic leaders to investigate the pros and cons of the manager plan.

The **Calumet City (Illinois)** Committee for Better Government has been working to bring about an election on the question of adopting the manager plan.

The **Mississippi** Economic Council reports great interest throughout the state in obtaining council-manager government, as facilitated by the enabling act which was adopted in April.

The city council of **Crookston, Minnesota,** has told the commission now at work on a new charter that it would support the council-manager form.

At a May meeting in **Sioux City, Iowa,** sponsored by the city government educational committee and attended by representatives of some 50 organizations throughout the city, former mayor Dan J. Conley urged the substitution of the council-manager plan for the existing commission plan.

West Plains, Missouri, is considering a proposal to adopt the manager plan. The Chamber of Commerce held a meeting addressed by Manager O. L. Barbarick of Lebanon, Missouri.

Petitions have been presented to the city council of **Brookfield, Missouri,** which has operated under the council-manager plan since 1945, for a popular vote on its continuance. The city attorney plans investigation of the petitions, claiming that many of the signatures are invalid.

Mayor Fred Hervey of **El Paso, Texas,** is advocating a new charter, to include the manager plan.

The city council of **Portland, Oregon,** has voted down a proposal to place the council-manager plan on the ballot in November. The matter had been submitted by a citizens' reorganization committee, appointed several years ago by Mayor Dorothy Lee McCullough. The 45-page proposal has been referred back to the committee. It can be placed on the ballot by initiative action if the committee undertakes the circulation of petitions.

In **Anacortes, Washington,** the city attorney has drawn up a resolution calling for an election on the council-manager plan. The city council has indicated it will act on the measure after a thorough investigation of the advantages and disadvantages of changing to that system has been made.

The city council of **St. Boniface, Manitoba,** has appointed a special committee to investigate the manager plan as a possibility for that city.

Seventy out of nearly a hundred city managers in **Texas** met in Beaumont, April 28-29.

Oklahoma managers met in Oklahoma City on May 1-2. **Ohio** managers met in Dayton, April 30-May 2, in conjunction with the first annual conference of the Ohio Municipal League; 18 out of 28 managers attended.

The 38th annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held in Kansas City, Missouri, September 28 to October 1.

Charge of Councilmanic Interference Fails

In Quincy, Massachusetts, which has had the council-manager form of government (Massachusetts Plan E) since 1950, a jury on May 1 declined to find Councilman Carl W. Anderson guilty of violating a charter provision forbidding interference with the manager or his subordinates as to appointment or removal of officers or employees.

Mr. Anderson was indicted by the grand jury in April on six counts of attempting to influence appointments or removals. City Manager William J. Deegan testified that the councilman had repeatedly tried to have him hire or discharge specific persons. The Plan E provision claimed to be violated (section 107) prescribes that any member of the city council who directs or requests the appointment or removal of any person by the manager or any of his subordinates shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or both, and also, upon final conviction, shall be removed from the council and shall be ineligible for any city office or position.

The trial judge directed a verdict of acquittal on one of the counts, and urged the jurors to "use your God-given common sense" in regard to the other five. After deliberating 40 minutes the jury rendered a verdict of not guilty—influenced, no doubt, by the exceptionally severe penalties, particularly the mandatory removal and ineligibility.

Longer Term for Detroit Constables Decried

Detroit voters, who declined last fall to increase the term of constables from two years to four, while approving the increase for other city officers, will have another opportunity in November, under a 1952 statute. If the referendum is approved, the terms of constables will coincide with those of mayor, city clerk and councilmen. As the matter now stands, the November 1955 election would be for constables only.

The Detroit Citizens League, in its *Civic Searchlight,* says: "It seems absurd that our election machinery should be involved in providing for a choice of 44 constables, either on a two- or four-year basis. A move had been made to arrange for the handling of the minimum amount of work now done by constables in Detroit. That work could be and is being done by about twelve persons. However, the constables and their friends would not get behind that movement. . . . Last fall there was a great deal of sentiment for abolishing the office of constable."

Municipal Clerks Found to Have Many Functions

A recent survey of the duties of 621 city, town and village clerks in the United States, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii, by the National Institute of of Municipal Clerks, reveals a wide variety of responsibilities and also a number of different titles by which clerks are known, in combination with or additional to their primary titles.

Among major functions discharged by over 70 per cent of the reporting clerks are those of record-keeping, minute-taking and other services as clerk to the governing body, handling information and complaints, issuing licenses and conducting elections. From 30 to 55 per cent have responsibilities, in descending order of incidence, for general municipal accounting, collection of general revenues, compilation of the municipal budget, codification of ordinances, preparation of the city annual report, custody of general city funds, recording of vital statistics and conduct of general municipal purchasing.

In addition, 21 per cent of the clerks reported serving as municipal personnel officer, 19 per cent as superintendent or custodian of city hall and 18 per cent as recorder of deeds and mortgages. In other cities clerks handle property tax assessments and inspections and act as superintendent of public works. They also are clerks to various municipal boards, commissions and committees, with a number having responsibilities in connection with municipal courts or cemeteries.

Seven clerks are also the city, town or borough manager, four others are acting or assistant managers and two are administrative officers. An Illinois clerk reports that he is also mayor, figuratively rapping the gavel with one hand and taking minutes with the other. One clerk is also the fire chief; another sells liquor, legally and officially, as manager of a municipal liquor store. In Tombstone, Arizona, the city clerk manages the municipal hospital and the city clerk of Montreal has under his direct supervision the entire public library system and a municipal post office.

Joint Efforts for Filling Public and Private Jobs

Closer cooperation between civil service agencies and state employment offices is proposed by a joint committee set up by the Civil Service Assembly and the International Association of Public Employment Agencies to explore areas of common interest and ways of providing mutual assistance.

Both types of agency perform such functions as recruiting, job analysis, occupational testing, interviewing, referral and in-service training. Because of their responsibility for administering unemployment compensation programs, state employment agencies have concentrated on work in private industry, while civil service agencies have sought to fill jobs for the governments they represent. This situation has resulted in duplication of effort and delay in finding particular types of employees.

Collaborative arrangements between employment security agencies and central personnel agencies have already been tried out in several states. Both California and New York have programs of this type. Since 1947 California's State Personnel Board and Department of Employment have maintained a joint working relationship whereby the Department of Employment recruits, tests and refers qualified personnel for openings in the California state service.

Recently the New York State Civil Service Commission and the State Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance established a cooperative program to expedite the continuous recruitment of stenographers and typists for vacancies in the state service. Qualified candidates are given standard employment service tests by the employment service and those who qualify are interviewed and considered for employment in both state service and private industry.

Political Postmasterships Win in Senate

Proposals of President Truman to place postmasters, customs collectors and United States marshals under the merit system (by presidential reorganization plans 2, 3 and 4, respectively), without senatorial confirmation, stirred up strong opposition in and out of Congress, despite support of the plans by the Civil Service Commission, the Budget Bureau, the Postmaster General, the Treasury, the National Civil Service League, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report and others. On June 18 all three plans were killed by the Senate—56 to 29, 55 to 28 and 51 to 31, respectively.

The Citizens Committee stated, "Based squarely on recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission these plans would take 90 per cent of the remaining non-policy-making federal jobs out of politics once and for all. Plan 2, affecting 21,438 postmasterships, is especially important."

Three Training Schools Held in New York State

The New York State Conference of Mayors and its Municipal Training Institute, in cooperation with several other organizations interested in better municipal government, conducted three training schools this spring in furtherance of a statewide training policy and program. The school for assessors was attended by 183; that for grade III water plant operators by 47; and that for grade III sewer plant operators by 37.

Nations' Mayors Confer in New York

The United States Conference of Mayors celebrated its twentieth anniversary in New York, May 15, 16 and 17, with representatives of some two hundred cities of the United States and a score of foreign cities in attendance. Chief topics of discussion included a better allocation of revenue sources between national, state and local governments, street traffic congestion, local transportation, civilian defense, and airport planning and control. New York City's Scroll for Distinguished Service was presented to mayors of seven foreign cities.

GPRA Holds Third Annual Meeting

The Government Public Relations Association met in New York on May 23—its third annual meeting. Fifteen out of its total active membership of 55, in all parts of the country, were in attendance. Talks and discussions concerned activities of the organization in the past year, ways of strengthening the long-range status of government public relations and efforts to overcome misunderstandings about such relations. The new president is Hank Meyer, director of public relations, City of Miami Beach, Florida.

International Housing, Planning Congress in Lisbon

The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning has announced that its 21st Congress will be held in Lisbon, Portugal, September 21-27. Most of the meetings will be at the Technical University. There will be four general sessions, devoted to urban land policy, housing in tropical climates, long-term reconstruction and the relation between dwelling type and plan and the layout of the residential section. Study groups on eight topics of housing and planning have been arranged.

The federation's headquarters are at Paleisstraat 5, The Hague, Netherlands.

WHAT CURE FOR VOTER APATHY?

(Continued from page 350)

pernicious under normal circumstances. Compelling a citizen to vote is tantamount to Rousseau's philosophy of "forcing a man to be free."

(9) As was pointed out initially, compulsory voting attacks the symptom of non-voting, yet ignores the causes of that symptom. To find and eradicate these causes must be the task of a healthy and democratic government. The panacea of compulsory voting fails to fulfil that fundamental requirement. It cannot be a cure, for the only cure is a concerted attack upon the various causes of non-voting by virtue of educating the electorate, by technical improvements in the voting process, and by a restoration and enhancement of popular faith in our parties, in politics in general. As *The New York Times* commented editorially at the time of the adoption of the Massachusetts compulsory voting amendment, when compulsory voting is adopted as a remedy for an indifferent electorate, an interior malady is treated as a skin disease.

Virginia County, City, Town Consolidate

Form New City of Hampton under Council-manager Plan

ELIZABETH City County, the city of Hampton and the town of Phoebus, Virginia, voted June 17 to consolidate into a first-class city to be known as Hampton. The vote, held in accordance with an act of the state legislature, was overwhelmingly favorable in each unit: Elizabeth City County, 3,392 to 388; Hampton, 972 to 169; Phoebus, 562 to 99; total 4,926 to 656. Population of the new city will be 60,994.

Consolidation into a first-class city will prevent any possibility of annexation of the county by an adjoining city as can be done without the county's consent under Virginia law. A first-class city is not part of any county.

The new city's charter, effective July 1, provides for the council-manager plan of government. The old city of Hampton has operated under this form of government since 1920; Elizabeth City County adopted it in March of this year.

Urges Prohibition of Local Legislation

The Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State has recommended adoption of a constitutional amendment prohibiting state enactment of local laws affecting only specified counties. The report[1] notes that counties in Maryland are now governed in considerable detail by the General Assembly through local laws applying to only one, or at best a few, of the counties.

Although counties have the option, under the state constitution, of adopting a home rule charter, only Montgomery County and Baltimore City, which is regarded as a city-county, have done so. As a result, the county home rule provisions have done little to decrease the number of local county bills passed by the General Assembly. For example, the report states that in the legislature's 1951 session, 45 per cent of the laws passed were local county bills.

Since the county home rule provisions have not curtailed the use of local legislation appreciably, the commission recommends that the constitution be further amended specifically to prohibit the General Assembly from enacting local laws relating to counties. Under the proposal, counties would gain no additional home rule rights. They would be dependent upon general state laws for their form of government and powers. The general laws passed by the General Assembly would not have to apply to all counties, since the proposed amendment would authorize the classification of counties into not more than three classes based on population. A law would be considered general if it applied to (1) all counties in a class, (2) all home rule counties in a class, (3) all non-home rule counties in a class.

The commission's report estimated that the passage of such an amendment would reduce the number of laws enacted by the legislature at a regular 90-day session by about 30 per cent. Greater responsibility in local affairs would be placed on local county officials acting under general laws than they have at present under detailed local laws. Furthermore, curtailment of the heavy burden of local legislation would give legislators more time to consider important matters of statewide interest and and would free them from excessive concern over purely local matters.

---

[1] *Local Legislation in Maryland,* Second Report of the Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, June 1952, 70 pages.

Philadelphia Civic Groups Make Consolidation Suggestions

The Advisory Consolidation Commission, appointed by the Philadelphia city council to make recommendations on city-county consolidation adopted by the voters last November,[1] has before it numerous suggestions. Five local civic organizations have recommended that all elective county offices, with the exception of the district attorney and the controller, be abolished and their functions given to existing city offices.

Some specific suggestions made are that the election duties of the county commission, whose three members draw $8,000 each per year, be given to a new board handling both registrations and elections, to be named by the governor; that the county bureau of weights and measures be transferred to the city department of licenses and inspections, and the welfare agencies connected with the county commission be turned over to the city welfare department.

Duties of the coroner would be taken over by the city health department and the functions of the clerk of courts transferred to the prothonotary, who would also handle the duties of sheriff.

The county office of recorder of deeds would be abolished and its operations merged with the city's department of records.

Accompanying the changes would be the establishment of civil service status for most of the employees affected.

"This is an excellent program," says the Philadelphia *Inquirer,* editorially, "and one that would give the city-county consolidation effective meaning."

Allegheny County Gets Metropolitan Commission

The Pennsylvania General Assembly has passed legislation, signed by Governor John S. Fine early this year, providing for a fourteen-member Metropolitan Study Commission of Allegheny County. The commission, according to the act, is "to promote the uniform development of the 129 municipalities within Allegheny County [including Pittsburgh] and to encourage those municipalities to cooperate in meeting the problems attendant to the tremendous growth of the county in recent years."

Members of the commission will be appointed by the governor from nominations made by the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, Pennsylvania Economy League, Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, AFL, CIO, Association of Township Commissioners, Association of Township Supervisors, Association of Boroughs, third class cities within the county, Pittsburgh City Council, Allegheny County Commissioners, County Board of School Directors, County Independent School District Superintendents Association and the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association. Each group may make one nomination.

Subjects to be covered include building codes, housing developments, cooperation among communities, consolidation of small communities and of school districts and "any other subject which the commission deems proper" and which is within the scope of the act.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, June, page 307.

An attempt in 1929 to consolidate Allegheny County and its many municipalities into a single integrated unit, though securing a majority of the votes, failed to meet the provision for a two-thirds vote in a majority of the municipalities involved.[1]

City-County Consolidation of Functions in Colorado

The Boulder, Colorado, health department recently was merged with the Boulder County health department, and the city of Alamosa, in the same state, has joined with Alamosa County in a flood control project which will involve dredging and the building of dikes.

In the health reorganization, the city and county staffs will share an office supplied by the county, although separate city and county payrolls will be maintained. Forty per cent of the services of the combined staff, according to the agreement, must be performed within Boulder City. A statute authorizing intergovernmental contracts of this nature was enacted in 1949.

Voting Machines Approved in Two West Virginia Counties

The people of Logan and Kanawha Counties, West Virginia, have voted their approval of the use of voting machines. The necessity of official action and securing of funds, however, will undoubtedly delay the actual use of machines in the two counties. Kanawha County, containing the state capital, Charleston, is the most populous in the state.

Meanwhile, Cabell County, the only one in the state now using voting machines, experienced difficulties in the primary because within the Huntington city precincts over 500 names of candidates appeared on the machines. The League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce and citizen organizations are seeking ways to remedy the delay which caused many to turn away from the polls without voting.

Paul D. Stewart

Marshall College

Cattaraugus County Government Analyzed

The Public Expenditure Committee of the Cattaraugus County, New York, Board of Supervisors recently submitted a thorough study and analysis of the county's government to the board. In its lengthy report it recommended especially: (1) the strengthening of the personnel system, (2) making more effective use of the budget officer, (3) development of a genuine capital planning program and (4) positive techniques to educate the citizens regarding county operations.

History Project Sponsored by Warren County, N. C.

Commissioners of Warren County, North Carolina, are sponsoring an essay contest in order to obtain a history of the county. The students in the county schools are invited to compete by writing a history of 10,000 words or less. The first and second prizes consist of a $50 and a $25 war bond. Other interested organizations and persons are invited to contribute additional prizes to increase the incentive for students to participate. The county board retains the right to modify or combine the entries in order to construct a satisfactory history of the county.

---

[1] See "Voters Turn Thumbs Down on Pittsburgh's Metropolitan Charter," by Martin L. Faust. The Review, August 1929, page 529.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Ohio Floats A Record Loan

Turnpike Revenue Bonds Sold at Large Discount

THE largest revenue bond issue ever sold by a state or municipality in the United States was placed June 3, 1952, when Ohio placed with a large syndicate of banks and dealers $326,000,000 of revenue bonds to finance construction of the Ohio turnpike. The bonds were part of a $330,000,000 authorization voted by the state's electors and will be payable solely from tolls, etc., charged to users of the facility, which will be constructed and operated by a special commission.

The bonds, which mature in 1992 but will be redeemable by call beginning in 1962, bear interest coupons of 3¼ per cent and were sold at $976 per $1,000 bond, an effective interest rate of approximately 3.36 per cent per annum for the $318,176,000 the state will receive. The bonds were reoffered by the bankers at par and accrued interest, were all placed on the day of public offering, and were within the next few days traded at a price as high as 102¼ per cent of par. Not all the $7,824,000 discount received by the offering syndicate was profit, however; negotiations for placement of the bonds had been proceeding for many months and underwriting expenses were said to be extraordinarily large, involving among other things the organization of a syndicate of some 410 banks and investment firms throughout the nation to effect distribution of the securities.

At the same time the offering of the syndicate for the bonds was accepted by the turnpike commission, action was taken to start a test suit before the Ohio Supreme Court to settle legal questions raised by opponents. The commission's secretary refused to sign the bond certificates, or to attest the signature of the commission's chairman, and the commission's secretary-treasurer immediately went before the state's highest tribunal—with the necessary briefs already printed—to ask for a writ of mandamus directing the secretary to sign.

The friendly suit is described as raising all the questions of legality involved in two taxpayers' suits filed earlier, which had threatened to delay proceedings for months while they were argued through the intermediate courts. Ruling on the application for mandamus is expected before the court adjourns for the summer.

The cost to Ohio of the money it has borrowed for its turnpike is not out of line with the cost of other turnpike loans recently financed with revenue bonds, but it serves again to raise the question whether revenue bonds are an appropriate means of financing for large state projects. In early June 1952, the average interest yield of general obligation bonds of twenty representative state and municipal issuers, as compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* was 2.10 per cent. Had Ohio chosen to pledge its full faith and credit for payment of the bonds, as well as to offer the security of toll and other user-charges, it would undoubtedly have secured its money at a much lower cost.

Akron and Canton Adopt Income Taxes

Two more Ohio cities have joined the ranks of those levying payroll and gross income taxes. In Akron a tax at the rate of ½ of 1 per cent has been dedicated for four years, 30 per cent to debt retirement, 30 per cent for trunk sewer construction, 8 per cent for the University of Akron and 25 per cent for fire, police and park operations, with the remaining 7 per cent for administration. Income is estimated at $3,500,000 annually. In Canton a tax at the same rate became effective July 1, 1952.

Other Ohio cities which have followed Toledo's lead in levying gross income taxes are Dayton, Springfield and Youngstown. To the end of 1951, the Toledo tax had yielded that city more than $34,000,000. In the six years since the Toledo excise was imposed, it has provided funds to retire all the city's general purpose bonded debt, as well as large amounts for capital improvements and current operations.

States Adjust Income Tax Rates

State legislatures meeting so far in 1952 have found income taxes, both personal and corporate, a lively issue, with minor reductions and procedural changes more the rule than rate increases, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators.

Maryland lowered its income tax rate for the first time by allowing individual taxpayers a 15 per cent credit on taxes due on 1951 income. Colorado, New York and Virginia extended reductions enacted in prior years and Georgia increased tax exemptions and deductions.

Colorado's 20 per cent tax cut, allowed individual and corporate income taxpayers since 1950, has been extended to the calendar year 1952, while in New York the payment of individual income taxes at 90 per cent of normal rates was made applicable to 1951 income. New York's full income tax rate has not been imposed since 1941, with the 10 per cent reduction effective since 1948. Also extended was a 25 per cent cut, from 4 to 3 per cent, in New York's unincorporated business tax, first allowed on taxes due on 1945 income.

Virginia's automatic tax reduction act providing for tax cuts for both individual and corporate income taxpayers, contingent upon the level of annual revenues, has been extended indefinitely but in a revised form. On the basis of the new law, a credit will be allowed individual and corporate income taxpayers if general fund revenues for fiscal 1952 exceed budget revenue estimates for that year by at least 5 per cent of the combined estimated corporate and individual income tax yields for fiscal 1953. The credit allowed will be the percentage, disregarding fractions, of the revenue excess to fiscal 1953 combined income tax estimates. General fund revenue collections in Virginia for the first eight months of the current fiscal year were $65,545,933. The effect of the law will be to give income taxpayers a 5 per cent credit if the general fund revenues exceed $105,344,399 for this fiscal year, and an additional 1 per cent credit for each $610,320 over that figure.

Georgia's income tax exemptions for dependents were boosted from $400 to $500. Also, a deduction for medical expenses not to exceed 5 per cent of gross income less business expenses was allowed for the first time, and an additional $500 exemption was granted to taxpayers over 65 or blind. In addition, a proposal was approved for submitting to the voters, next November, a constitutional amendment limiting the state ad valorem rate to ¼ mill.

In California a proposed bill to cut sales, income and bank and corporation taxes by $109,000,000 was defeated after the governor recommended set-

(Continued on page 364)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Private Groups Use P. R.

Citizen, Student, Business Bodies Elect by Hare System

FURTHER instances of the use of proportional representation in the elections of private associations continue to reach this department from time to time. One of the most recent is the election in May of the first permanent board of directors of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis. Balloting was by mail with provision for secrecy. The count was open to the membership.

Eighteen nominations were made for the eighteen positions (in three groups, to provide overlapping terms) by a nominating committee. No further nominations were received, although they were solicited in the notice mailed to the membership. Write-in votes were permitted under the rules, however, so that the nominees could not be declared elected until the ballots were examined.

The Seattle Municipal League continues to hold a P. R. election every spring to choose its board of directors, reports the *Seattle Municipal News* published by the league. Nine members are elected each year. A nominating committee usually names eighteen. There is also provision for direct nomination by the membership.

Students of the School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California adopted a new student government charter last May providing for a five-man council chosen by P. R., a chief administrative officer chosen by the council, and various subordinate officers and committee heads chosen by the chief administrative officer. The latter and his appointees may be removed from office by a majority vote of the proportionally-elected council.

The new charter was derived from model drafts and charters for the council-manager plan of municipal government. The Southern California Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration assisted two student committees in preparing the charter, but the association plays no part in the new organization, according to the student newspaper, *Trojan in Government.*

Consumers Cooperative Services, which runs a chain of cafeterias and food stores in New York City, in May elected three members of its nine-man board of directors (to serve for three-year terms) by the Hare system. The service has used P. R. annually for more than twenty years. Of 899 valid ballots cast, Leslie Woodcock, veteran leader in the cooperative movement, received 500 first choices.

J. E. Rhoads & Sons, Wilmington, Delaware, manufacturers of belting and industrial leathers, uses the Hare system annually for its plant election.

To Investigate P. R. Abroad

George Howatt, instructor in the Department of History and Government at Lehigh University, has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship to study preferential voting and proportional representation in Australia. He expects to leave this country about August 15, to begin his studies with the opening of the spring semester "down under."

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of the

Sodality of Our Lady, St. Louis, Missouri, will sail for Europe on August 29 to attend the meeting of the International Union of Family Organizations at Oxford, England, in September. On his trip he expects to visit Ireland and to seek evidence there of change in the relations between political groups since proportional representation elections were introduced. Father Dowling is a member of the councils of the Proportional Representation League and of the National Municipal League.

Limited Vote for Yonkers?

Dissatisfaction with the partisan ward system of representation adopted by Yonkers, New York, when it discontinued the use of P. R. for council elections, is suggested by the circulation of petitions in that city to substitute a limited vote method of election with a nonpartisan ballot.

Under the plan proposed, the council would be reduced to seven members, including the mayor and vice mayor, all to be elected at large. Voters would be permitted to vote for no more than five candidates for council. The seven candidates with the highest number of votes would be elected.

Although the proposed system would provide some minority representation and might avoid—though not certainly—giving a minority party control of the council as the present ward system did when it went into effect in 1951[1] it would tend to give minorities less than a proportional share of representation. Furthermore, under the limited vote system the effectiveness of a voter's ballot might depend on his knowledge of the popularity of candidates in addition to his own preferences, whereas under P. R. a voter is not handicapped by his ignorance of how most others are inclined to vote, nor is he able to vote more effectively by reference to knowledge of such factors.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 362)

ting aside excess revenues for state institutional construction or for retirement of state debt. The bill received strong support from the legislature and would have lowered the sales tax from 3 to 2½ per cent, increased personal income tax exemptions by $1,000 and reduced bank and corporation taxes by 15 per cent.

Several states extended rate increases on income taxes during current legislative sessions. Kentucky extended both individual and corporation income tax rate increases enacted in 1950 and Rhode Island's 1951 corporation income tax increases were also carried over to 1952. Mississippi has enacted a new state income tax law, effective with individual and corporate income earned during the current year. The 1952 law provides for higher rates on several categories of net income but offsets these rate boosts on individual income with higher personal exemptions for most taxpayers.

Illinois Issues Popular Reports

Popularized financial reports to the citizens of Illinois are now being made by the state's Department of Finance, in an attractive little folder illustrated with simple charts and containing abbreviated summaries of revenues and fund balances. That for April 1952, covering the period July 1, 1951, through March 31, 1952, disclosed that total revenues from all sources for the first three quarters of 1951-52 were $431,200,000, compared with $383,700,000 in the 1950-51 period.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, December 1951, page 596.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Citizens Committee Seeks Urban Highways

Conducts Poll to Convince Rural-minded State Planners

THE Citizens Highway Committee of New Jersey, organized in 1950 to speed up highway construction, is using public opinion to force politically-minded state planners to build highways where they are needed.

In New Jersey as in other states rural legislators, representing acres instead of people, have dominated the Highway Department. The result has been excellent roads and highways in rural sections, leading up to but not into the cities.

Traffic and engineering studies have shown that the real highway need is for modern expressways in the urban areas, but the state has continued to spend its major funds in rural areas, largely ignoring congestion and economic deterioration in the cities.

The Citizens Highway Committee, composed of more than a thousand members, believed that the people of New Jersey were far ahead of their politically-minded planners. It had the Princeton Research Service make a statewide poll to discover what the people felt about highway construction needs. The results have surprised many legislators and state officials.

First, rural residents are nearly as conscious as their city cousins that the real problem is in urban areas. For example, in answer to the question whether rural and secondary roads are overcrowded in their part of the state, only 6 per cent of rural residents said "yes." But 69 per cent of the same group said streets and highways are overcrowded in large cities.

Place of Residence By Population	*Streets Crowded in Large Cities*
Less than 2,500	69%
2,500-24,999	76%
25,000-99,999	78%
100,000 and over	80%

Traffic Conditions

Most New Jersey adults find driving less enjoyable today than a few years ago. They blame increased traffic, dangerous drivers and inadequate highways.

Nearly three out of every four people feel that the streets in the larger cities in their part of the state are usually overcrowded and nearly as many say they avoid shopping in larger cities because of this congestion. The majority feel that traffic moves fast enough for their needs on main highways in the country but too slowly in business and shopping centers.

Traffic conditions are the main reason for the avoidance of large city business and shopping districts and the major objections are to traffic congestion, inadequate parking facilities and poor traffic planning and control.

Need For More Highways

When asked whether more highways are needed to handle traffic, New Jersey gave a resounding "yes." Seven out of ten said more highways are needed, but it is not surprising that only six out of ten rural residents feel more highways are needed, while in the largest cities eight out of ten stress the need.

New Jersey has been building highways at the most rapid rate in its history during the past two years. Do the people of New Jersey think that construction is proceeding too rapidly? Not at all. Only 2 per cent think so; 46 per cent think we should continue at about the present rate, and a startling 38 per cent think we should build highways even faster.

Public and Experts

The public agrees with the experts on traffic conditions and the need for highways in New Jersey. The people and the experts say they want more highways especially in large cities and other urban areas.

Yet to be determined is the effect of this news on state planners. The Citizens Highway Committee is hopeful they will be as responsive to the voters as they have been to votes in the rural-dominated Senate.

Highway Financing

The public is by no means so clear in its opinions on financing highways.

A substantial majority believes that the cost of all local streets and roads should be paid for from motor vehicle fees rather than from property taxes, the main source of funds up to now.

Seventy-one per cent were opposed to "diversion" of highway user fees and said that all motor vehicle revenues should be spent for highways. This is contrary to the policy now being carried on in New Jersey.

A majority favor "an additional tax on heavy trucks based on the miles they travel and the weights they carry over New Jersey highways." This was one of four suggested solutions and rolled up 51 per cent compared to 32 per cent for the second choice, ending of "diversion" even if it meant new taxes.

A majority, excluding those with no opinion, favor state bond issues to provide more funds for highway construction.

Eight New Jersey citizens feel that the state is spending too little money on highways for every one who feels that the state is spending too much. Over half of those questioned, however, either had no opinion or thought expenditures were about right.

HENRY W. CONNOR, *Secretary*
Citizens Highway Committee

Literature for the Voting Citizen

Civic and political organizations are aiding the citizen to understand his civic duty by the publication of material on voting and participation in the public affairs of his local, state and national government. Here are a few:

12 Steps to More Votes (24 pages, 25 cents) has been issued by the Legislative Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C. It is an aid to local chambers in the conduct of "Register and Vote" campaigns.

Good Citizen—The Rights and Duties of an American (72 pages) lists "nine keys to good citizenship . . . the how and why of each." Published by The American Heritage Foundation, it may be secured from that organization at 25 West 45th Street, New York City.

You Can Vote—Summaries of State Registration and Voting Laws (30 pages) was compiled by Mrs. Ethel Y. Black of the Absentee Voters Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, Ring Building, Washington, D. C.

Practical Politics (41 pages), by Daniel J. Riesner, describes the two-party system, the setup of political parties, how the primary system works, registration and voting, etc., and tries to answer the question, "How do I get into politics?" It may be secured from the New York Republican County Committee, 54 West 40th Street, New York.

Voting Responsibility (32 pages), by David S. Switzer, prepared particularly for Texans, is helpful to voters of any state. Write to the Lone Star Schoolbook Depository, P. O. Box 870, Dallas 1, Texas, for a copy at ten cents, or a hundred copies for $7.50.

Coming down to the local level, the Civic Club of Allegheny County, in Pittsburgh, has issued *Voting Information Compiled in the Public Interest to*

Help you Find the Answer to Your Voting ?'s (seven pages). Covered are the election schedule, qualifications for voting, procedure in voting, rules for the conduct of elections, etc., etc.

The Joint Civic Committee on Elections of Chicago, of which the City Club is a member, has prepared a voter's guide setting forth much of the data that voters should know but don't, reports the *City Club Bulletin.* It lists the names of offices to be voted on, residence qualifications, the routine of voting—paper ballots and machine, write-in voting, powers of precinct officials, and many other items. It is being widely circulated among teachers of adult education classes. Its cost is 20 cents. Ask the City Club.

Getting Out the Vote

A gold feather citizen campaign to get out the vote, patterned along the lines of that recently conducted in Seattle,[1] has been sponsored in the first division of the territory of Alaska. Says the *Seattle Municipal News,* "Our correspondent reported that as a result there were record breaking turnouts in various southeastern Alaska cities for which the gold feather campaign received its due credit."

Harding College, of Searcy, Arkansas, has another suggestion for tagging those who vote. Every person who goes to the polls would be distinguished with a little red, white and blue tag hung from the coat lapel or a button. The tag would read, "I Have Voted—Have You?" Aim of the program says President George S. Benson, "is to get the country's ninety million persons of voting age to the polls every election day."

A competition among students in all schools—public, private and parochial—pointing up the importance of registering and voting in the forthcoming presidential election, has been announced by the *World-Telegram and Sun,* New York daily newspaper. The effort is part of an "across-the-country campaign" by Scripps-Howard Newspapers to get out the vote. Students have been asked to submit a statement of 50 words or less on "Why voting is vital to democracy?" A board of judges composed of the mayor, superintendent of schools and other prominent officials and private citizens will pick the winners.

The Chamber of Commerce of Visalia, California, has challenged 46 towns to a "Get-Out-the-Vote" contest, to be based on the turnout for the November 4 election. Towns challenged were chosen for similarity of size and character to Visalia.

In St. Louis, previous to the June 5 special registration day, the League of Women Voters urged its members to influence others to register and vote. It distributed cards which read, "I have influenced five people to register" with lines for "how" as well as the name and address of the signer.

A United Modesto?

Appointed by the mayor to develop a program for uniting the city of Modesto (California) and its surrounding areas, the Greater Modesto Committee filed its report late last year. The committee, composed mostly of persons who do not live or vote within the city limits, strongly recommends the unification of the city and its surrounding area rather than an annexation program by the city. Two-thirds of the people involved live outside the incorporated city. Says the report:

"A united Modesto would enable all of us, working together, to provide the facilities and services now needed by this community of 52,000 people.... It is the unanimous opinion of this committee that a united Modesto would be a stronger Modesto, a better Modesto and a greater Modesto. Unification of the unincorporated Modesto area with the present city would serve the best interests of the people of the entire community."

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1952, page 265.

The report discusses boundaries, sewage disposal, fire protection, water, general improvements and services, costs, etc. Eight of the committee's recommendations, which would apply even before unification, have been accepted by the Modesto city council as a basis for immediate action. The council approves also the second group of recommendations, to take place when unification is accomplished.

Off to Good Start

The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis has selected Raymond D. Black, Minneapolis attorney, as its executive director. The appointment culminated a search of two and a half months throughout the country. The Citizens League,[1] organized early this year, now has a membership of over a thousand.

The league is off to a good start with the publication of two attractive leaflets describing its makeup and aims —*Know Your Citizens League* and *What the League Wants to Do.* The first issue of its news bulletin, *It Is Your Community,* came out May 26. It reports the organization of five Project Study Committees to "begin research into various government procedures and problems on both the city and county level." The committees are listed: Autumn Election Issues, Know Your Departments of Government, Forms of Government, Methods of Financing Government, Methods of Government Operation.

The annual meeting of the League, held June 11, featured a panel discussion of city and county problems. Participants were city and county officials who answered questions from the audience.

Manager Plan Activities

The League of Women Voters of Worcester, Massachusetts, at its annual meeting this spring, adopted as part of its current agenda the support of the city's Plan E charter, which provides for the council-manager plan with proportional representation. . . . The *Connecticut Voter,* published by the League of Women Voters of Connecticut, carries an article in its April issue on "Council-Manager Government." Prepared by Mrs. Thomas H. Reed of Wethersfield, the story calls the plan "a good mechanism for getting a job done," but adds, "There should always be a strong citizens' committee to act as a watchdog and back competent candidates." . . .

Council-Manager News is a four-page publication of the New Haven (Connecticut) Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Charter. The *News* reports on the efforts of the committee and other civic groups to secure the manager plan for New Haven. James M. Osborn, of Yale University, is acting chairman.

The Colorado Springs (Colorado) Charter League, organized in May, is a "Citizens' organization supporting good local government through the council-manager plan." Its purpose is to "assist in the maintenance of efficient, economical and responsive local government through (a) continuing support and promotion of the principles of the council-manager plan of operation; (b) seeking out and actively supporting the candidacy and office tenure of qualified council members pledged to the maintenance of basic charter provisions and accepted principles of the council-manager form of local government." Colorado Springs has operated under the council-manager plan since 1921.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1952, page 159.

The Citizens Committee for Better Government of Calumet City, Illinois, has awarded the prize in its essay contest on "Does a Community Derive Benefits from a City Manager Form of Government?" The prize, a $25 savings bond, was won by Carol Greb, student at the Thornton Fractional Township High School of Calumet City.

The Mississippi Economic Council, which this year secured passage of council-manager enabling legislation, has issued a ten-page pamphlet, *Interested in Council Manager Government?*—"A Citizen's Guide to This New Form of Municipal Government under Mississippi Law." The leaflet describes the manager plan, shows how it works, and how cities may secure it. Included in the last-named category is an outline of a citizens campaign for adoption of the plan

Citizenship Day

As announced in this department in April (see page 217), Citizenship Day will hereafter be celebrated on September 17, Constitution Day. Plans for the seventh annual National Conference on Citizenship, to be held in Washington September 17-19, are being made by the National Education Association and the office of the Attorney General. This year's theme will be "The Constitution and the Citizen." Interested organizations are asked to name three delegates.

The *Report of the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship* (136 pages) is now available at 50 cents from the office of the National Education Association of the United States, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Reported are the addresses of President Truman, U. S. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, Judge Florence E. Allen, and many other prominent officials, educators and lay citizens, as well as panel discussions. The report is well illustrated with photographs of conference sessions, discussion groups, speakers, etc.

Crime Fighters

San Jose, California, has a police advisory committee, a group of public-spirited citizens aiding the police department in dealing with the social aspects of crime prevention work. It is composed of sixteen members selected by the city manager and the police chief, with thirteen more chosen by the committee. Main objectives, according to the International City Managers' Association, are to foster a closer relationship between the police department and the citizenry, to stimulate interest in public education programs, to pool pertinent factual information, to convey to the public information on measures taken by the department to control vice and criminal activity, and to act in a consultative capacity on policies suggested by the administration. During its first year, the committee has instituted an educational program to prevent shoplifting, a bicycle safety program, and an educational program on drug addiction for both adults and high school students.

Civic Assembly

The City Club of Chicago reports that its City Club Civic Assembly, held April 19, was a notable success. "It brought together dynamic civic leaders," says the City Club *Bulletin*. "It reviewed the major objectives for Chicagoland." U. S. Senator Paul Douglas addressed the group.

Annual Meetings

Richardson Dilworth, district attorney of Philadelphia, was the principal speaker at the annual banquet of the Massachusetts Civic League held April 22 in Boston.

At the annual dinner of the League of Women Voters of Somerset Hills, New Jersey, a panel discussion on "Legislative Procedures" was conducted by State Senator Malcolm S. Forbes, Assemblyman Anderson Fowler, John E. Bebout, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League, and Mrs. Donald van Dyke, state LWV legislative chairman.

Potpourri

Reader's Digest hails the work of the New Boston Committee in a story by T. E. Murphy in its April issue. The article points out that largely through the work of the committee Boston "has made an about-face from political misrule and has begun to march resolutely toward better government."...

The Citizens League of Greater Cleveland reports that in four weeks 213 new members joined as a result of a special drive. League membership as of the first of the year was 3,357; aim of the membership committee is 4,000 by the end of this year.

The Phoenix Chamber of Commerce is circulating pamphlets to "Phoenix Citizens Living Outside the City Limits," listing the advantages to be gained through annexation. Included are *An Invitation to Become a Part of the City of Phoenix, It Will Pay You to Come on In,* and *Facts on City Expansion*. . . .

"Representatives of seventeen neighborhood improvement associations and other groups have enrolled in the neighborhood planning course jointly sponsored by the Citizens' Council and Purdue University Center," reports the *News Letter* of the Fort Wayne, Indiana, Citizens Civic Association. . . . With the publication of its February 1952 issue, the *Civic News* of the East Detroit Civic League celebrated its second anniversary. The issue carries congratulatory letters from public officials, including U. S. Senators Blair Moody, Estes Kefauver and Homer Ferguson, and persons prominent in the civic field. . . .

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund has set aside funds for the conduct of a study of metropolitan areas. The Metropolitan Area Project, as it has been named, is under the direction of Miss Anna Lord Strauss, chairman, and Mrs. Harold Dyke, vice chairman. Philadelphia is scheduled as the first city where basic data will be gathered. . . .

The South Bend Civic Planning Association has mailed questionnaires to candidates for state legislative and county offices, seeking data on qualifications and comments on current issues. The association has published the fourth edition of its *Civic Cinema,* which describes the working of the city government, lists city and county officials, salary data, public expenditures, etc. A chart of the city government is portrayed. . . .

The Dedham (Massachusetts) Committee for Civic Progress, which recently failed in its campaign for a town manager charter, is already making plans for its 1953 charter drive. This year it will conduct an all-out membership drive to secure the interest of as many voters as possible. A goal of at least 4,000 members has been set.

The Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, has held a number of "locality" meetings to which residents of the area, as well as city councilmen and school committee members, were invited. Discussion centered around the needs of the locality. . . . The Board of Directors of the Medford Plan E Civic Association has decided to issue quarterly reports to members on city problems.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

How to Stretch Research Dollar

Long Day in a Local Bureau Shows Wide Range of Service

Condensed from the log of a day's work in the office of the Dade County Research Foundation, of Miami, sent by Executive Director John Willmott to his members.

IT COSTS $31,000 a year—$122 per working day—to run the bureau. Here's what we did with it one day.

Assistant director opened office at 7:30. Executive director arrived at 8. From 8 to 9 reviewed recent governmental happenings and listed things to be done. Went over city manager–assistant manager situation and our pending report on this subject.

Discussed the runaround we got—as usual—when we requested a copy of the tentative school budget. Figured out a way to get the budget, despite the iron curtain.

Made plans for officers and executive committee to have lunch with Walter Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials. Walter has read all our planning reports and knows local situation thoroughly.

At 9 o'clock the mail, which included three checks from new members, was brought in. Membership committee has secured 32 new members so far this year; more on the way.

From 9 o'clock on, shop filled with customers. Miss A of WXYZ wanted information on duties, terms and salaries of offices involved in primary election. Gave her complete data which she will use on her radio program. Mrs. B called for information on city charter revision to be used on her citizens action radio program.

Called Miss C of the Chamber of Commerce regarding the women's division's meeting on county planning. Gave her summary of our observations and suggested some pointed questions which might be put to Utopia-claiming officials: Why salaries to planning board members? Why no planning expert? Why no five-year financial plan for public improvement? Why are citizens denied free access to planning board meetings and minutes? Why the attempt to keep public records from the public?

Miss D, also of the women's division, called to discuss recent school developments.

Called county budget officer to see how county budget is coming along. Progress to date: almost nil, because of onerous election duties and nonadoption of the modern budget system we have been urging.

Model school bus specifications from National Education Association arrived in morning mail. Checked these with school bus supervisor. A hot controversy is raging over the purchase of school buses. This NEA report may be helpful to inquisitive school board members.

Bill F of the *News* called to ask what we're doing these days. We told him. You'll see it soon in his column. Copies of a recent column in the *Herald*, summarizing the bureau's achievements during the past five years, were mailed today to 30 membership prospects.

Took stock of the membership campaign and planned several new features. Twenty-five letters were dictated during the day, most of them to prospects.

Just before noon, bootlegged copy of the tentative school budget. Analysis shows that it doesn't state the total amount of proposed expenditures;

little itemization of prior years' expenditures.

After lunch, put the final touches on a proposal for technical assistance which we are submitting to the charter board at the request of one of its members.

Another phone call to president of the Junior Women's Club re its request for a talk on the school situation. The club is conducting an energetic, statewide campaign for adoption of our number one school recommendation.

Two university students called and arranged to use our ample library for survey of county purchasing.

Just before leaving at 6 o'clock, the director scanned this log of the day's events and noted how much time is spent on work with other civic organizations, also press, radio and TV. We can afford to do this, for these agencies cite our findings and endorse many of our recommendations. Officials don't use our stuff very much yet, but they will. Initial hostility has almost vanished. Most official contacts are now friendly. Before long, local office holders will be our biggest customers.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airports

The County Goes in Business. The League's Prospectus on the Greater Pittsburgh Airport. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* April 1952. 9 pp.

Debt

The Debt of the Louisiana State Government, 1950 and 1951. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report,* March 31, 1952. 11 pp.

Education

Independent or Dependent School Administration. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), April 1952. 2 pp.

Needed Adjustments in the Secondary Schools. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* April 29, 1952. 8 pp.

The Proposed Increase in the Schools' Tax Limit. Are There Alternatives to a School Tax Limit Increase? The School Property Tax Trend and the Tax Limit. Schenectady 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* April 15, 25 and 30, 1952. 3, 3 and 2 pp. respectively.

Salaries of U. S. Teachers—Californians Top 1949-50 List at $4,268 Average. (Excerpts from Report of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, March 7, 1952.) Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* April 1952. 2 pp. 25 cents.

School Maintenance—Where Do We Stand? Hartford 3, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* April 1952. 3 pp.

Survey of Houston Independent School District Finance, Services and Building Program 1952 Through 1956. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 79 pp.

Flood Control

Harris County Flood Control District—Narrative Functional Description. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 10 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

Submission to the Committee on Provincial-Municipal Relations of the Province of Ontario. (A broad evaluation of local government operations in Ontario as affected by provincial law and administration, with 42 suggestions.) Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada supported by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto, 1952. 36 pp. $1. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Liability

Liability for Sidewalk Conditions and Repair Thereof. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* March 1952. 14 pp.

Libraries

Problems and Activities of Small and Medium-Sized Libraries. (Proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration, Sixteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1951.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1952. 25 pp.

Licensing

For Better Service. New Department Making Progress Toward Goal of Centralizing Licensing and Inspecting. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 12, 1952. 3 pp.

Missouri River Basin

The Missouri River Basin, Proposals for Development. By Marvin Meade. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 68 pp.

Municipal Government

Management Fundamentals and City Government. Statement of Harold Riegelman to The Board of Estimate on the 1952-53 Executive Budget. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, 1952. 45 pp.

Planning

Proposed Capital Improvements, 1952-1958. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* April 1, 1952. 2 pp.

Public Health

Public Health Administration in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* April 1952. 4 pp.

Public Relations

The Dynamics of Community Relations. By Carl H. Walker. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* April 1952. 5 pp.

Salaries

Police-Fire Salaries Paid By San Francisco and Seven California Cities Compared. Teacher's Salary Schedules Compared. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* May 15 and May 23, 1952. 1 and 2 pp. respectively.

Sewage Disposal

King County's Sewage Disposal Problem. Seattle 4, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, 1952. 6 pp.

State Government

Illinois State Government. (Organization chart designed for use as a visual aid in governmental training by schools and civic organizations.) Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 1952. 10 cents.

State Reorganization

Institutional Management. (Staff Memorandum.) **State Motor Pool** (Staff Report). Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 17 and 18 pp. respectively.

Tentative Report on Study Unit No. 7—Conservation. Boston, Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government, 1951. 49 pp.

Subsidization of Industry

Industrializing Mississippi — An Analysis of the Balance Agriculture with Industry Program. By Raymond F. Wallace. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952. 57 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Difficulties in Making Comparison of Tax Rates. Lincoln 8, Governmental Research Institute, Inc., *Bulletin,* May, 1952. 2 pp.

Have Michigan Cities a Financial Future? By G. Keyes Page. Lansing 8, State Bar of Michigan, *State Bar Journal,* February 1952. 6 pp.

Luxury Tax Policy Needed. Atlantic City, Tax Survey Commission, May 20, 1952. 3 pp.

1952-53 State Appropriations Passed. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business,* April 17, 1952. 5 pp.

The Tax Burden in Relation to Utah's Economy. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* May 1952. 3 pp.

Taxes! Taxes! Everybody Pays! By Burton L. Hotaling. (A series of nine articles based on extensive research, reprinted from *The Herald-News.*) Passaic, New Jersey, *The Herald-News,* 1952. 23 pp.

Tax Limit Amendments. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment,* May 29, 1952. 3 pp.

Tax Problems of Cities: Report of Section on Governmental Finance by Louis J. Kroeger; New Taxes to Get City Revenue by Louis J. Kroeger; Property Taxes and Single Tax vs. Other City Taxes by Robert Tideman; Critique on Single Tax and Increased Property Taxes by Raymond D. Smith; and Discussion from the Floor. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California. *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), January 21, 1952. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Rates in Colorado Cities. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* April 1952. 2 pp.

Total 1951 Taxes—Collections by federal, state and local governments increase, breaking record set in wartime 1945. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* May 1952. 8 pp.

Trend of Montana Property Taxes 1942-1951. Helena, Montana Taxpayers Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* March 1952. 2 pp.

Traffic

Between the White Lines—Philadelphia Increased Its Street-Markings Last Year; New Emphasis on Lane-Lining. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 21, 1952. 4 pp.

Enforcing Traffic Laws. Police Unit Seeks to Make Tickets Fix-proof by Using Tabulating Machine Techniques. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* May 19, 1952. 3 pp.

Veterans' Bonuses

Initiative Bonus Proposal Would Exclude Many Veterans While Placing Heavy Tax Load on All Veterans and the Public. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey (bulletin), April 1952. 4 pp.

Water and Sewerage Systems

A Report on The Water Supply and Sewerage Systems of the City of Chicago with A Comparative Study of Certain Other American Cities. Chicago, The Civic Federation, 1952. 117 pp.

Zoning

About Town Zoning in New York State and Especially in the Poughkeepsie Area. Poughkeepsie, Area Development Association, Inc., 1952. 8 pp.

Religious, Educational, and Philanthrophic Uses under Zoning. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, University of Pennsylvania, *Municipal Administration,* April 1952. 3 pp.

Simplified Zoning for Small Communities. Hartford, Connecticut Development Commission, Research and Planning Division, 1952. 5 pp.

Books in Review

Preparing College Men and Women for Politics. By Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed. Introduction by Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New York City 3, New York University Law Center, Citizenship Clearing House, 1952. x, 180 pp.

This new study by the Reeds, like their 1950 *Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities,* owes its existence to the long interest maintained by Chief Justice Arthur Vanderbilt of New Jersey, in attracting college men and women to politics. In form, it is a report to the Citizenship Clearing House, which Justice Vanderbilt established at New York University when he was dean of the law school. The travel, correspondence and other expenses necessary for the preparation of this book were defrayed by a grant from the Falk Foundation.

The Reeds visited a large number of colleges and universities, talked to students and instructors, studied course outlines, read assignments and sat in on classes. As a result of their experience they view very coolly the integrated courses in the social sciences, now common, which "actually threaten the slender attention which has been paid up to this time to training for participation in politics." They would prefer a full-year course in American government for all students and a course not burdened with detail but instead sufficiently interesting so that the student would be given "launching speed." They would like to see more colleges offering courses in political parties, more internships in Washington, more student participation in practical politics.

The authors were, they say, "appalled by the dullness, general ignorance and lack of specific preparation displayed by many of the teachers" whose classes they visited. They attribute the bad teaching in part to "the low salaries and meager rewards for ambition in the teaching field." But for the teacher of a course in politics they seek "in addition to his normal academic training, experience with or in politics. . . . The teacher whose knowledge of politics is all derived from books is greatly handicapped in giving students not only a knowledge of the principles of political organization, but the 'feel' of how they actually work." How such paragons are to be obtained and retained at present salaries they cannot predict. What is even worse, "in many institutions there is opposition on the part of deans, presidents and trustees, to the young [or old] teacher taking an active part in politics."

The Reeds, in this careful study, have examined realistically the college scene. They recognize not only what needs doing but who or what stands in the way of doing it. Their proposals would require more sweeping changes than most institutions are likely to make, but the report should be widely read and pondered, especially by the advocates of general education.

DAYTON D. McKEAN
Dartmouth College

Handbook of Practical Politics. By Paul P. Van Riper. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1952. x, 214 pp. $1.95.

An exhaustive listing and description of every step a voter can go through from registering to vote and attending precinct party affairs to helping in political headquarters, promoting candidates, getting out the vote, house-to-house and telephone canvasses, etc. Party structure is well described. Enough to dismay a beginner but remarkably comprehensive and suggestive for anybody.

Building Citizenship. By R. O. Hughes. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1952. xvi, 654 pp. $3.20.

This volume is a profusely illustrated and comprehensive survey of what young American citizens must learn to do not only in relation to government at all its levels but in economics, business and professions. Choices of occupation and living standards and proprieties are listed (diversify your investments!) and the usefulness of the weather bureau. Mildly inspirational and, at moments, preachy but undoubtedly illuminating to high school students of civics for whom it seems highly suitable.

California's Non-Partisanship—Extend? Extinguish?: Report of Section on Legislation and Elections by Herbert Hanley; Abolish Cross-Filing! by Roger Kent; Retain Cross-Filing! by Mrs. Mildred Prince, and Discussion from the Floor. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth,* Part 2, February 25, 1952. 20 pp. 25 cents.

An interesting condensation of a series of competent, well informed debates covering California's unique cross-filing nomination procedures whereby candidates can and frequently do run in both the Democratic and Republican primaries.

A useful contribution to one phase of the whole direct primary subject as set forth in the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System.*

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Abatement Manual. A Bibliography. Washington 5, D. C., Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1952. 57 pp.

Air Pollution. Proceedings of the United States Technical Conference on Air Pollution. Sponsored by the Interdepartmental Committee on Air Pollution, Louis C. McCabe, Chairman. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. xiv, 847 pp. $12.50.

Second Technical and Administrative Report on Air Pollution Control in Los Angeles County 1950-1951. Los Angeles, County Air Pollution Control District, 1951. 51 pp.

Civil Rights

Equality by Statute. Legal Controls Over Group Discrimination. By Morroe Berger. Foreword by Robert M. McIver. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1952. 238 pp. $3.25.

States' Laws on Race and Color and Appendices. Containing International Documents, Federal Laws and Regulations, Local Ordinances and Charts. Compiled and edited by Pauli Murray. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1951. x, 746 pp. $4.

Civil Service

The Unfinished Business of Civil Service Reform. By William Seal Carpenter. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1952. 128 pp. $3.

(For Dr. Carpenter's article composed of excerpts from this volume, see page 339, this issue.)

Cleanup Campaigns

Operation 'Spring Cleaning.' By (Porter) Cliff Greenwood. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* March 1952. 5 pp.

Constitutions

Constitutions and Constitutional Trends Since World War II. An Examination of Significant Aspects of Postwar Public Law with Particular Reference to the New Constitutions of Western Europe. Edited by Arnold J. Zurcher. New York City, New York

University Press, 1951. viii, 351 pp. $5.

Debt

Monetary Policy and the Management of the Public Debt. By H. Christian Sonne. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1952. 23 pp.

Two Decades of Public Debt. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* April 1952. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Disaster Preparedness

Experience in Disaster Financing—Kansas City, Missouri, by Rollin F. Agard and Leslie H. Creel;**Reserve Fund for Hurricane Expense,** by E. B. Poorman; **From Disaster—A Bigger and Better City,** by Kenneth T. Nunn; etc. (A series of eight articles on disaster preparedness and financing.) Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* May 1952. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Education

A Look Into Your Public Schools —East Orange, New Jersey. A Report for the Year 1950-51. East Orange, New Jersey, The Board of Education, 1952. 35 pp.

Housing

A Proposed Housing Ordinance. Regulating Supplied Facilities, Maintenance and Occupancy of Dwellings and Dwelling Units. By Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1952. xviii, 24 pp.

Land Use

Urban Land Use and Property Taxation. By Max S. Wehrly and J. Ross McKeever. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1952. 28 pp. $2.50.

Legislation

Digest of 1952 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1952. 44 pp.

Laws Passed by the 1951 Pennsylvania General Assembly Affecting Local Government. By Thelma J. Showalter and Paul E. Kilmeyer II. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1952. 30 pp.

Legislatures

Kentucky's General Assembly—A Working Legislature. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952. 8 pp. illus.

Municipal Government

A Bibliography for Municipal Clerks. Key Publications for a Key Official. Chicago 37, National Institute of Municipal Clerks, 1952. 16 pp. $2.

Natural Resources

The Future of Our Natural Resources. Edited by Stephen Raushenbush. Philadelphia, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1952. 275 pp. $2.

Permanent Registration

Permanent Registration for Voting in Minnesota. Minneapolis 14, League of Minnesota Municipalities, Municipal Reference Bureau, Information Service, 1952. 5 pp.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of Recent Civic Advance in the Fields of Planning, Parks, Housing, Neighborhood Improvement and Conservation of Natural Resources, including addresses at the National Citizens Conference on Planning and Resources, Miami, Florida, April 11-15, 1951, and the Roll Call of the States at the 31st Annual Meeting of the National Conference on State Parks, Lake Hope State Park, Zaleski, Ohio, October 8-12, 1951. Edited by Harlean James. Washington 5, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1952. ix, 150 pp. $2.

Comparative Digest of the Principal Provisions of State Planning Laws Relating to Housing, Slum Clearance

and Urban Redevelopment as of January 1, 1951. By Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, Division of law. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 80 pp. 55 cents.

'51 Accomplishments, '52 Problems and Opportunities. Annual Report. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Planning Board, 1952. 12 pp.

Public Health

Your Neighbor's Health Is Your Business. By Albert Q. Maisel. (Sponsored by National Health Council, New York City.) New York, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 32 pp. 25 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Public Relations

Measuring Your Public Relations. By Herman D. Stein. New York 10, National Publicity Council, 1952. 48 pp. $1.25.

Public Welfare

Community Planning for Human Services. By Bradley Buell and Associates. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1952. xiv, 464 pp. $5.50.

Recreation

Not Yet Too Late. A Study of Public Recreation and Needed Recreation Lands in the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Area. By Charles L. Crangle and Louis F. Twardzik. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 36 pp. maps, illus. 50 cents.

Rent Control

Report on Rent Control. By Joseph D. McGoldrick. New York City, Temporary State Housing Rent Commission of the State of New York, 1952. 119 pp.

Social Security

The MFOA Policy on Social Security Coverage for Public Employees. History and Background of MFOA participation in problem. Events and conditions leading to present policy. Recent developments on the subject. Status of local retirement plans. Possible future action. By A. A. Weinberg. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1952. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Local Tax Legislation. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* February-March 1952. 16 pp. 50 cents.

Standards and Requirements for Permanent Tax Record Systems. As Adopted by the Committee of Ten Established under Provisions of Act 594, Session of 1951. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, The Committee, 1952. 22 pp.

A Survey of Municipal Finances and Operations in the City of Morgantown. By the Municipal Planning Commission. Morgantown, West Virginia, City Manager's Office, 1952. 80 pp. Charts.

Tax Institute Activities in 1950 and 1951. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* January 1952. 10 pp. 25 cents.

Toll Highways

Toll Roads for Tennessee. An Informational Report. By Harold V. Miller, Margaret K. Pouder and Albert Harlan Mathews. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 20 pp.

Traffic Safety

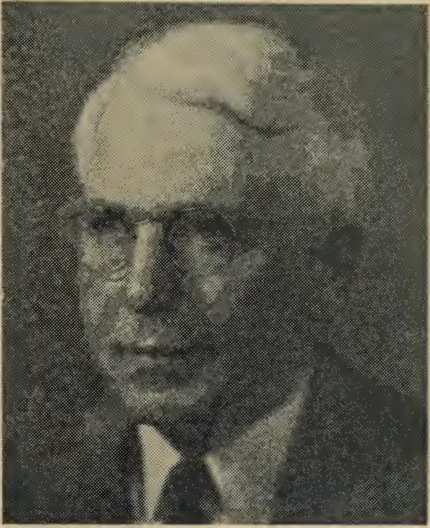
Accident Investigation: Measurements and Diagrams; Some Useful Clues; Traffic Accidents—What They Are; What It Is and Why It Is Important. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1952. 40, 16, 14 and 15 pp. respectively. 50, 25, 25 and 25 cents each. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Traffic Training

Driver Education for Adults. New York City, New York University, Division of General Education, Center for Safety Education, 1952. 16 pp.

Training Program 1952. Evanston, University of Illinois, Traffic Institute, 1952. 30 pp.

Houston Failed John N. Edy



John N. Edy

Back in 1943 the majority of the citizens of Houston decided it was time for a change at the City Hall. What we wanted was greater efficiency in city government, a city administration that would run the city "without fear or favor," one that would conduct public business like the business of the mammoth corporation it is.

This was the thinking that led to the adoption of the city manager form of government. And, as the first city manager, John N. Edy, the foremost municipal government expert in the country, was hired.

Mr. Edy brought to his job brilliance, administrative ability of high order and years of experience as city manager of other communities in California, Ohio, Michigan and Texas.

City Manager Edy gave us good, sound, honest city government. Even opponents of the city manager form of government conceded that. Mr. Edy hewed to the line of business practices and held aloof from politics. His business was government and he did the job.

That is, as long as we permitted him to do it. Which wasn't long. The sniping began. The "outs" — meaning those who make a business of politics — wanted back in, of course. Roadblock after roadblock was thrown in Mr. Edy's way. This he couldn't take and maintain his integrity. He resigned.

The Houston experience probably wasn't the first disillusionment of John Edy. The same things had happened in other cities. So it is understandable that he retired from the municipal management field and entered private business.

It is regrettable that Houston didn't prove worthy of the talents of Mr. Edy, that, after the "honeymoon" period of reform was over, we, the people, allowed the "outs" to snipe their way back in.

We owe a debt to Mr. Edy for giving us good government for a period of two years. Mr. Edy, now dead, will be remembered as a man who made a great success of the city manager form of government in Houston as long as we would permit it.

(Houston *Press*, Editorial, May 12, 1952)

Charles Taft Cited for Civic Leadership

Charles P. Taft

Charles P. Taft, for 30 years a prominent civic leader in Cincinnati, received a Doctor of Laws degree from Yale University in June in recognition of his work in religious, political and educational fields.

The citation, noting that Mr. Taft was graduated from Yale College with the class of 1918 and from Yale School of Law in 1921, read:

"Lay leader of the Protestant faith, you have sought Christian solutions for economic and political problems. Recognizing that improvement of national politics must begin with local politics, you became a leading exponent of the council-manager plan and helped to make the experiment in your home city of Cincinnati the model for a thousand cities."

Mr. Taft, currently a regional vice president of the National Municipal League, has been closely associated with the League's leadership for many years as a member of its governing Council and in other capacities.

San Antonio to Mexico by Rail

The National Railways of Mexico offer delegates to the League's conference a nine-day tour of Mexico at the following rates from San Antonio: coach seat, $124.94, lower berth $167.74; upper berth $161.23; corresponding rates for compartments or drawing rooms for two or three persons. Included are transportation, hotels, meals and sightseeing, except meals on train and tips. The itinerary includes Mexico City, Cuernavaca, Tasco, Puebla, Cholula, Shrine of Guadalupe, Pyramids, and other places of interest. Write National Railways of Mexico, 2401 Transit Tower, San Antonio 5, or your local travel agent.

Kaplan Quits State for Consultant Field

H. Eliot Kaplan

H. Eliot Kaplan, who has been in charge of the New York State Employees Retirement System for the last three years, has resigned as deputy state comptroller to enter private law practice and to serve as a consultant in public and industrial pension administration and in civil service problems.

Mr. Kaplan, who for many years was secretary of the National Civil Service League before entering state service at the request of Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore, then state comptroller, has served on many committees of the National Municipal League and as chief draftsman of the "Model State Civil Service Law" and other documents on which NML and NCSL collaborated.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey, expressing regret over Mr. Kaplan's resignation, said he had made "valuable contributions to the cause of good government and to the public benefit."

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

TEMBER 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO. 8

PUBLIC LIBRARY
SEP 17 1952

NEWS for League Members 381
Wanted: More and Better Politicians .... Editorial
Virginia Counties Turn Cities .... James E. Pate
The Twilight of the Township .... Clyde F. Snider
Iowa Townships Still Here? .... Richard C. Spencer
Tennessee to Have Constitutional Convention 400
King County to Vote on Manager Charter 409
Use of Income Tax Grows at All Levels 412
President of P. R. League Dies 415
New Citizen Groups Get Results 417
Bureaus Develop Strong State Service Programs 422

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
VICTORIA SCHUCK, *Massachusetts*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
PAUL D. STEWART, *West Virginia*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
Lester Bates, Columbia, S. C.
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

LOOK Aids All-American Contest

LOOK Magazine will co-sponsor this year's competition for the "All-America Cities Awards" which will be conferred on eleven communities for effective citizen action.

The competition, which has been conducted for the last three years by the National Municipal League in cooperation with *The Minneapolis Tribune,* provides recognition of citizens' efforts to improve conditions in their own communities.

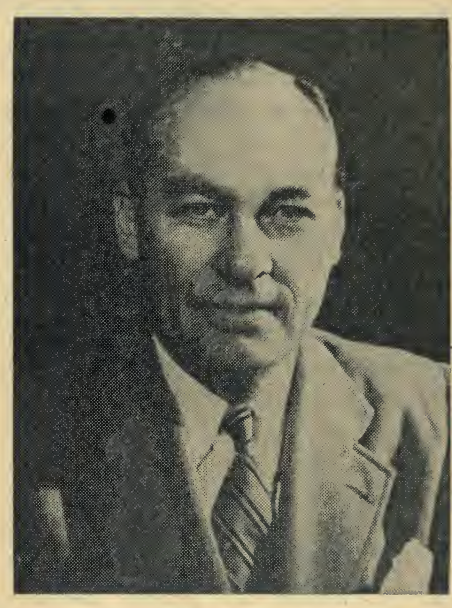
Civic success stories of the competing cities will be told by spokesmen before a jury of distinguished citizens and experts on government at the National Conference on Government, which will be held November 17-19 at San Antonio. Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and a member of the League's Council, again will serve as foreman of the jury.

In announcing the 1952 competition, Dr. Gallup pointed out:

"The citations are given not for good government or efficient administration or some specific improvement on its own account but rather on the basis of energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen effort."

Serving with Dr. Gallup on the jury will be:

Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey; Henry Bruère, president of the National Municipal League; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor, *The American City;* Mark S. Matthews, former president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. Other jurors will be chosen in the near future.



George Gallup

Nominations of cities may be made simply by writing a letter of about 250 words to the National Municipal League, summarizing the way in which a civic problem was met by citizen action. Nominations will be weighed by the Eligibility Committee and those selected as eligible will be invited to send spokesmen to address the jury, which will meet for two afternoons during the Conference.

To allow time for investigation and for late information concerning incomplete situations, final decisions will be delayed until after the first of the year.

Grant Bolsters League Program

The League's program to spread the base of its financial support and to strengthen its services to meet the demands of the current unprecedented civic activity were bolstered in July by a grant from The Ford Foundation.

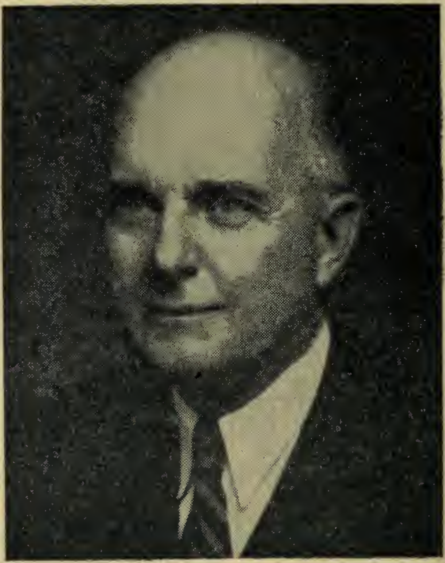
The grant, covering a four-year period, totals $175,000, with $20,000 available for the remainder of 1952 to cover immediate staff expansion. The Foundation will give the League $65,000 in 1953, $50,000 in 1954 and $40,000 in 1955.

The grant is intended not only to bring immediate strength to the League's operations but also to encourage business and industry to underwrite the League's service program more fully.

In notifying Henry Bruère, NML president, of the grant, Paul G. Hoffman, director of the Foundation, wrote:

"It is hoped that the League will be able to increase its regular financial resources during the coming three-year period so as to sustain the program level to be achieved with the assistance of this grant."

Mr. Bruère assured Mr. Hoffman, in acknowledging the grant on behalf of the League, that efforts to widen and solidify the League's financial support would be intensified and that "this generous action will set the work of the League ahead by several years at a time when there is a marked expansion of determined effort by citizen groups to improve their local governments. Your grant will also inspire our organization, as well as equip it, to extend and intensify its aid to such groups."



Henry Bruère

REVIEW Gets New State Correspondents

The latest recruit to the REVIEW'S list of state correspondents is Dr. Victoria Schuck of the Department of Political Science at Mount Holyoke, to serve in Massachusetts. Other recent additions to the list include Dr. Paul Dolan, acting chairman of the Department of Political Science of the University of Delaware; Dr. Franklin L. Burdette, head of the Department of Government and Politics of the University of Maryland; and Dr. Paul D. Stewart, acting head of the Department of Political Science at Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia. The complete list of correspondents appears on the inside front cover of this issue.

Several additional correspondent vacancies remain to be filled in states now inadequately covered.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 8 **Total Number 424**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for September 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 381

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.......................... 384

EDITORIAL COMMENT 385

VIRGINIA COUNTIES TURN CITIES..............*James E. Pate* 387

THE TWILIGHT OF THE COUNTY..............*Clyde F. Snider* 390

IOWA TOWNSHIPS STILL HERE?............*Richard C. Spencer* 397

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION....................*H. M. Olmsted* 400

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP..................*Elwyn A. Mauck* 409

TAXATION AND FINANCE....................*Wade S. Smith* 412

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.......*George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 415

CITIZEN ACTION..........................*Elsie S. Parker* 417

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST.....................*John E. Bebout* 422

BOOKS IN REVIEW.. 427

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor,
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

I am not a "Letters to the Editor" addict but when our Research Department showed me the article entitled "Reorganization Proposed for the District of Columbia," which appears on pages 300-301 in the June issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and I noted the comments and inferences about the Board of Trade's activities, I felt an irresistible urge to write this letter objecting to the report and perhaps provide some education to your reporter, who obviously is either extraordinarily biased or talked only to people who fit into that category.

In the first place, it was stated that "four years later, no plan having been worked out, the appointive three-member commission with modifications was made the District's permanent governing body." While I have not checked, I am sure this comment is practically identical to one made by the Budget Bureau. We do not believe it to be correct. The record of the hearings before the Senate Committee on Reorganization Plan No. 5 contains testimony by us, the board of commissioners and others on this point. I think it can be successfully demonstrated that the commission form of government in the District of Columbia was established because it was considered to be the best form of government for this jurisdiction. It was adopted after several other plans in effect between 1800-1874 proved unsuccessful.

Your reporter refers to the fact that the Board of Trade attacked the Budget Bureau proposal together with "part of the press which for a number of years have led the fight to prevent legislation providing self-government for the District." Since 1916, the Washington Board of Trade has been the leading organization favoring full suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia, the majority of whom, in our judgment, and particularly the "permanent resident" group, consider that no satisfactory form of local self-government is possible without an amendment to the constitution which would permit the people in the District to elect representatives to Congress.

There have been several so-called "home rule" bills for the District of Columbia introduced in Congress during the last six years. Our membership, which has been polled three times on the issue, and many other residents of Washington considered that these bills contained provisions which were unworkable, impracticable and unconstitutional.

With respect to "part of the press," your reporter should obviously be advised that every single daily paper in Washington vigorously opposed the Budget Bureau's proposal for reorganization of the District under the council-manager form. Your reporter will doubtlessly also be surprised to learn that the opposition to the Budget Bureau's proposal was vigorously supported by most of the organizations which have been ardent advocates of the so-called "home rule" government referred to above. Among these groups were such reactionary organizations as the Central Labor Union, A. F. of L., the Washington Industrial Trades Council C. I. O., Federation of Citizens Associations, Federation of Civic Associations (Negro), Association of Oldest Inhabitants and the Federation of Women's Clubs.

It seems to me that my comments in the preceding paragraph quite effectively dispose of your reporter's conclusion that the Budget Bureau plan was opposed

(Continued on page 426)

Editorial Comment

Wanted: More and Better Politicians

THERE is something wrong when a cross-section of American parents, parodying an old refrain, declaim that they did not raise their sons and daughters to be politicians. A distinguishing feature of democracy is that it invites, in fact it enjoins, all citizens to be politicians. The citizen who eschews politics in effect resigns his citizenship. How many such resignations the country can stand without losing its democratic character is a matter of practical as well as theoretical importance.

Antipathy to politics doubtless stems from many causes but there are two of prime importance. One is the notion that politics is a dirty or unsavory business which must besmirch anyone who touches it. The other is a feeling that, dirty or not, politics is at best a pretty frustrating and thankless, if not a futile, affair for a citizen interested only in the general good.

It must be confessed that both these notions are rooted in a considerable amount of common experience. However, as any regular reader of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW or participant in the League's National Conferences on Government knows, decent politics, defined as active cooperation with fellow-citizens in making good things happen to and through government, can be both a rewarding and inspiring experience. Of course, not everybody reads the REVIEW or attends the National Conference on Government, but virtually every American over five has gone to a school dedicated to a belief in the importance of universal education in a democracy. Ask almost any educator, whether at the elementary, secondary or higher level, about his objectives and sooner or later he will claim that development of civic competence and conscience is a major obligation of education up and down the line. For example, the Committee for the Advancement of Teaching of the American Political Science Association, in its 1951 report, *Goals for Political Science,* has stated categorically that "amongst political scientists in the United States training for intelligent citizenship is the predominent interest and emphasis."

What, then, has been wrong with civic education that it has so far failed to give a majority of American citizens a more constructive and hopeful attitude toward their civic responsibilities? Fortunately, this question is being more actively, not to say furiously, explored and debated than ever before. Civic education in colleges and universities has been getting intensive examination and criticism not only at the hands of the Political Science Association but also in two important reports for the Citizenship Clearing House[1] as well as by other individuals and organizations.[2]

---

[1] *Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges (1950)* and *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics* (1952), by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed, both published by the Citizenship Clearing House of the Law Center of New York University.

[2] See, for example, "Is Civic Education a Fraud," by O. Garfield Jones. The REVIEW, May 1952, page 234.

Below the college level there is even more intensive activity. In addition to numerous local experiments, two major national projects[3] in civic education have been busy studying current practices, experimenting with techniques and producing manuals, brochures and study guides detailing objectives, methods and materials from which a comprehensive program of practical civic education in public schools can be fashioned.

There are at least two emerging tendencies that should help counteract the chief sources of the negative attitude toward politics. One is an attempt to relate civic education to general character training for personal integrity and social responsibility. The other is the recognition that experience as well as theory is just as essential to effective civic education as it is to education for any profession. The student who has learned by experience to perform a valid civic task or achieve a worth while civic goal is much less likely to be a victim of the "it's no use" virus than one who has "learned" all his civics out of a book.

Sound civic education is impossible, of course, without sound teachers — teachers who are themselves dedicated and functioning citizens endowed with an understanding of basic principles, including the principle that government must continue to evolve as society responds to new science and new techniques. Much of the failure of civic education in the past must be attributed to the abysmal political ignorance, to say nothing of the dismal civic outlook, of many teachers. This condition goes back to the failure of the states generally to provide for the proper civic education of their teachers and to the mistaken notion that since the schools must, obviously, steer clear of partisan political entanglements the teachers in them must act as if politics did not exist.

To help correct these errors of omission and of policy, the National Municipal League has long been working by bringing educators and community leaders together in regular and special conferences, by helping them through its nonpartisan program for better government to understand the common political stake of all good citizens regardless of party, and by publicizing effective methods of civic education. Continuation of this effort will be a major objective of the forthcoming National Conference on Government in San Antonio.

Fortunately, it does not take a generation for improved civic education, even in the lower schools, to improve the climate of politics. Children are influential people. Properly prepared by sound teaching, they can teach their parents that politics does not have to be a fate worse than death, nor even than the army.

---

[3] Civic Education Project, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. See the REVIEW, March 1949, page 149; March 1950, page 159; September 1950, page 418; December 1950, page 574; June 1951, page 328; and June 1952, page 318.

Virginia Counties Turn Cities

Municipal incorporation for Warwick and Elizabeth City wins at polls; latter also gets city-county consolidation.

By **JAMES E. PATE***

TWO significant changes occurred recently in the local governments of the historic lower peninsula of Virginia. On June 10 Warwick County, by a majority vote of the electorate, was incorporated into the first-class city of Warwick. On June 17 Elizabeth City County, the city of Hampton and the town of Phoebus were consolidated, as a result of popular vote, into the first-class city of Hampton.

The population of the new city of Warwick is estimated as 45,000. Its land area, largely rural and in government reservations with the exception of the heavily populated district near Newport News, is about 60 square miles. The city will continue with the manager form of government which, under County Manager J. C. Morris, has been a conspicuous success since its establishment in 1945. The new charter went into effect in July with a council consisting of the present board of supervisors. Later, elections will be held from the city's five wards for a five-member council.

The new charter continues the present governmental structure, as far as that can be retained under the state constitution. One of the outstanding features of Warwick's county manager government was the integration of all fiscal officers and financial functions of the county government in the department of finance under a director responsible to the county manager. While counties that adopt the manager form of government are allowed to do this, by some strange quirk in the state constitution cities are required to elect their treasurer and commissioner of the revenue. Warwick's new city charter puts these officers, by definition, in the department of finance under supervision of the city manager. But it remains to be seen whether the so-called constitutional and elected officers will cooperate with appointed officers.

The new city of Hampton will comprise a population of approximately 62,000 and a land area of 60 square miles. The area within the limits of the former city of Hampton —an independent city adjoining Elizabeth City County — and the town of Phoebus become boroughs that retain the names of these old communities. The two magisterial districts of the county become boroughs that also continue their names of Wythe and Chesapeake. The new city council will, until elections are held, consist of the members of the county board of supervisors and the mayors of Hampton and of Phoebus. The new city, as did the former city of Hampton and the former Elizabeth City County, will operate under manager government.

---

*Dr. Pate is professor of political science at the College of William and Mary and chairman of the Williamsburg, Virginia, City Planning Commission. He acted as research adviser to the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission's Consolidation Study Committee, whose report recommended the merger into one unit of the five counties and cities in that area.

The recent changes by which one of Virginia's original shires has evolved into a city of the first class with a modern form of government, and where three political subdivisions have consolidated into a larger city, are the result of a movement which began several years ago[1] to consolidate all five governmental units of the lower peninsula—Warwick and Elizabeth City Counties, Newport News, Hampton and Phoebus. This issue was presented to the voters in 1950, but consolidation was beaten by the adverse vote of three of the five communities. Warwick County and Newport News favored consolidation.

Further Consolidation Indicated

The result of the June referenda has been to establish three cities of approximately equal size in an area that is one by all historic, physical and economic reasons — Warwick, Hampton and Newport News. Another result is that it puts Newport News, the central city of the group, in a helpless position as far as future expansion is concerned. As a matter of fact, a powerful argument in favor of the counties incorporating into cities was to forestall any future annexation by Newport News.[2] The distress of the central city again focuses attention on consolidation of the three contiguous cities into one. The general opinion is that the June referenda have advanced consolidation. Some leaders say that consolidation of the three cities is the next move for the communities of the Lower Peninsula of Virginia.

Both the time and the way have been prepared for such a consolidation. An election may be held for this purpose in November. A charter is ready for the greater city of "Hampton Roads" or of "Virginia City" as the proposed city is called in the charter that finally was passed by the General Assembly in 1950. The proposed charter entered the General Assembly with the name of "Hampton Roads." Strong opposition was voiced, from the south side of this famous body of water where the Monitor and the Merrimac once clashed, to the new city of the north side taking an ancient name which had become the trade-mark of the entire area surrounding Hampton Roads. Some gentlemen in the General Assembly therefore saw to it that the name was changed to "Virginia City," which of course is a respectable title for any city but not at all acceptable to the northsiders.

By this charter the historic names of the three cities can be perpetuated as "boroughs" on the assumption that the people's loyalty is attached to the community rather than to the forms of government or to an office. A serious obstacle to any merger, however, is that local officers' loyalty is generally attached to the office. There are remnants of an old doctrine that one has a vested interest in his office, especially if it has been in the family for two or more generations or if the occupant has long been in possession thereof. The name "borough" was acceptable in colonial Virginia to designate certain semi-urban areas, and there was no serious opposition to its revival to designate the historic divisions of the new city.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 393; May 1950, page 251.

[2] Under Virginia law cities, all of which are independent of counties, may move, through the courts, to annex adjoining urban county territory. In most cases the annexation has been approved by the courts.

Manager Plan Provided

The charter of the proposed new city provides for council-manager government. All members of the council will be nominated by petition and elected at large. Borough representation is provided by allowing the voters of each borough of the city to nominate candidates "from which one shall be elected at the general election as a member of the city council from each borough." The charter provides for the usual relations between manager and council, and between manager and the nine administrative departments—personnel, finance, public works, public safety, public welfare, law, parks and recreation, public health, and water works.

The proposed charter provides for a complete merger of the several local governments. An alternative to this plan was provided by the General Assembly in 1948, however, as a means for the communities to get together on their interlocal problems without consolidation. This plan allows each political unit to enter into a loose confederacy by way of a "metropolitan commission." Each community's governing body will appoint a representative to the commission which may in turn appoint a "metropolitan manager" who shall direct "the activities of the commission."

The purpose of the proposed commission is to facilitate the management of functions common to the area. It may be presumed that under this organizational device one metropolitan commission will take the place of several separate agencies that are now managing the airport, the water system and hospital. It would likewise become the agency for handling future functional consolidations. The commission is also authorized to "enter into contractual arrangements with the governing bodies of the respective political subdivisions for the performance of certain governmental services" — a device that has been useful in handling the common problem of several metropolitan areas.[3]

---

[3] For instance, see Ronald M. Ketcham, *Intergovernmental Cooperation in the Los Angeles Area.* University of California Press, Los Angeles.

The Twilight of the Township

Small local unit, relic of horse-and-buggy days, has outlived usefulness; functions transferred to county.

By CLYDE F. SNIDER*

AN early landmark in the development of American political institutions is today approaching oblivion. Long a standard feature of local government throughout most of the midwest and in a few areas elsewhere, the civil township is in the death throes of a struggle for survival.

The United States Bureau of the Census, in its *Governments in the United States in 1951,*[1] reports the existence of 15,889 organized townships in sixteen states. In a majority of those states township government blankets all rural areas; but in some, under optional legislation, townships exist only in certain counties or parts of counties. Civil townships are found generally throughout New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and in a few areas in South Carolina and Washington. However, the high concentration of township government in a solid block of eleven midwestern states (Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin) justifies use of the term "midwestern township" to distinguish the county subdivision in the sixteen so-called township states from the New England town.

This article is limited to townships of the midwestern type, and more particularly to those of the midwestern region, and has no application to the towns of New England. The latter have always been, and remain today, the principal units of local government in their area, with counties actually lacking governmental organization in Rhode Island and occupying a position of distinctly minor importance in other New England states.

A product of frontier civilization, the midwestern township represents in part a transplanting to the westward of New England's system of town government,[2] but its structure was also influenced in a substantial measure by the congressional township introduced into the Northwest Territory by the famous Survey Ordinance enacted by the Confederation Congress in 1785.[3]

The congressional township system of land surveys ultimately spread

---

*Dr. Snider is professor of political science at the University of Illinois. He has been a staff member of the Illinois Legislative Council, the Illinois Tax Commission and the Illinois Department of Revenue and is author of *American State and Local Government* (1950) as well as pamphlets and articles on township and county government, public finance and other governmental subjects.

[1] U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952.

[2] Following New England terminology, the county subdivisions in New York and Wisconsin, though similar to townships elsewhere and here classified as such, are officially designated as towns.

[3] Not to be confused with the ordinance of 1787, sometimes called the Northwest Ordinance, which, following the Survey Ordinance by two years, provided a form of governmental organization for the territory.

widely to the west and south and influenced civil townships with respect to both size and form. Though individual civil townships vary in area, the large majority tend to approximate the 36 square miles of the congressional township, and in laying out the civil units there has been a strong tendency to follow the checker-board pattern of the survey system. Indeed, some state laws providing for the laying out of civil townships expressly require that their boundaries be made to conform "as nearly as practicable" to those of the congressional townships.

Township Functions

In pioneer days with their primitive facilities for communication and transportation, the township served as a convenient subdivision of the county for the performance of local public services. Justices of the peace and constables elected from the township dispensed simple justice in neighborhood disputes and dealt with minor infractions of the criminal law. Overseers of the poor saw to it that destitute members of the community did not go cold or hungry. Highway commissioners opened and maintained local roads to provide township residents with access to schools, churches and markets. And township assessors appraised real estate and personal property for purposes of taxation.

Other functions, most of them minor, were assigned to townships in various states. Generally speaking, however, the major functions of township government have never exceeded four: law enforcement and judicial administration, road maintenance, poor relief and property assessment.

To carry on their local activities, townships were provided with an elaborate governmental organization. A township board of elective and/or ex officio members managed township property, examined claims against the township and approved their payment, and appointed certain minor officials. Approximately half the township states provided by statute for an annual meeting of township voters, patterned after the New England town meeting, with authority to levy taxes, vote appropriations and enact by-laws. Where such meetings were not provided, these policy-determining functions were vested in the township board along with its administrative duties.

In addition to the board, and the popular meeting where provided, numerous other township officers were required or authorized by state statutes. Some offices were filled by appointment and others were constituted on an ex officio basis, but many were elective.

These, then, were the traditional functions of the township and the officers and agencies provided for their performance. And for something like a century the township operated with a reasonable degree of satisfaction in providing the modest local services demanded of government in rural areas. More recently, however, and particularly during the decades of the 1930s and 1940s, township government has been falling into general disfavor and indeed in some instances has been abolished.

For this trend three principal reasons may be assigned.

In the first place, improvements in communications and transportation have made it no longer necessary that local officials be stationed in subdivisions of the county to be readily accessible to the citizenry. Secondly, the expansion of governmental services at all levels has brought into the spotlight the duplication, waste and inefficiency flowing from governmental operations in minuscule township areas. And, finally, the increased costs of government in years of depression and war have intensified tax-consciousness and stimulated popular demand for the elimination of waste and inefficiency. As a result, there has been a consistent tendency to transfer township functions to the county and to de-emphasize the township in the over-all governmental setup.

Township Justice

As an organ of judicial administration, the justice-of-the-peace court in its traditional pattern is no longer either satisfactory or necessary. "Justice" as dispensed by these lay tribunals has fallen into general disrepute. The complex legal relationships of modern society scarcely lend themselves to adjudication by magistrates untrained in the law. The fee method of compensation has engendered prejudice in favor of the plaintiff in civil cases and, in the domain of the criminal law, has encouraged the operation of speed-traps and the splitting of fees with arresting constables. Furthermore, automobiles and good roads, by making the county seat readily accessible to all residents, have rendered unnecessary the maintenance of a court in each community of the county. Surveys have shown that, save where they work with justices in the operation of speed-traps, constables today give little attention to police duties, confining their activities almost solely to the serving of process for justices' courts. If the latter were abolished, no reason would longer exist for the office of constable.

What is needed today is a supplanting of justice-of-the-peace courts by a system of minor courts county-wide in jurisdiction[4] and presided over by salaried magistrates, preferably appointive and chosen from the legal profession. Missouri and New Jersey, under their recently adopted constitutions, have pointed the way toward sensible reform. The Missouri constitution abolishes the justice-of-the-peace system and establishes in each county one or more magistrate courts with county-wide jurisdiction. In the less populous counties the probate judge serves ex officio as a magistrate, with any additional magistrates in such counties, and all those in the larger counties, being elected. Under New Jersey's constitution, elective justices of the peace have been supplanted by district and municipal courts served by appointive magistrates.

Though these two states afford outstanding examples, they are by no means alone in their efforts to improve local justice by abolishing justices of the peace. Certain counties in various other township states, under special or optional statutes, have established inferior courts of county-wide jurisdiction, presided over by salaried judges, to handle cases formerly tried by justices' courts.

---

[4] Justices of the peace, though elected by townships, now have county-wide jurisdiction in many states in criminal matters and in some states in civil cases as well.

When country roads served merely as thoroughfares for horse-drawn vehicles carrying farm families to town and church and their produce to market, the primitive highways of the times could readily be built by township highway commissioners with the assistance of neighborhood farmers. Today, however, with the demand for all-weather roads designed to carry not only passenger automobiles every day of the year but heavy-duty vehicles such as milk trucks, school buses and farm trucks loaded with grain and livestock, highway construction and maintenance become a major task of scientific engineering and one that requires an administrative unit larger than the township.

Most townships are too small either to employ a qualified highway engineer or to provide the expensive machinery required for modern highway maintenance. If such machinery is purchased it is likely, because of the small mileage involved, to be idle—and perhaps rusting—much of the time. Furthermore, some townships are financially able to provide better roads than others and, where the township is the basic unit, there is no assurance that the local roads of the respective communities will be maintained as a coordinated highway system.

Dissatisfaction with the township as a road unit has resulted in the past quarter-century in a marked tendency to transfer the highway function from the township to the county. Some states, such as Indiana, Michigan and Oklahoma, have transferred all township roads to the respective counties, thereby completely eliminating the township as a highway unit. Others have enacted optional laws under which individual counties, by local action, may assume jurisdiction over township roads. Under a statute of this nature, for instance, about half the counties of Kansas have adopted the county-unit plan. And even where the township has been retained along with the county as a highway unit, there has been a gradual transfer of mileage from township to county jurisdiction, thus making it less and less feasible, from a financial standpoint, for the township to maintain a highway organization.

Welfare Picture Changed

As a welfare unit also, the township has steadily declined in importance. General poor relief as once administered at the township level was designed to provide for all indigents who became public charges without regard to their age or cause of dependency. Since the advent of social security, however, the federal-state programs of categorical assistance—old-age assistance, aid to the needy blind, aid to dependent children and aid to the totally and permanently disabled—have in substantial part supplanted general relief. Administered directly by the state or, more commonly, by county agencies under state supervision, the categorical programs are financed in part from federal funds and in their administration or financing the township rarely has a part. The general relief case load is reduced in most townships to a point where, in normal times, there is little justification for maintaining a township relief office.

When, because of widespread unemployment, the general relief load becomes heavy, the program scarcely lends itself to administration by an overseer of the poor or assistance supervisor who, whether elected or appointed, rarely has had any professional training in the welfare field. Modern welfare work has become a highly specialized field of public administration, and the county is ordinarily the smallest geographic area in which it is practicable to provide qualified administrative personnel. In the matter of finance also the county is preferable to the township as a relief unit since, in times of depression, the townships in which the relief load is heaviest are likely to be the very ones which, because of the low value of taxable property, are least able to provide relief funds from local sources.

It would seem advisable, where such action has not already been taken, to transfer what is left of the general relief function from the township to the county for administration by a county department along with other welfare services.

Finally, as a unit for assessing property for taxation the township is rapidly giving way to the county. For many years the general practice was to provide for periodic assessment of real estate and personal property by assessors popularly elected in the respective townships. Poorly qualified officers, discrimination in assessments and competitive undervaluation as between townships were the inevitable results. County boards of review, while perhaps adjusting some of the more glaring inequities, proved a poor substitute for proper assessment in the first instance.

In an effort to raise the standards of the assessment function, its performance has now in many instances been transferred to the county government. Iowa in 1947 abolished the office of township assessor and established the county as the basic assessment area. Similar action, with respect to some or all counties, has been taken in several other states and is currently being considered in still others.

Duplication Expensive

In every major field wherein townships operate — law enforcement, highways, poor relief and property assessment — county government in most states is also charged with responsibilities. In this situation, if actual overlapping of functions does not occur, at least there is duplication of governmental machinery. Both county and township agencies exist for performance of services in the same fields. Thus the county is readily in a position to take over functions transferred to its jurisdiction from the townships and, in the instances where such transfer has been made, the result appears quite generally to have been more efficient services at lower costs.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that state after state has transferred one or more of the traditional township functions to county jurisdiction. With each such transfer the importance of the township in the governmental setup is correspondingly diminished. In most township states the township is today little more than the shell of its former self, and in two states, Oklahoma and Iowa, the township has been almost completely eliminated from the picture. Oklahoma, in the 1930s, virtually abolished the township as a governmental unit by a constitutional amendment depriving it of the taxing power; whereupon its sole remaining function of major importance — that of highway maintenance — was transferred to the county by legislative enactment. And in Iowa[5] township government has so "withered away" that the state's 1,600 township areas, though included by the Census Bureau in its 1942 census of governmental units, are omitted from its 1951 count.

Eliminate Township

Twenty years ago a committee on county government of the National Municipal League found the township "no longer a satisfactory organization for the administration of local services." Recommendations were made for the gradual elimination of townships by transferring their functions to the county, city or state; permitting individual townships to deorganize or consolidate; and providing that townships may be abolished in particular counties by local option.[6] The two decades since the filing of this report have demonstrated the wisdom of its proposals and witnessed substantial progress toward their fulfillment. The widespread transfer of township functions to the county has been an outstanding characteristic of those decades. In many urban communities township functions have been transferred to the municipal government, with township organization in some instances being largely merged with the municipality. Some townships, in Minnesota and elsewhere, have been deorganized. And several states authorize county-by-county abolition of townships by local action.

Both reason and experience assert that the civil township of the midwest is a costly relic of other days, whose vitality has for many years been declining and whose remaining functions could better be performed by other governmental units. The stock arguments advanced for preservation of the township are that it "keeps government close to the people" and serves as a "training school in democracy." These arguments are scarcely persuasive, however, when one considers the widespread unwillingness to accept township office and the lack of popular interest in township meetings and elections.

Many township offices remain unfilled either for want of candidates or because those elected to them, frequently by a small write-in vote and sometimes merely as a joke, fail to qualify. Township elections quite generally attract a smaller vote than do elections for the choice of county, state or national officers. And where the township meeting exists public apathy is evidenced by the small attendance. In townships having several thousand voters it is not unusual for a meeting to have in attendance only a handful of citizens in addition to the township officers. In rural areas the meeting frequently draws as few as a half-dozen non-office-holding citizens and sometimes none at all, in which event the officers themselves, in their capacity as voters, constitute the meeting.

---

[5] See also page 397, this issue.

[6] Arthur W. Bromage, *Recommendations on Township Government,* Report No. 3 of the Committee on County Government of the National Municipal League. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1934, Supplement.

Thus the primary local assembly, devised in New England states as a means of removing policy-making from the hands of town officers and placing it directly in the hands of the local voters, fails to achieve its basic purpose in the midwestern township, where policy formation reverts to the official group as a result of voter abdication.

From whatever angle considered, the conclusion seems inescapable that the sunset of township government even now is past. Year by year its twilight deepens. As an instrumentality of government the civil township has outlived its usefulness and those interested in improving our local institutions will do well to foster, in every legitimate way, its ultimate demise. Far from endangering local self-government, elimination of townships would actually strengthen it at the county and municipal levels and, for this reason, might well discourage the further shifting of authority from local areas to the state capitals or to the national government in Washington.

Iowa Townships Still Here?

While the Bureau of the Census has dropped them as units of government, they continue to function in a small way.

By RICHARD C. SPENCER*

ACCORDING to the Brookings Institution,[1] "Iowa has outgrown the township and the time has come for the abolition of this local unit." The Governments Division of the United States Bureau of the Census, in its *Governments in the United States in 1951*[2] omits Iowa townships from its count of governmental units.

There is not necessarily a connection between the Brookings recommendation and the census decision to omit. In fact, the Census Bureau seriously considered, but finally decided against, the omission of Iowa townships in its count in 1942.[3] State legislatures have, of course, been stripping the township of its earlier importance and most students of local government agree that under modern conditions the township is not and cannot be an effective governmental unit. Iowa townships have been shorn of most of their earlier governmental power, but the form and some of the substance persist. Local sentiment is jealous of those forms even though frequently there are not enough candidates to fill the township's elective offices.

Some laws giving townships power still persist. In practice many of these potential powers, however, are exercised in the form of recommendations to the county board of supervisors and the services involved are paid for from county funds.

Although poor relief is either handled or supervised now by the county and is paid for from county funds, the township trustees by law still have the duty to extend relief, short of county institutional care, until the county supervisors or their overseeers of the poor act. Since this is at county expense, the trustees in effect only make recommendations to the county board of supervisors.

Iowa roads are classified as primary and secondary, and the latter are constructed and maintained by the county, but the township trustees are still looked to by the supervisors for their annual recommendations as to which roads need preferential attention. Again, it is only a recommendation.

The township trustees, by law, may also act as the local board of health for the township and may employ a health officer to carry out the health laws and State Health Department regulations. The county pays the bills and an optional county unit health law is supposed to provide for unified, or at least coordinated, effort, but it seems that some township boards of trustees engage the health officer without previous county consultation, even though the township does not pay the cost.

---

*Dr. Spencer is professor of political science at Coe College. He has taught government at Western Reserve University, American University, the University of Cincinnati and elsewhere and was formerly with the Governments Division of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

[1] *Report on a Survey of Administration in Iowa*, 1933, Vol. 1, page 41.

[2] State and Local Government Special Study No. 29, a study of governmental units preparatory to its anticipated census of governments for 1952.

[3] *Governmental Units in the United States, 1942.* U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., 1944.

The township trustee functions of fence viewer and claim adjustor for levees and drains and for damages done by trespassing animals are not entirely gone. These functions may, however, like those of the township-elected justices of the peace and constables, be considered as belonging to the county or state rather than to the township. Compensatory fees or costs are collected through the machinery of the county, and appeals go to the courts. The assessment of property for taxation is also essentially a county function and now is handled by county assessing machinery rather than as formerly by township-elected assessors. In deference to township sentiment, however, assistant assessors may be appointed for particular township areas.

Road houses or comparable places of gathering and amusement may operate in rural areas only on the basis of a license granted at the discretion of the township board, an activity that may be looked upon as an extension of the county government. Township areas, unless further subdivided, serve as election precincts, and township trustees and clerks, with certain exceptions, are among the election judges and clerks and are paid from county funds.

Thus far, in spite of laws still lingering on the statute books, there seems to be no case for considering the Iowa civil township government as more than an empty shell or, more charitably, as a politic arm of county administration. Even the four dollars per diem allowed the township trustees and clerks for meeting days (anywhere from one to a dozen a year) is paid from county funds.

There is another side of the coin which depicts the character of a governmental unit. Each township, outside of certain cities, may—and most of them do—elect three trustees and a clerk by popular vote. It frequently happens that not enough candidates are available for election and the elected trustees must fill vacanies. Occasionally the county auditor may be called upon to appoint a complete board.

Township Taxing Powers

These trustees have a taxing and, with the consent of the voters, a borrowing power for certain purposes. The township government may condemn or purchase land, and levy the tax necessary, for the establishment, maintenance and management of a cemetery. Or it may provide for burial in a non-township cemetery. Probably most rural townships levy such a tax, if the practice in three counties and the opinions of their county officials may be accepted as anywhere near typical. All but one of twenty townships in Benton County levy a cemetery tax, all but one of nineteen in Linn County, and all but two of sixteen in Sioux County. The amounts of the tax thus levied in Linn County for 1951 ranged from $50 to $1500.

The township may construct and maintain a township hall not only as a place for the board to meet and for elections to be held but also as a community center. Five of the nineteen townships in Linn County in 1951 made a levy either for capital expenditure or for repairs, ranging from a mere $2 to $700. Eight of the Benton County townships levied a township hall tax. The original cost of such a hall may be spread over taxes of a five-year period provided the expenditure and tax are originally voted by the township electors. In form, the trustees certify the amount and the county supervisors technically make the levy.

In like manner, a township, by popular vote initially but maintained by the trustees, may provide for purchase and maintenance of fire-fighting equipment and its housing, and a bond issue for original purchase may extend for as long as ten years. Technically the trustees levy the annual tax. The township may go it alone in fire protection or may cooperate with another township or with an incorporated town. Six Linn County townships levied a fire equipment tax of from $300 to $3000 in 1951 but only one township in Benton County levied this kind of tax and for only a small amount.

Townships may also levy a tax for the purpose of contracting for library services but few, if any, take advantage of this authority. Other library services may have made this a dead issue.

These township transactions are small potatoes, to be sure. The total expenditures of all townships in a county may amount to less than one per cent of the total expenditures of the county government. In the performance of three active functions—cemetery, township hall maintenance and fire protection—the township is operating essentially as a special district. But the unit is designated in law as a township and is the vestige of a formerly true and important local unit, and its officers still perform, if only on an advisory basis, some general governmental functions. Unlike the municipality or the county, the Iowa township was never more than a *quasi* corporation.

A Knotty Problem

The Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census has no easy task. For its purposes, it must define and classify governmental units in order to collect, analyze and report statistical data in an understandable form. The welter of laws and resultant maze of interrelationships of local governmental functions and authorities have defied complete description and analysis. From a statistical reporting point of view, considering the gradual fading of township governments, the Governments Division is probably right in omitting Iowa townships; but if it undertakes to report governmental spending for the custody of a lot of dead people in Iowa, for instance, it must either count at least the "cemetery-district township" as a separate unit or arbitrarily attribute this governmental cost to county government.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Tennessee to Have Constitution Convention

Delegates Will Be Limited to Six Specific Subjects

ON AUGUST 7 the people of Tennessee, by a vote of 53,933 to 37,047 (unofficial), decided in favor of holding a limited constitutional convention.[1] Ninety-nine delegates, from the districts used for the state's House of Representatives, will be chosen in the November election this year.

The convention will be limited to consideration of these six specific topics:

(1) Elimination of the poll tax (which by statute has been dropped as a qualification for voting),

(2) Increasing the term of the governor—now fixed at two years,

(3) Increasing legislators' pay,

(4) Changing the amending process,

(5) Strengthening the governor's veto power,

(6) Home rule for local governments.

The convention is expected to meet in April 1953. Amendments which it proposes would be submitted to a statewide referendum.

Florida to Vote on Eleven Constitutional Amendments

At the November election the people of Florida will pass upon eleven proposed amendments to the state constitution, which dates from 1885 and already has 87 amendments. Those now proposed are:

(1) To enable county boards of public instruction to borrow money for school buildings and other school improvements in anticipation of the $400 per instruction unit per year now provided under the "minimum foundation program" for capital outlay purposes. Automobile license taxes would be earmarked for the purpose.

(2) To increase the Supreme Court from seven to ten members; to give it power to regulate the administration and procedures of all courts in the state, the chief justice to be the chief administrative officer; to permit the court to separate into sections for certain broad classes of cases; and a few other matters.

(3) To empower the legislature to grant any county a home rule charter and to provide a method by which a county may frame its own charter.

(4) To add one judge in the second judicial district, containing the state capital.

(5) and (6) To create two additional state senatorial districts.

(7) and (8) To consolidate tax assessing and collection in two additional counties.

(9) To abolish the office of county solicitor in Dade County (Miami), criminal prosecutions to be in the hands of the state attorney for that county.

(10) To abolish the special criminal court of record in Escambia County (Pensacola), transferring its duties to the circuit court, with one additional judge.

(11) To substitute salaries for fees for Escambia County officials.

In a pamphlet explaining the amendments, Professor William F. Larsen, director of the Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida, criticizes the practice of including local and minor details in the constitution, and says: "Matters which might well be left for legislative adjustment and decision thus become constitutional issues which can be handled only by constitutional revision or amendment. . . . In order to achieve much needed improvements we must continue to amend our patchwork constitution while in the same instance we must acknowledge that further and continued amendment of that document is not always the best answer for our problems."

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 260, and July 1952, page 352.

Need for Apportionment

In connection with amendments five and six above, Professor Larsen points out that the counties that would obtain the additional senatorial districts already have less than the statewide average population per district and thus are not underrepresented. Disparities as to the number of people in Florida senatorial districts are great; Jefferson County with a population of 10,413 and Dade County with 495,084 have one senator each. The statewide average is 72,929. Amendments five and six would increase the extent of disproportionate representation.

Oklahoma Changes Process of Amending Constitution

By a vote of more than two to one, the people of Oklahoma on July 1 adopted a constitutional amendment which permits the constitution to be amended by "article"—as the major sections are called — provided the article embraces not more than one general subject. Each such article shall be deemed to be a single proposal for the alteration of the constitution, and is to be voted on separately.

Heretofore a desirable alteration in the constitution might require several amendments in a given article.

Initiative and Referendum Weakened in Arizona

The Arizona Supreme Court, in a four-to-one decision on July 16, vitiated the statutory initiative and referendum provisions of the state constitution and opened the way to revision or repeal of all such measures approved by the voters to date. The court held that the legislature has the power to amend or repeal, and the governor the power to veto, any initiative or referendum measure adopted by less than a majority vote of the qualified electorate. Measures approved by a majority of all qualified voters are beyond the power of the legislature to amend or the governor to veto; however, none of the 33 initiated and referred laws on the statute books today were adopted by a majority vote of the entire electorate.

The court reached its decision through a strict interpretation of the 1914 amendment to the Arizona constitution, which states that "the veto power of the governor, or the power of the legislature, to repeal or amend, shall not extend to initiative or referendum measures approved by a majority vote of the qualified electors." Although, as Associate Justice R. C. Stanford, the lone dissenter, pointed out, all the state legislatures, governors and judges in the past have construed this section to mean a majority of the votes cast, the four justices comprising the majority ruled that "a majority vote of the qualified electors" means a majority of the registered voters.

Short of reversal by the court of its position, the traditional meaning of the constitutional amendment placing initiated and referred measures beyond the power of the legislature and governor can be restored only by the amending process. There already is discussion of plans to bring such an amendment before the voters in November 1954. The recent court decision is not applicable to constitutional initiatives.

The majority opinion, in explaining the position of the court, said: "We are of the opinion that to permit the legislature to make needed amendments to ill-considered initiated laws or referred measures that, through the passage of time, have become obsolete will be a step forward and relieve the people of shackling legislation."

The action originated in the petition of Representative L. S. Adams asking the Maricopa Superior Court for an injunction to prevent Wesley Bolin, secretary of state, from placing on the November ballot the referendum measure, originated by the last session of the legislature, which resubmitted to the voters the public employees' retirement act, adopted as an initiative in 1948. When the Superior Court denied the petition, Adams appealed to the Supreme Court.

If upheld in November by the voters, the retirement act could be revised or repealed by the legislature. If the voters approve the initiative measure providing for a severance tax, long opposed by the mining companies, the legislature could amend or repeal the law.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Legislatures Pass Reorganization Measures

In a summary of 1952 state legislation in *State Government*, the Council of State Governments reports a number of legislative actions dealing with organization, procedures and facilities of state governments. These include:

Georgia: Expansion of merit system to cover most state employees; governor authorized to issue executive orders, on the request of department heads, to bring state agencies under the merit system. Salaries of legislators increased from $15 to $30 a day while legislature is in session. Constitutional amendment approved for submission to popular vote in November, which would give the governor 30 instead of five days, after the end of a legislative session, to sign or veto bills.

Kentucky: Constitutional amendment, to be voted on by the people in 1953, would shorten the state ballot from nine to four officials—governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general and auditor. Salaries of various state, county and city officials increased. Department of Mental Health established, with provision for expanded treatment of mental defectives. Court of Appeals is directed to adopt simplified rules of civil practice and is relieved of part of its load by raising the value limit on cases for appeal.

Mississippi: Department of Audit established, under the jurisdiction of the state auditor, its staff to be under the merit system; it will have extensive powers, including pre- and post-audit of fiscal operations of state and local agencies. State Game and Fish Commission reorganized and its fiscal operations brought under legislative control, ending the commission's power to spend hunting and fishing revenues without specific legislative authorization. Salaries of state officials and employees increased.

Missouri: Constitutional amendment to limit regular legislative sessions to five months and special sessions to 60 days referred to the people.

New York: Temporary Commission on Coordination of State Activities continued for another year, with increased appropriation. Salaries of employees of Court of Appeals and Court of Claims, and of state employees generally, increased.

Rhode Island: Presiding justice of

the Superior Court made "administrative judge" in charge of administrative matters of the Superior and District Courts. Constitutional amendment to guarantee tenure and retirement compensation for Supreme and Superior Court judges referred to people.

South Carolina: Mental Health Commission established and mental health laws revised.

In both *Mississippi* and *Virginia,* state and local employees were brought under federal old-age and survivors' insurance and supplementary state retirement systems were established; thus at least 39 states have enacted legislation permitting federal social security coverage of state and local employees.

The Civil Service Assembly reports that the legislature of Louisiana has approved a constitutional amendment to restore the merit system, for submission to the people in November.

State Senates Limit Debate

In connection with the attempt to prevent fillibustering in the U. S. Senate by limitation of debate, Senator William Benton of Connecticut placed in the *Congressional Record* a summary of rules on limitation of debate in each of the state senates and the unicameral legislature of Nebraska, pointing out that "many of the states whose senators have opposed effective limitation of debate here in the [U. S.] Senate have most effective rules limiting debate in their upper chambers." He stated that in 45 states senate fillibustering can be prevented by parliamentary devices such as a motion for the previous question, chiefly by majority vote.

One instance of recent state action (1951-52) is Georgia, as to which the summary, prepared by Will Maslow, director of the American Jewish Congress' Commission on Law and Social Action, says: "Previous question authorized by majority vote (rule 58). All individual speeches on bills and resolutions shall be limited to 30 minutes unless by leave of the senate (rule 15). The president of the senate 'shall in his discretion suspend irrelevant debate and command silence whenever he may deem it needful' (rule 1)."

The summary relates only to state senate rules under which debate can be limited. It does not attempt to go into other devices by which proposed legislation can be killed, besides talking it to death.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Two Illinois cities — **Rock Island** (1950 population 48,710) and **East Moline** (13,913)—were added to the council-manager list on July 1, when the state's optional council-manager plan was adopted at special elections. In Rock Island the plan won by 4,251 to 2,104. It carried in six of the seven wards. In East Moline the vote was 1,338 to 981, carrying in four out of five wards. The plan replaces mayor-aldermanic government in each city and is to become effective with the municipal elections in April 1953. Campaigns were sharply contested in both cities. Mayor Melvin McKay of Rock Island strongly opposed the plan, which was supported by a citizens' committee headed by Colonel Carl A. Waldmann, retired commandant of the Rock Island Arsenal, and C. R. Maiwald, architect. In East Moline the plan was headed by R. M. Harper, publisher of a weekly newspaper. Mayor B. H. Ryan professed neutrality. In East Moline the citizens committee was required to pay the cost of the election.

The trustees of the village of **May-**

wood, Illinois, (27,473) a suburb of Chicago, on July 31 adopted the council-manager plan and appointed a manager.

The council-manager plan was approved in **Parsons, Kansas,** (14,750) on August 5 by a vote of 2,243 to 1,643. The plan will go into effect in April 1953.

Henryetta, Oklahoma, (7,987) on August 5, voted to adopt the state's optional council-manager form of government. The vote was 640 to 404. The new government will become effective in May of next year.

At a special election on June 24 **Picayune, Mississippi,** (6,707) voted eleven to one to adopt the council-manager plan, thus becoming the third council-manager city in that state. It is the first to take advantage of the permissive council-manager legislation sponsored by the Mississippi Economic Council and enacted this year. It took the option by which all councilmen as well as the mayor are elected at large, rather than having a councilman for each of three wards and one councilman and the mayor elected at large. The plan takes effect after the next election for municipal officials in 1953.

The city council of **North Sacramento, California,** (6,029) has adopted a council-manager ordinance and appointed the city administrator as manager.

In **Sutherlin, Oregon,** (2,230) a council-manager charter has been approved by a vote of 170 to 124. It became effective on June 24 with the appointment of City Superintendent W. D. Bollman as city manager.

North Bay Village, Florida, (500) has recently adopted the council-manager plan.

In **Woonsocket, Rhode Island,** where a charter revision commission is at work, the Citizens' League advocates the council-manager plan. The Independent party has endorsed the strong-mayor plan, but K. K. Coleman, its chairman, has announced it will support a manager charter if adopted by the charter commission.

A September 16 referendum in **New Haven, Connecticut,** on a proposed council-manager charter has been voided by the Common Pleas Court, which ruled that the state home rule law failed to give any official body authority to set a referendum date. Suit was brought by the Citizens Committee for a Council-Manager Charter, which wanted a November election because the law provides that at least 51 per cent of the qualified voters participate in a charter referendum. The board of aldermen, however, decided upon a special election in September.

In **Greenwich, Connecticut,** the representative town meeting on July 1 voted to postpone until October action on a report of the Town Reorganization Committee recommending a town manager. It is charged that the postponement will delay actual legislation until 1955.

The town manager plan will be offered for consideration of the voters of **New Milford, Connecticut,** at a special town meeting as the result of a resolution adopted by the Democratic Town Committee on July 29. The Republican Town Committee is opposed to the manager plan.

Petitions filed in **East Paterson, New Jersey,** for a referendum on the council-manager plan, have been declared invalid by the borough clerk because of insufficient valid signatures. Efforts to file additional signatures have thus far failed. The movement is sponsored by former Mayor John D. Kerwin, former councilmanic candidate William Meyers and the recently formed Independent Voters League.

The **Bridgewater Township, New**

Jersey, charter commission has released its final report, recommending the council-manager form of government. The commission proposes adoption of the state's optional council-manager plan amended to provide for partisan elections. This will mean a special charter from the legislature with a local referendum in November 1953.

The charter commission of **Boonton, New Jersey,** on June 26, filed its report recommending adoption of one of the state's optional council-manager plans with a council of seven members, four to be elected by wards and three at large, the council to designate one member as mayor and appoint a city manager. The plan will be voted on at the general election in November.

Harrisonburg, Virginia, where the manager plan was adopted by ordinance in 1940, is now under a council-manager charter, recently approved by the legislature, effective September 1, 1952.

A petition asking the mayor and aldermen of **Savannah, Georgia,** to call a home rule special election on adopting the council-manager plan was ruled invalid by the city clerk on July 21. The petition had been filed on June 2 by the Joint Committee for Council Manager Government and contained over 12,000 signatures. The legal requirement was reported to be 10,536, representing 30 per cent of the voters who registered for the last city election. The clerk reported that 2,996 signatures were invalid or ineligible.

In **Jacksonville, Florida,** which has both a city commission and a city council, abolition of the latter was recommended in a report on city economies by Dr. Daniel K. Kirk, a councilman. Five of the nine councilmen appeared to favor a single policy-making body, which might be the council rather than the commission. At least one councilman favored the council-manager plan.

A majority of the city commission of **Miami, Florida,** proposed abolition of the manager plan in that city at a meeting of the Citizens' Charter Revision Committee on July 3. They favored a strong-mayor form and cited the difficulty the commission has had in selecting and retaining managers.

In **Circleville, Ohio,** a citizens' committee is urging that a council-manager charter be adopted.

An election on the manager plan is scheduled in **Wood River, Illinois,** for September 30. Petitions calling for the question were circulated by the Citizens' Committee for Better Government. Residents of **Oak Park** are circulating petitions seeking a vote on November 4, and a referendum on the question is also being sought in **Alton.**

With the adoption of the council-manager plan by Rock Island and East Moline, Illinois, there is an active movement in **Moline** to put the plan to popular vote on November 4.

The manager plan is under study by various groups in **Freeport, Illinois,** particularly by the League of Women Voters.

Interest in council-manager government is being shown in many **Mississippi** communities, according to the Mississippi Economic Council. An active campaign is under way in **Biloxi** and **Gulfport,** and citizen interest is evident in **Greenville, Long Beach** and **Natchez.**

A special election on adoption of a council-manager charter is set for September 30 in **Mankato, Minnesota.**

A committee promoting the council-manager idea is at work in **Duluth.**

In **Davenport, Iowa,** across the Mississippi from Rock Island, recent accession to manager ranks, there is renewed interest in the council-manager plan. Former Mayor Ed Frick is a strong advocate of it.

In **Topeka, Kansas,** the Topekans for City Manager are circulating petitions to place the council-manager question on the November ballot.

A movement is under way in **Cheyenne, Wyoming,** to promote the council-manager plan.

The **Yuma, Arizona,** charter commission, appointed early this year by the city council, has, at the council's request, prepared a charter amendment for council-manager government. Public hearings were expected to be held.

Petitions for incorporation as a sixth-class city, with a council-manager form of government, have been filed by voters of **Buena Park, California,** with the county clerk.

In **Portland, Oregon,** the Citizens' Committee on Municipal Reorganization will seek to have a council-manager proposal placed on the ballot at the May 1954 primary election, rather than at the general election in November 1952, when many questions will be before the voters, in addition to a mayoralty contest between Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee and Commissioner Fred L. Peterson. Mrs. Lee favors the manager plan; Mr. Peterson opposes it.

There is an active movement in **Klamath Falls, Oregon,** for the council-manager plan.

The city council of **Grandview, Washington,** has voted to place the question of adoption of the council-manager plan before the voters this fall.

Fifteen **Ohio** city managers held a conference in Toledo on July 16-17.

New York to Study Council-manager Plan

The Citizens Union of New York City has announced the appointment of a committee of seventeen outstanding citizens to study the feasibility of the manager plan, in some form, for that city. The increasing financial and administrative problems of New York were stressed as reasons for considering such a change, which could become an issue in the municipal election next year. The committee is headed by George S. Van Shaick, former New York State Insurance Commissioner. Other members are:

Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research of Dun & Bradstreet; Henry Bruère, chairman of the Bowery Savings Bank; Richard S. Childs, former chairman of the Citizens Union and former vice-president of the American Cyanamid Co.; Joseph M. Cunningham, former deputy comptroller; Bayard Faulkner, vice-president of Seaboard Oil Company, chairman of the recent New Jersey State Commission on Municipal Government; Morris Iushewitz, secretary of the New York City C. I. O. Council; John D. Millett, professor of political science at Columbia University.

Also Albert Pleydell, management consultant, former city commissioner of purchase; William Ronan, head of the Graduate school of Public Administration at New York University; Wallace S. Sayre, head of the political science department at City College; Laurence A. Tanzer, associate counsel to the New York City Charter Commission which drafted the present charter; Gordon Tegnell, director of research of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; Alfred Willoughby, secretary of the National Municipal League; Paul Windels, former corporation counsel, president of the Regional Plan Association; Louis E. Yavner, management consultant and former commissioner of investigation; and Belle Zeller, professor of political science at Brooklyn College.

Hoboken Charter Group Condemns Commission Plan

A five-man charter commission in Hoboken, New Jersey, rendered a report on July 14 recommending replacement of the existing commission plan, adopted 37 years ago, by a mayor-council plan included among the options in the state's municipal charter law (the Faulkner Act). This is regarded as a strong-mayor type under which the mayor is empowered to appoint a qualified business manager to centralize administration of finance and personnel who would be responsible to the mayor.

The council would consist of one member from each of the city's six wards and three elected at large.

The commission plan in Hoboken was denounced as "a complete failure."

The proposed charter is to be voted on by the people in November.

Governor Driscoll Vetoes Commission Plan Revision

In declining to approve assembly bill 260, a revision of the Walsh Act providing the commission form of government, Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey stated that although certain technical provisions would be helpful, other provisions would be detrimental to the commission plan, under which 61 New Jersey municipalities operate. The bill would require that the commission assign powers and duties to appropriate departments in such manner that there would be "as nearly as possible an equal division of the various divisions, bureaus, officers and functions of government among the departments," and this assignment could only be changed by unanimous consent. The veto message pointed out that, "it is impossible to divide functions equally and at the same time divide officers equally," and quoted the Commission on Municipal Government as saying: "The idea of divying up the jobs, which is implicit in this proposal, is in fact one of the glaring deficiencies that commission government has produced."

The governor also said that despite the necessity of improving the mayor's position under commission government the bill would remove such power of supervision over city departments as the mayor now has. Furthermore, home rule would be violated, as the proposed changes would not be subject to referendum.

Worcester to Streamline Police and Traffic Control

After thorough surveys by outside organizations, the city council of Worcester, Massachusetts, has taken steps to reorganize its police department and to improve its system of traffic regulation. The International Association of Chiefs of Police, which, in cooperation with the Northwestern University Traffic Institute, conducted the traffic survey, has been engaged by the city to place its recommendations in effect. The police department survey was conducted by Public Administration Service of Chicago and its recommendations, with minor exceptions, have been accepted by the city council. The two investigations were conducted on a correlated and cooperative basis.

The chief changes to result from the general police survey are reported to be: (1) a new form of organization including a planning division, (2) motorization of the patrol force with one-man cars, (3) abandonment of the precinct system, (4) centralization of records, (5) use of modern equipment and methods, and (6) elimination of the police reserve force. It was estimated the new vehicles and other equipment in accordance with the plan would cost about $147,000, to be spread over a period of years, and that, especially because of the recent authorization of a 40-hour week for the police, $160,000 more per annum would otherwise have to be spent.

Worcester is a council-manager (Plan E) city with the council elected by the proportional representation system.

Pennsylvania Municipal Reports Receive Awards

The Institute of Local Government at the Pennsylvania State College in July presented certificates for meritorious annual reports to thirteen counties, municipalities and municipal and airport authorities. In deciding the awards judges considered content of the report, understandability, utility and attractiveness. A similar contest will be held next year.

Highest awards were given to Mount Lebanon Township (for municipalities over 25,000 in population), the boroughs of Narberth and Quakertown (5,000-10,000); and the borough of Wyomissing (2,500-5,000). No award was given in the 10,000-25,000 group. Merit awards were also granted to other townships, boroughs and one city (Easton); to Carbon County and to the Borough Township Municipal Authority of Vanport.

Kansas University Course Produces Ten City Managers

In the four years since the University of Kansas instituted a program of graduate training for city management, 24 students have completed the program and received the degree of Master of Public Administration and two others have completed all except the thesis. As of mid-1952 ten of these 26 students are city managers, in cities ranging in population from 2,500 to 15,000 and as widely scattered as Puyallup, Washington; Delray Beach, Florida; Dalhart, Texas; and Norway, Michigan. Nine other graduates hold responsible administrative posts in city governments, mostly at the level of departmental headships or assistant managers; two hold federal posts (a local rent control director and a management analyst); two hold posts with semi-public agencies that provide research and consulting service for local governments; two are in private employment; one is in military service.

Four young college graduates already in municipal service at the time the program was instituted have enrolled in the "seminar for apprentices." All of them are city managers, thus making a total of fourteen ex-students who have received appointments as city managers since the program was instituted.

Six students who completed their on-campus studies with the close of the 1951-52 school year have been placed as assistants in as many cities, and a new group of nine has been selected for the class that will begin in September 1952. The latter will be the last to receive fellowships under the grant made to the university by the Carnegie Corporation in 1948 to inaugurate the training program.

The course includes one year of on-campus study and an internship of at least nine months under an approved city manager. During the second year the students are enrolled for a "seminar for apprentices" and for theses.

EDWIN O. STENE
University of Kansas

Citizens' Hoover Committee Suspends Activities

The Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report, formed in April 1949 to promote reorganization of the executive branch of the federal government, terminated its nation-wide oper-

(Continued on page 416)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

King County to Vote on Manager Charter

Freeholders Document Will Be Submitted November 4

THE Freeholders Charter Commission of King County, Washington, has released its draft of a home rule charter, which will be placed on the ballot for referendum next November. If approved, it will become effective May 1, 1953.

Under the proposed charter, administrative powers would be centralized in a single county administrator or manager appointed by the board of county commissioners and removable by such board. This change would integrate and unify the machinery now under the jurisdiction of three county commissioners and six elected administrative officers. The county board would continue to appoint the planning commission, library board, park board, hospital board and TB hospital board.

The number of commissioners would be increased from three to seven. At present, the three are nominated by districts and elected at large. Under the proposed charter, six would be nominated and elected by districts (three in Seattle and three in the county outside of the city). The seventh would be nominated and elected by the county at large. The ballots would be on a nonpartisan basis, replacing the present partisan system.

The charter would create a civil service commission, to be appointed by the county board to administer the merit system. The assessor and the auditor, now elected by the voters, would become appointed by the board. The clerk of courts, coroner, sheriff, and treasurer, all of whom are now elected, would be appointed by the county administrator subject to approval of the county board.

Whereas present statutes do not permit the consolidation of county offices and activities, the charter would specifically permit such consolidation. The initiative and referendum would be permitted for the first time under the new charter and, whereas there is at present no prohibition against solicitation of political funds by or from county employees, the new charter would expressly prohibit this activity. Finally, the proposed charter would require an annual report on finances and services to be submitted to the citizens of the county.

In commenting on the charter, the Seattle Municipal League declares: "It stands revealed as the 1952 model of a county charter which embodies the best ideas in the latest city and county charters in the country. It makes it possible that King County could become in a few years one of the best run counties in the United States."

Recommendations Made For Nashville-Davidson County

The Community Services Commission established by the Tennessee General Assembly of 1951, to survey the governmental needs of metropolitan Nashville and Davidson County, has released its report of findings and recommendations.[1] The commission of fifteen studied some 25 governmental functions in the city and county including fire and police protection, water pollution, water supply, hospitals, education, urban planning, and streets and roads.

---

[1] *Future Nashville.* The Community Services Commission for Davidson County and the City of Nashville. 1952.

Basic recommendations include a substantial annexation to the city of Nashville, city and county home rule, transference of public health functions, schools, public welfare and hospital care of indigents to the county, and consolidation of the city and county planning commissions. The report recommends a redistricting of Davidson County so that its "people may be equitably represented in the county court" (representative body). No reapportionment has been made since 1905 and urban districts are seriously underrepresented. These recommendations and others are described in detail in the report.

Dr. Lee S. Greene of the University of Tennessee is executive director of the staff of the commission, which is scheduled to expire 60 days after the adjournment of the 1953 session of the General Assembly.

Prince George's County Petitions for Home Rule

The Citizens' Committee for Good Government of Prince George's County, Maryland, has filed a petition with the election board to place the question of a county home rule charter on the ballot next November. The law requires that a petition bearing at least 10,000 signatures of county voters be filed by July 28, but the committee had secured several thousand signatures above the minimum before the deadline.

The committee simultaneously filed a petition with more than the minimum of 2,000 signatures nominating a charter board of five persons whose names will be placed on the ballot. The county commissioners also nominated five persons who will run in opposition to the committee's nominees.

Grange Against Executive Plan for Onondaga County

The Grange of Onondaga County, New York, has gone on record as opposing the proposed county executive plan. By resolution it requested the supervisors of the county not to submit the question to the voters in the November 1952 election.

Centralization of County Purchasing Continues

According to the 1952 *Municipal Year Book,* five more counties have improved their purchasing procedures within the past year. Hamilton County, Tennessee, in which the city of Chattanooga is located, has adopted a new central purchasing system, as have St. Louis County, Missouri; Washoe County (Reno), Nevada; Siskiyou County (Yreka), California; and Pinellas County (Clearwater), Florida.

Florida Legislature Studies County Government

The Florida State Joint Legislative Committee on County Officers' Fees, Compensation and Duties has decided to undertake a comprehensive study of county government in Florida. It appointed a steering committee of state administrative officers and professors of political science to lay the groundwork for the survey. The committee hopes to make its report to the 1953 legislative session.

Wisconsin Counties Develop Forests

Wisconsin Counties, publication of the Wisconsin County Boards Association, reports that twenty Wisconsin counties now have nearly 40,000 acres of land which they operate for forestry. Although municipalities also can own forest lands, two-thirds of the total area of community forests are owned by counties. The article observes: "Wisconsin is foremost among the states in the area of land in county forests, and in the amount of money expended annually on their development. Within a period of twenty years a stable pattern of county ownership for forestry purposes of large blocks of once tax delinquent land has been achieved. The renewed forests are returning steadily increasing sums from timber sales to the county."

North Carolina Public Health Consolidations Continue

A continuing trend is noted in North Carolina toward county assumption of all public health activities. Charlotte, Asheville and Rocky Mount continue to maintain city health departments, but a number of cities contribute to the support of county departments. Raleigh, for example, has agreed to appropriate $20,000 to Wake County's health budget for the coming year, which is a little less than 50 per cent of the 1951-52 appropriation, as the county gradually assumes all responsibility for financing public health. In Guilford County also, establishment of a county health department was accompanied by an agreement with Greensboro and High Point to make steadily decreasing appropriations for health purposes until 1952.

California City-County Studies Continue

In accordance with an agreement reached between the League of California Cities and the California County Supervisors' Association at San Francisco last fall,[1] joint committees of councilmen and county supervisors have been organized in many counties of the state. Meetings of representatives of such committees have been held in Los Angeles, Berkeley and elsewhere.

The city representatives continue to maintain their position that fringe unincorporated urban areas should pay their own way for municipal type services and not be subsidized by rural or city taxpayers out of the general county tax fund. They suggest that studies of the city-county relations problem now under way by legislative interim committees include the possibility of legislation requiring incorporation or annexation whenever an unincorporated community reaches a certain standard of urban development.

A Correction

Patrick J. Cusick, Jr., head of the Planning Division of Montgomery County, Maryland, and head of the staff of the Upper Montgomery County Planning Commission, recently wrote to the National Municipal League to correct an inaccuracy in this section of the REVIEW for June (see "Economic Survey Proposed for Montgomery County, Md.," page 308). He wishes to advise that the Upper Montgomery County Planning Commission is not opposed to the proposed economic survey. His personal opinion and opposition to hiring an outside consulting firm to conduct the survey was misinterpreted as commission opposition to the entire proposal.

Mr. Cusick reports further that, subsequent to the meeting in which the opinions mentioned above were expressed, the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission endorsed the proposed survey. A joint committee consisting of representatives of Montgomery County and neighboring Prince George's County has been established to study the matter of an economic survey covering both counties.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 46; April 1952, page 207.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Use of Income Tax Grows at All Levels

Levied by 29 States and Nearly 300 Local Units

LITTLE more than twenty years ago it was possible for a respected college textbook on economics to list the leading sources of state revenues without including the personal income tax, and to summarize local revenue sources with the statement that "cities, counties and school districts derive practically all of their revenues from property taxes." Then, only sixteen states had personal income taxes, and their yield represented less than one-twentieth of state tax collections, while considerably more than nine-tenths of local revenues came from the property tax. The idea of a municipal income tax would probably have seemed fantastic. Today, a majority of the states have personal income taxes and the municipal income tax is no longer an isolated curiosity.

Review of the extent of use of income taxes, as of 1952, as well as of a variety of other taxes, is facilitated by the recent publication of the United States Treasury Department's revision of its *Federal-State-Local Tax Coordination.*[1] Current usage of the income tax at federal, state and local levels will be briefly summarized in this column; later, a similar treatment will be afforded excise taxes.

Federal Level

By way of background, it may be recalled that the federal income tax was first enacted during the Civil War, later held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and then specifically authorized by the Sixteenth Amendment. The first modern federal income tax (1913 tariff law) was at the rate of 1 per cent. For individuals, single persons were taxed on incomes over $3,000 and married persons on incomes over $4,000, with surtaxes graduated upwards from 1 to 6 per cent on incomes in excess of $20,000. For corporations, the rate was 1 per cent. The yield was on the order of $80,000,000 the first year.

At the present time, personal income tax rates (normal and surtax) range from 22.2 per cent on the first $2,000 of taxable income (after a $600 per capita exemption) to 92 per cent on the amount taxable in excess of $200,000, with the total tax for an individual limited to 88 per cent of net income. The present corporate income tax consists of a normal tax of 30 per cent and a surtax at the rate of 22 per cent on corporate income in excess of $25,000, supplemented by an excess profits tax at the rate of 30 per cent but not, however, in excess of 18 per cent of net income. The combined effective income and excess profits tax rates may not exceed approximately 70 per cent of corporate net income.

State Level

State taxation of income began about the time of the Sixteenth Amendment, Wisconsin adopting a progressive income tax in 1911, two years after voter ratification of the federal constitutional amendment. Today, personal income taxes are imposed by 29 states and the District of Columbia, while two additional states impose a selective tax on income from intangibles. The roster of states not levying individual income taxes includes some of the largest and wealthiest, however — Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey—as well as such "tax haven" states as Florida and Nevada. With few exceptions, the state income tax rates are graduated, but neither rates nor graduations are as large as in the case of the federal income tax. According to the Treasury study, eight states have maximum rates of less than 5 per cent, 25 have rates not above 7 per cent and no rate exceeds 15 per cent. About two-thirds of the states terminate graduation for tax purposes at $10,000 of taxable income or below and only three states extend it beyond $25,000. A number of states permit the deduction of federal income taxes in determining taxable income.

---

[1] By Tax Advisory Staff of the Secretary, United States Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., March 7, 1952.

Corporate income taxes are levied by 32 states. (With two exceptions the states with personal income taxes also levy corporate income taxes and, in addition, three states not levying individual income taxes tax corporate income.) Twenty-six of the states apply flat rates, while six use graduated rates. The lowest rate is 2 per cent, the highest 8 per cent, with more than half less than 5 per cent. State corporate income taxes may be deducted in computing federal corporate income taxes.

Local Level

Use of the income tax at the local level began in 1939, in Philadelphia. Presently, cities in at least four states are levying taxes based on personal or personal and business income, and in one of the states income taxes are levied by other units as well. Rates range from ½ of 1 per cent to 1¼ per cent, the latter the present Philadelphia rate. In general, the local levies differ from those imposed by states and the federal government in that they are based on earned income (salaries, wages, etc.), are at flat rates and lack personal exemption and deduction features; taxes on business income allow the usual deductions, however, in determining net income or net profits.

Pennsylvania has by far the widest local use of income taxes. According to a report of the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, there were as of April 1, 1952, eight cities, in addition to Philadelphia, using income taxes, as well as 66 boroughs, two townships and 185 school districts — a total of 262 units. Widespread use of the tax in the state dates from 1947, when Act 481 was passed granting the local units wide authority to levy virtually all types of taxes not used by the commonwealth.

Second largest number of local income taxes is found in Ohio, where Toledo led the way in 1946. The use of the tax has not been without restraint by the courts, however, and several cities have had their taxes as adopted ruled void. Presently, it appears that six cities have valid income taxes: Canton, Columbus, Dayton, Springfield, Toledo and Youngstown.[2]

St. Louis has had authority to levy an income tax for varying periods since 1946, and was authorized to resume the tax by the 1952 Missouri legislature at a rate not exceeding 1 per cent. The fourth state with local income taxes is Kentucky, where Louisville and Lexington levy at 1 per cent and Paducah at ½ of 1 per cent.

Efforts to levy local income taxes have been voided by the courts in at least two other states, Washington and Michigan. In both, taxes were levied on earnings, in reliance of authorization in general statutes, and were invalidated specifically because there was held to be no power for the cities to tax incomes.

---

[2] Some authorities have included Akron in this list but the city clerk advises that, while petitions have been circulated there, no income tax has yet been adopted.

Yields from Tax

Income taxes in fiscal 1951 yielded roundly $35,000,000,000 to the federal government, $1,492,000,000 to the states and $71,000,000 to local units (the latter figure for years ending 1950). Personal income taxes represented roundly $20,940,000,000, $810,000,000 and $64,000,000 respectively of these totals, with the remainder corporate income taxes.

At the federal level, income taxes are now the most important single revenue, representing 77.8 per cent of the total in fiscal 1951. States, however, received 16.7 per cent of their revenues that year from income taxes, which ranked third after general sales taxes and gasoline taxes. At the local level, income taxes accounted for less than 1 per cent of local governmental revenues; however, this average obscures the fact that in individual instances they were very important, providing as much as half the revenue of some cities using them.

Kansas Tax Offset Lags as Local Levies Rise

That part of the Kansas state sales tax distributed to the counties, cities, schools and other local units, to offset an equal amount of property tax levies, is playing a progressively smaller part in aiding the local governments, according to the Kansas League of Municipalities. In 1950 the offset served to reduce the property tax levies by 9.2 per cent, but with the amount of the sales tax applied stabilized and property tax requirements rising, the percentage was only 7.8 per cent for 1951 and will be 7.5 per cent for 1952.

The present sales tax law was enacted in 1937, with provision that tax proceeds be divided three ways. Funds for state social welfare and for state school aid are deducted first and the residue distributed to the local units as a general property tax replacement. The residue increased more or less steadily from $4,700,000 in 1938 to $13,800,000 in 1946. Then the legislature fixed the amount to be distributed to the local units at $12,500,000, apportioning the remainder into a special fund without designated purpose.

The amount of the residue to be distributed in any year is represented by the actual collections of the preceding twelve months through June, so that the local units know at budget-making time the amounts which will be available to help reduce their respective tax levies. At June 30, 1952, there was approximately $15,900,000 on hand from the sales tax residue, including the $12,500,000 to be distributed to local units for 1952 and $3,400,000 to go into the special fund. Had the full residue been available for distribution, it was estimated it would have reduced the local levies by 9.8 per cent.

Philadelphia Places Large Surety Bond on Employees

What is believed by the underwriters to be the largest surety bond ever written for a city, in number of employees covered and amount of premium, has been placed by Philadelphia. It covers some 25,000 city employees in the penal sum of $700,000 and has an annual premium of about $58,800. At the city's option the bond may be placed on a term basis, running to January 1956, at a cost of $175,000. The faithful performance bond covers

(Continued on page 421)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

President of P. R. League Dies

Albert D. Cash, Twice Mayor of Cincinnati

ALBERT DENIS CASH, lawyer and nationally known civic leader, who was drowned August 2 (see page 432), was president of the Proportional Representation League and presided over its annual sessions at the National Conference on Government from 1948 till his untimely death.

At the age of 54, he was still in the prime of his effectiveness and influence. He was minority leader in the Cincinnati city council and popular standard bearer of the City Charter Committee, which sponsored Cincinnati's "model charter" based on proportional representation and the council-manager plan and was in large measure responsible for the phenomenal good government enjoyed under it for the last quarter century.

Mr. Cash's own service in the city council contributed heavily to this record and was one of the best examples of the kind of results good citizens can achieve through intelligent use of P. R. A Democrat in national politics, he was elected in eight successive P. R. elections on the same nonpartisan ticket which also brought Charles P. Taft, now Republican candidate for governor of Ohio, into public life.

For two terms, 1948-1951, Mr. Cash served by election of his fellow Charterites on the council as president of the council and mayor of the city. He supplied the policy leadership, which is the function of that position under the manager plan, with practical wisdom and an inspirational gift of expression. He lost the mayoralty as a result of last fall's election, when the Charter Committee elected four of the nine councilmen instead of five, but was still re-elected to the council with the largest first-choice vote.

He understood well the role played by P. R. in providing continuous representation for the forces of good government in his city and preventing any return to the unbridled machine rule for which Cincinnati was once famous. He was persuasive in explaining its merits to others. At the P. R. League session in St. Paul in 1949 he said:

> Election of the council by proportional representation is the keystone of the charter of Cincinnati upon which good government was built a generation ago.
>
> Selfish interests, . . . who would like to control government from offstage and who think of elected officials as manikins to be maneuvered at will contrary to the public interest, are frustrated by this device.
>
> Government under P. R. resides in the people, where it belongs. It is nobody's personal chattel. . . . If you want to insure your city against graft and corruption which are condoned, adopt P. R. but remember that the premiums are paid in unremitting vigilance. You will have to defend against periodic assaults on the citadel. Cincinnati has met and defeated three such attacks.

Mr. Cash is survived by his wife, Elizabeth Cassatt Reid Cash, a civic leader in her own right and a Charter Committee member of the Cincinnati city council under P. R. in 1943-1944, and one son.

Netherlands Parliament Elected by P. R.

Thirteen parties contested the Netherlands general parliamentary elections, held under a list system of proportional representation, on June 25 and 26. Eight of these had been represented in the old parliament. The results showed a decline in the following of parties organized on religious lines and an increase in the vote cast for the Labor party, which became the largest, with 29 per cent of the total vote, an increase of 3.4 per cent over 1948. The Catholic party, formerly the largest, was second with 28.7 per cent, part of its loss going to a right-wing splinter Catholic party, according to a report distributed by the Netherlands Information Service.

Most of the remainder of the vote went to candidates of the Protestant, Calvinist and Liberal parties,[1] which are conservative in policy. The Communist party continued to show decline, in spite of its attack on government policy for choosing "guns before butter," obtaining 6.2 per cent, a loss of 1.5 per cent of the total vote, and six seats, a loss of two. This result was parallel to the poor showing of a "Socialist Union" ticket of "Bevanist" candidates, which polled only a third of one per cent of the vote and did not succeed in electing any member.

The distribution of seats was as follows: Labor 30, Catholic 30, Calvinist 12, Protestant 9, Liberal 9, Communist 6, Political Reform 2, and Catholic National 2.

The Netherlands list form of P. R. permits the voter to alter the order of preference on the party list for which he votes by putting a cross mark against a particular candidate whom he wishes to have his first choice. The privilege is not used to any great extent. In this election, however, a weekly publication of "neutralist" opinions urged voters to indicate "neutralist" sentiments by voting for the seventh candidate on any list, as a protest against the foreign policy of all the respectable parties. Although such action would have had the intended publicity effect, because individual selections within party lists are usually scattered and relatively few, this particular drive was notable for its lack of response. Only a fraction of one per cent of the total votes cast indicated a preference for the seventh candidate on the list.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 408)

ations early in July. Some 3,000 state, county and local committees also suspended operations, in accordance with decisions to avoid involvement in this year's political campaigns. It was announced that with the closing of the 82nd Congress about 70 per cent of the 300-odd recommendations of the Hoover Commission will have been incorporated in the laws, making possible four billion dollars of eventual economies.

New York Mayors Elect Officers

The Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York held its 43rd annual meeting at Lake Placid, June 11, 12 and 13. Mayor Henry Waldinger of Valley Stream was elected president along with other officers. A full program of addresses and conferences was conducted and twelve resolutions, chiefly directed to state legislation, were adopted.

---

[1] Officially known as the Christian-Historical Union, the Anti-Revolutionary party and the People's party for Freedom and Democracy.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

New Citizen Groups Get Results

Fayette County Committee Secures Purge of Vote List

THE Fayette Committee for Citizenship, at Lexington, Kentucky, first organized in 1949, numbers people from practically all walks of life. No racial distinctions are made and one of the members of the board of directors is a Negro.

We early decided to strike at corrupt political methods which, according to all reports, were rife here. The committee's first public act was to investigate the registration list of one "floater" precinct and publicize the result. Our story about one-third of the supposedly eligible voters being dead or moved away was headlined on page one of a local daily.

Immediately there was purgation of all the voter lists in Fayette County. Several steps, including the 1950 activities of the now defunct Association of Kentucky Voters, led to enactment by the 1952 Kentucky General Assembly of a registration and purgation law containing most of the features of the *Model Registration System* of the National Municipal League.

In 1951, when there was a vacancy in the office of city manager in Lexington, there was considerable talk of appointing a local politician to the post. The Committee for Citizenship passed and publicized a resolution urging the appointment of a professional city manager. When the board of city commissioners did so, the committee publicly commended the action.

In the primaries we have regularly asked groups of candidates and the party organizations to permit us to name one of their challengers in each of the several "floater" precincts. Our purpose was to prevent violations of the election laws. Groups of independent candidates and the Republican party (which is the minority party) have regularly cooperated with us. At the general election in November 1951, the Democratic party also permitted us to name challengers. This was because of a split in the party organization which is probably going to make it possible for us to name some of the regular Democratic challengers again this year.

Partly as a result of our Fayette County activities, there is now a statewide organization, Citizens Honest Ballot League, trying to encourage activities throughout the state to prevent vote frauds.

The Fayette Committee for Citizenship has published in cooperation with the Citizens Honest Ballot League and a number of local Lexington organizations, a small pamphlet titled *Who Nominates Candidates for President?* It explains all the steps necessary to select Kentucky delegates to the national nominating conventions and suggests what the voter may do to make his will effective in the election of the president.

J. E. Reeves, *President*
Fayette Committee for Citizenship

Terre Haute Civic Group Incorporates

The Citizens Civic Association of Terre Haute, organized over a year ago after an indignation meeting of citizens disgusted with gambling and vice, has been incorporated, reports Robert Seltzer of Indiana State Teachers College. The organization now has some 300 members and its work is carried on through its councilmanic and other committees.

The City Councilmanic Committee is composed of 50 persons representing leading civic and fraternal clubs who attend council meetings and report back to their own groups. Says Mr. Seltzer:

"The CCA Councilmanic Committee supplies all citizens and councilmen who attend with a summary of the new ordinances and old business before the body. We found that the business for a city of 75,000 persons was being transacted in about 28 minutes at a once-a-month meeting. The business went so fast no one could tell what was going on. This summary has aided those attending to follow the proceedings with more understanding.

"The Court Watching Committee has been learning and reading on city courts. They have one member in attendance each day to follow what happens to cases, postponements, drunken driving charges, etc. The Alcoholic Beverage Committee meets with the legal Vigo County Alcohol Board on requests for permits and renewals.

"The Election Committee secured money for a full page ad, to print the replies of candidates for the primary election to questions supplied by the League of Women Voters. Many did not answer. The ad ran in the Sunday paper and the morning paper. It was the first time such a project had been undertaken for the primary.

"The CCA also supplied poll watchers. This is the first year volunteer citizens have ever been used at the polls in Terre Haute. The old-timers who have been running things as they please are not happy about the watchers.

"The association is planning to distribute an election handbook by mail to all citizens of Vigo County—nonpartisan or all-partisan—to encourage a greater voter participation in the election."

Chicago Citizen Group Has Ambitious Program

Indignation over the assassination of Charles Gross, candidate for ward committeeman in the 31st Ward, was the signal for an uprising which has culminated in the organization of "Citizens of Greater Chicago." Out of a meeting called by the presidents of the Chicago Association of Commerce and the Chicago Crime Commission came appointment of an organizing group termed the Committee of Nineteen.

As a result of the work of this committee by-laws have been adopted for the new organization, a "dollars for decency" drive under the auspices of the Junior Association of Commerce and Industry has raised over $90,000, candidates for important public office have been interviewed to assure their cooperation and secure their suggestions. The ideas of participating organizations have been considered and are being presented to the new organization.

Projects for getting better government, cleaner politics and broader citizenship participation have been carefully analyzed by members of the program committee as well as by other agencies and specialists outside the committee. They include a new judicial system, new criminal code for Illinois, new city charter for Chicago, legislative reapportionment, improved election system, prosecution of dishonest public officials, improvement of civil service, political party organization, better housing and recreation services.

The group expects shortly to open headquarters with a permanent staff.

Get Out the Vote a Continuing Theme

Instances of the work of civic organizations—local, state and national—to interest citizens in voting, continue to pour into this office. The "National Nonpartisan Register and Vote Campaign," undertaken by the American Heritage Foundation, is well under way. As a "working tool" the foundation has issued an eleven-by-fourteen-inch campaign guide and catalogue, prepared for it by The Advertising Council. Copies have gone to governors, mayors of principal cities, newspaper and magazine editors, radio and television broadcasters, and to all major advertisers and their agencies. The guide contains numerous illustrations of posters and newspaper mats available for the use of advertisers willing to devote some of their space to the project.

The Voter's Guide—A Handy Pocket Dictionary of Political Terms and Definitions—is offered by the National Research Bureau of Chicago at fifteen cents per copy, with discounts on quantity orders. Distributors may arrange to have their own names and addresses imprinted if they so desire. The *Guide* covers—from the national aspect—forms of government, political terms, voting information, public finance, Congress, foreign policy, the president and the United Nations.

The *Pocket Guide for Chicago Voters* of the Chicago City Club's Joint Committee on Elections has been revised and reprinted. "Its purpose," says the *City Club Bulletin,* "is primarily to familiarize voters with polling place routines and to overcome the diffidence that keeps many potential voters away from the polls."

"The Offices You'll Vote on" is the title of an article in the *TRA Journal* of the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Texas. The association has also issued *Its Explanation of Election Dates in 1952, Method of Election and Description of Public Offices to Be Voted on in Harris County,* for the education of local citizens.

A Handbook for Texas Voters, by Patricia Stuart, comes from the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Texas. It was prepared "in an effort to stimulate interest in, and guide Texas voters through, the electoral process . . . to explain what their job is, how they perform their function at the polls and what are their opportunities for participating locally in politics." Described are voting qualifications, how to vote, how names get on the ballot, political parties, duties of officials, etc. Maps show congressional, state senatorial and representative districts.

Leagues of Women Voters are not only conducting campaigns for registration and voting but also are urging their members to join a political party and work with it. While the league is nonpartisan it feels that, to quote a pamphlet issued by the New Haven (Connecticut) group, "The political party is the only channel through which you can influence nominations." The pamphlet, *Go Forward or Backward,* points out that "Joining a political party will not bar you from voting independently."

The Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan, has been participating in that city's "Ballot Battalion," working to get every eligible voter to register and vote.

'Time of Your Life'

"Have the time of your life!" headlines the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, asking its members to "sign up for league committees and embark on thrilling adventure in citizenship." The back cover of a recent issue of *Municipal News,* the league's publication, lists fifteen committees. Members are asked to check one, or two, preferences. Committees discuss and investigate such subjects as budget and finance, planning, law enforcement, Port of Seattle, public health and assistance, schools, retirement systems. The Candidates Investigating Committee, on whose work the league bases its reports on candidates for city, county, port and legislative offices, represents an especially important phase of league activities.

Turn About Fair Play

According to the *Indiana Woman Voter,* published by the League of Women Voters of Indiana, the Westchester Township League of that state had a panel discussion put on by league husbands. "The subject was on our foreign policy in Western Europe," says the bulletin, "and we understand they did a magnificent job."

Apathy Scored

Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, addressed the annual meeting of the Citizens League of Pawtucket (Rhode Island) on June 11. Discussing the campaign for a new city charter which the league has undertaken, Dr. Reed commented that a good charter "isn't worth the paper it is written on unless you give it life." Local citizens must maintain their fight for good government after a new charter is adopted, he said. "It will take time and money, sweat and sacrifice, and it will offer no direct reward except the pleasant sensation of lying down to sleep at night thinking you have done something worthwhile for your community." Dr. Reed scored the city's present 66-year-old charter with its bicameral city council. "It should have been stuffed and put away in a museum long ago," he declared.

The Better Government for Norwich (Connecticut) Committee, which won a new council-manager charter with city-town consolidation, also received a warning on civic apathy at its annual meeting in June. Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League, told the gathering that politicians are always ready to take advantage of any opening and recapture the spoils system which they lost when the people rose up and voted for the nonpartisan council-manager government which has no patronage to dispense. "Right now, a national election year, is the time for special vigilance," he declared. "It's so easy for the political punks to try to worm their way back while local eyes are on the presidential campaign." Mr. Seed's address was rebroadcast over Station WICH the following evening.

Support Constitution Revision

Three state Leagues of Women Voters are lending their support to movements for constitutional revision. In Ohio the league has passed a resolution to support the question of calling a constitutional convention, to be voted on in November.

The Minnesota league, which for five years has been supporting constitutional revision measures before the legislature which have failed, feels that "public apathy is our most formidable obstacle. Our immediate job is to make the people *want* a new constitution and want it badly enough to influence their legislators."

The State Committee for Constitutional Revision of the Illinois League of Women Voters has held six regional conferences on constitutional revision items in its current agenda. These are revision of the judicial department, reapportionment and home rule.

Appraising the Legislature

The Citizens Union of the City of New York has issued an appraisal of this year's legislative session, listing major accomplishments and failures. The union gives the legislature credit for many solid accomplishments such as its narcotics program, removal of the ban on the sale of yellow oleomargarine, extension of anti-discrimination legislation, anti-billboard law, etc. The union was disappointed that its proposed election reform legislation, including permanent personal registration, failed to be enacted.

In Georgia the League of Women Voters of Atlanta reviewed 1952 state legislation affecting its city. Among the bills passed were several applying to the "Plan of Improvement" for Atlanta and Fulton County.[1]

Citizenship in Colorado

Colorado Municipalities, organ of the Colorado Municipal League, has published three articles in its May issue on citizen activity. Under the general title, "What's New in Developing Citizenship," appear "A Proper Study of Politics Is—POLITICS," by John E. Kramer, describing citizenship activities at the Englewood, Colorado, Senior High School under the aegis of Citizenship Education Project of Columbia University; "And the LWV Works on This Job," by Mrs. Edward S. Miller, reporting on the League of Women Voters of Colorado; and "American Legion Boys' State Offers Training for Youthful Citizens," a report on the fourth annual Colorado Boys' State.

Strictly Personal

Members of the New Boston Committee have presented Daniel J. Ahern, Jr., who served as its executive director from November 1950 until his recent resignation, with an inscribed silver cup "in recognition of his unselfish and effective service." One of NBC's founders, Mr. Ahern will continue as one of the editors of *New Boston Comments,* as a councillor-at-large in the NBC civic council and as its representative on a newly formed metropolitan planning and architectural committee.

Richard Wait, an attorney and former president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, has been elected president of the Massachusetts Civic League for the coming year.

The new executive director of the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning, Aaron Levine, was formerly a senior planner with the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 414)

all municipal employees except elected officials and department heads. It was written by Hartford Accident and Indemnity Company, with Aetna Casualty and Surety Company and Standard Accident Insurance Company as co-insurers.

Amusement Tax Invalid in Oregon

A 3 per cent amusement tax levied by the city of Eugene, Oregon, as a license tax for regulatory and revenue purposes, has been held invalid by the State Supreme Court. The tax was based on the total admission charge, less other taxes. The court ruled that the city could rightfully impose a license tax for revenue purposes, but that the impost in question was an excise tax rather than a license and as such was not authorized by the enumerated taxing powers in the city charter. The ruling is reported by the Federation of Tax Administrators.

---

[1] See "Atlanta Pioneers in Merger," the REVIEW, April 1952, page 182.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureaus Develop Strong State Service Programs

Connecticut and Louisiana Councils Report Activities

"THE Connecticut Public Expenditure Council has, in the relatively short span of its existence, become an institution of very great significance to our state." Governor John Lodge of Connecticut spelled out the reasons for this observation in his address at the tenth annual meeting of CPEC. At that meeting the council unanimously adopted "A Program for Better Government 1952-53." It includes a wide range of recommendations for modernizing the state constitution and government, providing municipal home rule and working for more efficient and economical federal, state and local government.

The council undertakes to "accept all possible requests for research data from the governor, the General Assembly and the finance committees of Congress, . . . to furnish more detailed information to citizens and taxpayers on government operations and finances, and to render more aid to towns in their efforts to get more efficient and less costly government." It had already responded to requests from the Republican and Democratic state platform committees by submitting to each "a taxpayer's platform for better government in Connecticut" based on its 1951 program.

The council's research program for the year includes completion of its comprehensive study of the State Welfare Department requested by the governor, with submission of the report and drafting of legislation. Completion of a report and recommendations on the Motor Vehicles Department, requested by the commissioner, is also on the agenda.

During the recent legislative session in Louisiana the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana issued a weekly *Legislative Bulletin* analyzing and giving background on major bills and resolutions. PARC, at the request of the legislature, has undertaken a study of welfare needs, operations and administration in Louisiana.

As an aid in evaluating its own program, PARC is sending questionnaires to nearly 40 state citizen research organizations on their age, coverage of press and other communication media, and nature of research and public information activities.

Bureau Notes

Beginning in September 1950 *Municipal Administration*, published by the Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, has been running a series of articles by H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary of the Institute of Local Government, and M. Nelson McGeary, of the department of political science, of Pennsylvania State College, surveying Pennsylvania government at the middle of the twentieth century. The thirteenth and final article in the series appeared in the July 1952 number.

The Research and Planning Council is the new name for an organization which represents the combined membership of the Planning Board of San Antonio and Bexar County and the Bexar County Citizens Association. The Planning Board included the Bureau of Governmental Research, which was established in 1948 as an activity of the Planning Board. Edward G. Conroy, formerly director of the bureau, continues as executive vice president of the new organization.

Summary of the answers by 36 cities between 100,000 and 600,000 to a questionnaire of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute on responsibility for sidewalk construction and maintenance has been mimeographed by the institute.

The Stark County (Canton, Ohio) Tax League issued a 50-page *Annual Report July 1, 1952,* containing a wealth of financial and other data covering the governments of Stark County and the municipalities and school districts within it.

The Tennessee Taxpayers Association has been retained to make a study of Chattanooga and Hamilton County with particular reference to metropolitan area problems and overlapping services.

Strictly Personal

Dr. Emmett Asseff has resigned his post as research associate of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana to become executive director of the Louisiana Legislative Council, created by the 1952 Louisiana legislature.

Albert J. Richter, who has been managing director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research since 1950, has been appointed research director of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis.

Research Reports and Articles

Assessments

First Analysis (1952 Assessor's Assessments—Last 6 Months Selling Price Ratio) **of the City of Galveston and Galveston Independent School District. 1951 and 1952 Assessed Value—1951 Selling Price Ratio Survey.** (Contains Analysis No. 1 and No. 2) Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 21 pp.

Methods Used in Compiling and Analyzing the 1951 and 1952 Assessed Value—1951 Selling Price Ratio Survey, City of Galveston, Texas. Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 31 pp.

Auditoriums

The Evolution of Our City Auditoriums. Lincoln 8, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* June 1952. 4 pp.

Boards and Commissions

Boards and Commissions. Powers of 27 Agencies Created or Continued by Home Rule Charter Are Described Briefly. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 2, 1952. 6 pp.

Budgets

An Approach to the Technique of Performance Budgeting. Martinez, California, Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, 1952. 6 pp.

Budget Backgrounds: (1) Detroit Debt; (2) The Mayor's Budget; (3) City Personnel Costs; (4) Board of Education Budget; (5) Detroit Teachers' Salaries; (6) Schools, City to Cost 265 Million Dollars. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council of Michigan, April 7 and 30, May 5, 12 and 21, and July 18, 1952. 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 and 4 pp. respectively.

California's $1.2 Billion Budget—State's 1952-53 Appropriations at New Peak. By Frank H. Thill. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* June 1952. 7 pp.

Progress in Long-Range Budgeting. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* May 29, 1952. 2 pp.

An Unbalanced Budget. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research Inc., *Memo,* May 1952. 4 pp.

With Their Bare Hands (County

Budget Commission handicapped by lack of staff and system). **School and County Budgets Total $41,825,154.** Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* June 16 and 25, 1952. 4 and 5 pp. respectively.

Capital Planning

The Postwar Capital Outlay Program of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. By Elwyn E. Mariner. Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1952. 38 pp.

Charter Revision

A Charter for Contra Costa County. Martinez, California, Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, 1952. 49 pp.

Charter Revision—When and How? Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* June 9, 1952. 3 pp.

City Clerks

A Reference Manual for Iowa City and Town Clerks. Iowa City, Institute of Public Affairs of the State University of Iowa in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1952. 102 pp.

Constitutions

Florida's Proposed Constitutional Amendments 1952.[1] By William F. Larsen. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 16 pp.

Education

City College (I) Bureau Makes Exploratory Analysis of the Proposal to Establish a City College; City College (II) Bureau's Report Makes Suggestions Regarding Survey Needed to Evaluate College Proposal. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 23 and 30, 1952. 6 and 4 pp. respectively.

Elementary School Costs Per Pupil. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* June 1952. 6 pp.

Managing the Schools. Board of Education Administers Philadelphia's School District, a Separate Unit of Government. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 9, 1952. 6 pp.

Public Higher Education in Kentucky. Prepared by United States Office of Education for the Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Lexington, Legislative Research Commission of Kentucky, 1952. 185 pp.

School Administration Needs Improvement. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, (bulletin) June 1952. 2 pp.

School Building Recommendations. Brockton, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* June 9, 1952. 10 pp.

$60,000,000 More? A Look at the Proposal to Increase State Grants to Local School Districts. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1952. 16 pp.

Teacher Salaries in California. By Hugh H. Brown. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* May 1952. 6 pp.

Housing

Public Housing in Providence. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, (bulletin), June 1952. 2 pp.

Unfit Housing. The Problem in Springfield, Masachusetts. Springfield, Taxpayers' Association, 1952. 17 pp.

Legislative Bodies

Scheduling Legislative Workloads. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, May 1952. 45 pp.

Legislative Committees

Legislative Committees in North Carolina. By Henry W. Lewis. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1952. 144 pp. $1.50.

---

[1] See page 400, this issue.

Parking

Parking Facilities in the Central Business District. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, May 1952. 4 pp.

Pensions

Recommendations for Study of Future Pension Costs. (Submitted to Special Commission to Study and Revise the Laws Relating to Retirement Systems and Pensions). Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, Inc. 1952. 9 pp.

Personnel

Balanced Personnel Program Proposed. Toledo, Municipal League, *Municipal News,* May 1952. 2 pp.

"Only The Best Shall Serve." Some Problems of Civil Service. By Muriel M. Morse. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* May 1952. 6 pp.

Public Personnel Administration. A New Look at Old Fundamentals. By John M. Leavens. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1952. 4 pp.

Planning

A Timely Look at Urban Planning. The League Proposes a Regional Solution. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* May, June 1952. 8 pp.

Population

Florida's Population 1920-1950—The Urban Trend and Political Representation. By John M. Maclachlan. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 12 pp.

Public Employment

State Employment in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* June 1952. 4 pp.

Public Relations

The Importance of Community Relations. By Carl H. Walker. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government, *Municipal Administration,* May 1952. 2 pp.

Public Utilities

Assessment of Public Utilities in Alabama. By Paul E. Alyea. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952. 142 pp.

Public Welfare

Public Welfare and the Problem Solvers. By James W. McGrew. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* May-June 1952. 6 pp.

Real Estate

Block-and-Lot System. Scientific Numbering of Real Estate Parcels Would Improve Real Estate Records. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* June 16, 1952. 4 pp.

Retirement Systems

Termination of Utah's Public Employees Retirement System. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, *Research Brief,* June 6, 1952. 4 pp.

Sewage Disposal

Regulation of Lots Requiring On-Site Sewage Disposal. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government, *Municipal Administration,* June 1952. 2 pp.

Sewer Rates

Sewer Rates of Washington Cities. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, 1952. 11 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Common Sense About New York City's Finances. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, February 6, 1952. 42 pp.

Financial Data City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1942-1951. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), January 1952. 6 pp.

Higher Property Tax Rates Reported for Fiscal 1952 by Forty-Two Upstate Cities. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* June 1952. 2 pp.

Local Government Finances in Maryland 1950-1951. Baltimore, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1952. 76 pp.

New Answer to Old Question—How Much Does State Government Cost? Seattle 1, Washington State Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* June 11, 1952. 2 pp.

New Tax Laws of Pennsylvania—1951. Covering Major Enactments, Both State and Local. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1952. 22 pp.

Nineteenth Annual Study of Debts-Taxes-Assessments. Chicago 2, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* June 1952. 23 pp.

Postwar Financial Developments—Government of Canada. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* June 26, 1952. 8 pp.

A Property Tax Primer. Some ABCs of the Wisconsin Property Tax. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1952. 9 pp.

Property Tax Problems in Rural-Urban Fringe Areas. By F. E. Hulse and W. P. Walker. College Park, University of Maryland, Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing, 1952. 24 pp.

Tax Boon or Bust? Atlantic City, Tax Survey Commission (bulletin), June 6, 1952. 3 pp.

Water Rates

Water Rates of Washington Cities. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, May 1952. 33 pp.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from page 384)

because it would include on the city council some representation of Negroes. If it did not, let me report for your information that Reorganization Plan No. 5, which will soon go into effect, does contemplate the creating of a citizens advisory council composed of nine residents. I fully expect that among those nine will be a representation of Negroes.

William H. Press, *Executive Vice President*
Washington Board of Trade

Our original source of the information in the news note referred to reports that, though, as Mr. Press states in his letter, the Washington Board of Trade has long favored suffrage for the District of Columbia in national elections, it has been the leading local opponent of home rule legislation for the District in recent sessions of Congress. In fact, in the hearings this year on the District of Columbia reorganization plan, Senator Hoey of North Carolina, a staunch opponent of self-government for the District, complimented the president of the Board of Trade on "the fight it has made against home rule in the city."

As for the position of various local organizations on the Bureau of the Budget's proposal for a manager form of government for the District, it should be noted that the opposition to which Mr. Press refers was largely generated by an ex parte presentation at a small meeting of organization representatives called by the Board of Trade before the full proposal was available and without inviting anyone to represent the bureau at the meeting.

Editor

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1952. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and David S. Arnold. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1952. x, 604 pp. $10.

It is no longer necessary to extol the virtues of the *Municipal Year Book* as *the* reference book on cities for municipal officials and students of municipal government.

The nineteenth edition of this encyclopedia of municipal information has a special interest because it summarizes the urban facts of the 1950 census and describes the efforts of various cities to fight the metropolitan disease.

The urban trend continues. From 1940 to 1950 urban population increased almost 20 per cent, while the rural population increase was just under 8 per cent. The metropolitan trend continues with a 22 per cent increase in metropolitan areas. And the flight to the suburbs continues with a 14 per cent increase in central cities—average for the U. S. as a whole—and a 35 per cent increase in metropolitan areas outside the central cities.

Of more interest is what some cities are doing to arrest the threat of metropolitan blight to civic interest, civic leadership and financial resources. More than 300 cities annexed territory in 1951, 55 of them in areas of more than half a square mile. This continues unabated a trend which started at the close of the war and is reminiscent of the annexations in the early part of the century.

Of equal interest is the summary of what is happening to the number of governmental units—a 23 per cent decrease since 1942. This is eloquent testimony to the stimulus of a single piece of research on this subject by William Anderson a couple of decades ago. But the changes were spotty. While consolidations and eliminations were reducing the number of school districts by one-third, there was a 43 per cent increase in the number of special districts, which is less satisfying to the proponents of one local government in one community.

The increase in the number of municipal employees has leveled off at about 1,100,000, exclusive of school teachers, but dollar payrolls are up about 10 per cent.

Perhaps the reference features of this *Year Book* for city officials do not require comment. Are the per capita expenditures of my city for fire protection, recreation or welfare out of line? Where can I find a model ordinance on parking meters, handbills or noise? What is an average salary for the planning director in a city my size? The *Municipal Year Book* has a ready answer for these and many other questions that arise in the daily affairs of a city government. This edition carries forward the standard information about cities and adds new material on traffic safety and municipally-owned utilities. It also extends its usefulness by including financial information about cities under 25,000 population.

Lyman S. Moore, *City Manager*
Portland, Maine

Editor's Note.—The review above was written by Mr. Moore the day before his sudden death after an emergency operation August 5.

The Book of the States 1952-1953. Edited by Frank Smothers and M. Clair Cotterill. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1952. xi, 741 pp. $7.50 (with two 1953 supplements, $10).

This is the ninth biennial edition of this massive well managed work, wherein the structures and functions of the 48 states and the territories are lined up for comparison, and recent progress is catalogued, with admirable completeness.

Leading authorities have contributed articles and summaries in the major fields covered. State-by-state tabular presentation of basic facts again is an outstanding feature.

Rosters of state officials, listing the elected and appointed heads of the more important departments of all state governments, are included as are full lists of members of the legislatures. The 1953 supplements—one to be issued in January, another in July—will bring these directories up to date for that year.

The book deals with intergovernmental relations — interstate, state-federal and state-local; state constitutions, constitutional revision and election laws; legislatures and legislation, legislative councils and service agencies, regulation of lobbying and trends in state legislation in 1950 and 1951; administrative systems—developments in reorganization, administrative rules, finance management, purchasing, personnel systems, employment, salaries and pensions; state finances; reports on major state services; and state judicial systems, their administration, organization and procedure.

The final section includes "State and Territorial Pages"—two for each state and territory—which present basic facts about them, including statistical summaries and names of principal officials.

The Political Almanac 1952. By George Gallup and the American Institute of Public Opinion Staff. New York, B. C. Forbes & Sons Publishing Co., Inc., 1952, xv, 317 pp. $5.95.

This is a compendium of up-to-date and historical facts on the American political scene. It offers an authoritative survey of recent and present data upon which the voter, political worker, commentator and student may anticipate 1952 election results on all governmental levels. It contains, state by state and county by county, the full statistics on previous election results and, according to Dr. Gallup, is "an attempt to remedy the deplorable situation" pointed out by a special committee of the Social Science Research Council that, "There is no national clearing house or any other provision for the collection of election statistics on a national basis and as a result these statistics are not available in any complete or accurate form for all major offices or by counties or smaller districts."

Discussed are such matters as the presidents of the United States, the Electoral College, party strength by states, three-party contests, group and sectional voting differences, the third term amendment, the south, and many other related subjects.

The American Government and its Work. By Edward W. Carter and Charles C. Rohlfing. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1952. xv, 875 pp. $6.

This massive work is "a comprehensive revision of one of the oldest and most widely used college texts" under the same title, published in 1915, 1923, 1933 and 1940 by Professor James T. Young, who wrote some of the new chapters of this version.

With its original emphasis on the work of national and state governments rather than structure and history, it has been modernized to include current controversial issues.

Sait's American Parties and Elections. By Howard R. Penniman. New York City, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. viii, 574 pp. $5.

Fifth edition of Sait's 1927 classic

text, competently carried on and brought down to date.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Air Pollution

Air Pollution Abatement Manual — Sampling Procedures and Measuring Equipment. Washington 5, D. C., Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1952. 39 pp. Illus.

The Bar

Bar Examinations and Requirements for Admission to the Bar. Survey of the Legal Profession under the auspices of the American Bar Association. Colorado Springs, Colorado, Shepard's Citations, 1952. xvii, 498 pp. $5.

Civil Service

Cooperative Personnel Administration. A Study of Cooperative Activities of State Personnel Agencies. New York 16, National Civil Service League, 1952.

Directories

Directory of State Agencies and Employees in Nashville. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 70 pp.

Twenty-fifth Annual Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials 1952-1953. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1952. 72 pp. $3.50.

Discrimination

Strangers and Neighbors. The Story of Our Puerto Rican Citizens. By Clarence Senior. New York 10, Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1952. 53 pp. 25 cents.

Civil Rights in the United States in 1951. A Balance Sheet of Group Relations. New York, American Jewish Congress and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1952. 128 pp. 40 cents.

Fire Insurance

Organization and Operation of the Fire Insurance Industry. A Brief Summary for the Benefit of Municipal Officials. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1952. 12 pp. $2.

Highways

The New York State Thruway. By B. D. Tallamy. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, the Forum, 1952. 15 pp. (Apply William J. Riley, c/o Drexel & Company, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1952. How Municipalities Obtain $275,000,000 Federal Aid. By Randy H. Hamilton. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1952. 8 pp. $1.

Housing

A Proposed Housing Ordinance. Regulating Supplied Facilities, Maintenance and Occupancy of Dwellings and Dwelling Units. By Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1952. 24 pp.

Industry

Industry and the Community. By George C. Smith. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* June 1952. 3 pp.

Creating an Industrial Civilization. A Report on the Corning (New York) Conference, held under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and Corning Glass Works, May 1951. Edited by Eugene Staley. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1952. xvi, 368 pp. $4.

Parking

What Can and Should Be Done to Improve Detroit's Intolerable Downtown Parking Situation? A Panel Discussion. Detroit, Commercial Secretaries Association, 1952. 29 pp.

Planning

Joint Planning for Americans in Agriculture, Business, Labor and the Professions. (Report on joint meeting of National Planning Association's board and committee members.) Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1952. 30 pp. Illus.

Population Statistics

Mobility of the Population, for the United States, April 1950 to April 1951. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 15 pp.

School Enrollment, October 1951. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 13 pp.

Ports

1951 Yearbook, Toledo-Lucas County Port Commission. Toledo, Ohio, Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, *Toledo City Journal,* July 19, 1952, Supplement. 16 pp.

Price and Wage Control

Ending Price-Wage Controls. A Statement by the Program Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. New York 22, the Committee, 1952. 15 pp.

Public Health

American Health Directory. By Henry Hatton. (Lists organizations dealing with all phases of health—alcoholism, allergies, arthritis, biology, birth control, cancer, health councils, life insurance, medical care plans, rural health, sanitation, etc.) Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1952. 96 pp. $2.50.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of State Government Finances in 1951. By U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 70 pp. 35 cents.

State Gasoline Tax Aid for Purely Local City Streets. By Wallace Mendelson. Nashville, Tennessee Municipal League, 1952. Variously paged.

Tax and Expenditure Policy for 1952. A Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. New York 22, the Committee, 1952. 37 pp.

Two Decades of State Sales Taxes. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* May 1952. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for September, **Child Safety;** Theme for October, **Night Traffic Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Transportation

America Needs Sound Transportation. Summary of a Report of the Policy Administration Board, National Cooperative Project, to the Board of Directors, Transportation Association of America. Chicago 6, the Association, 1952. 35 pp.

The Crisis in Highway Transportation. By Pyke Johnson. (Address before the National Association of Manufacturers.) Detroit 2, Automobile Manufacturers Association, 1952. 14 pp.

Urban Rehabilitation

Progress or Decay? 'Downtown Blight' in the Nation's Capital. By Chalmers M. Roberts. (A series of articles reprinted from the Washington *Post.*) Washington, D. C., *The Post,* 1952. 8 pp.

Wages and Salaries

1952 Michigan Municipal Wages and Salaries — Supplement. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1952. 4 pp.

Old and New Mingle in San Antonio

San Antonio, site of the 1952 National Conference on Government November 17-19, is a city of historic charm and beauty. The warmth and friendliness of its people and its scenic attractions and entertainment features will make this year's Conference a memorable one.

Ancient buildings stand in the shadows of modern skyscrapers, providing unusual contrasts. Nestled in the heart of the mission country, San Antonio has a wealth of these structures which furnish a vivid picture of the days of the Franciscan friar. The famous Alamo, shrine of Texas liberty, is preserved in its original form in the business section.

A unique feature is the river with landscaped banks which winds through the heart of the downtown section.

San Antonio's recreational facilities include four golf courses, of which Brackenridge, scene of the annual Texas open tournament, is perhaps the most widely known.

The city is also a military center, with five of the country's greatest military posts and flying fields. League members will have an opportunity to visit Randolph, Lackland, Kelly and Brooks fields and Fort Sam Houston.

San Antonio recently installed the council-manager form of government and is experiencing a dramatic civic awakening which Conference-goers will be able to observe.

San Antonio is conveniently located to provide several post-Conference trips. Mexico is a short distance to the south, dude ranches in the hill country north of San Antonio provide informality and relaxation and the Gulf of Mexico furnishes opportunity for fishing, boating and swimming.

American Airlines and the Mexican National Railways are offering special rates for post-Conference vacation trips into Mexico.

A view of the beautified San Antonio River which winds through the heart of downtown San Antonio, showing the Arneson River Theatre.

Cash, Noted Civic Leader, Drowns

Albert D. Cash, former mayor of Cincinnati, former member of the League's Council, and president of the Proportional Representation League, was drowned August 3 in Torch Lake near Bellaire, Michigan, when high waves upset the boat in which he and three companions were fishing.

Mr. Cash, long active in the City Charter Committee of Cincinnati, was first elected to the city council in 1937 and was serving his eighth term at the time of his death. He was chosen as mayor in 1948 and again in 1950.

He was a leader of a movement for a master plan for Cincinnati involving slum clearance, urban redevelopment, smoke control and traffic control and sparked formation of the Ohio Association of Cities to fight for reapportionment of the Ohio legislature to obtain fairer representation for cities.

Albert D. Cash

His wife, Elizabeth Cassatt Reid Cash, was herself a former member of the Cincinnati city council for one term, from 1943 to 1945. She was the only woman to be elected to the city council since Cincinnati adopted the proportional representation method of voting in 1924. (See also page 415.)

Oldest Member(?)

Among things which cheer up an office is a letter like the following:

"I have your letter and hasten to mail my annual dues as a member of the National Municipal League.

"I have sent the League this small check for something over 50 years and have no intention of discontinuing it."

This letter came from George McAneny, now retired and living in Princeton, New Jersey, who for more than half a century was one of New York's most prominent civic leaders. He has been newspaper man, banker and public official and has won numerous honors. In his early days he ran such organizations as the National Civil Service Reform League and the City Club of New York.

Among the public offices he held were those of president of the borough of Manhattan, president of the New York Board of Aldermen (acting as mayor of the city for several months) and chairman of the New York City Transit Commission.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

TOBER 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO.

KA[illegible] PUBLIC LIBRARY
OCT 17 1952

NEWS for League Members 433

A City Manager for New York? .... *Editorial*

Ethics in Local Government .... *Fritz Morstein Marx*

'Americanization' in Japan .... *George A. Warp*

Too Many Elective Officials? .... *Donald S. Hecock*

Reorganization Urged for New Mexico 455

Florida to Vote on County Home Rule 461

Sales and Excise Taxes Widely Used 463

P. R. Referenda in Massachusetts Cities 467

How One Group Selects Candidates 471

Researchers' Conference Covers Broad Field 476

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR
ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT R. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MacCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *Colorado*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
VICTORIA SCHUCK, *Massachusetts*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
PAUL D. STEWART, *West Virginia*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
Lester Bates, Columbia, S. C.
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

How to Make Touchdowns

"Goals and Touchdowns" is the title of a brief talk that National Municipal League President Henry Bruère will give at the annual dinner, the Tuesday night feature of the three-day National Conference on Government in San Antonio, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, November 17, 18 and 19. Mr. Bruère's talk will deal with the way in which the League in its 58 years has set goals and coached good people in thousands of communities to win touchdowns for better government and more effective citizenship.

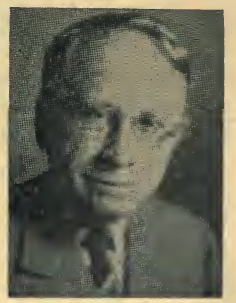
Charles Edison

In 25 separate Conference sessions, more than two hundred speakers and discussants, with the help of active members of the audience, will be busy establishing civic goals for tomorrow and hammering out strategy for attaining them.

While the working meetings will begin at 9.15 Monday morning, the Conference will be formally welcomed to town and officially opened at luncheon with a speech by Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs of The Ford Motor Company.

Mr. Reid's speech, "Good Government is Good Business," will be a curtain raiser for an afternoon session in which about eight business leaders will discuss the responsibilities and problems of "The Businessman as Citizen." In a similar session Tuesday afternoon, a group of women will review and evaluate their experience in various public offices and civic posts.

The stories of some of the most noteworthy civic touchdowns of 1952 will be presented to the All-America Cities jury, headed by George Gallup, in afternoon sittings Monday and Tuesday. Among the jurors will be Henry Bruère, president of the National Municipal League; Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey; Mrs. Hiram Houghton, former president, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor, *The American City*; Mark S. Matthews, former president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce; Roy V. Peel, director, Bureau of the Census; Anna Lord Strauss, former president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan. Applications for permission to make presentations to the jury already filed with the Eligibility Committee indicate a nationwide interest in the recognition that membership on the All-America team of cities brings to a community.



Thomas H. Reed

Featured speakers at other general sessions include Howard Chase, public relations consultant, former director of

(Continued on next page)

Childs' Book Tells of Civic Struggles

A new book entitled *Civic Victories; the Story of an Unfinished Revolution* by Richard S. Childs, civic leader and political philosopher, is scheduled for issue November 10 by Harper & Brothers.

In the opinion of W. B. Munro, pioneer professor of municipal government and author of numerous textbooks, who read the galley proofs, "no better history of civic progress during the past four or five decades has been written than this one, nor is one likely to be."

Few men, if any, have had or, better, taken the opportunity to know the intimate secrets of the notable civic battles and significant civic progress of the first half of the twentieth century. Hand in hand with his career as an industrialist, Mr. Childs has always been a busy and effective innovator of mechanistic corrections of civic tools to enable the voter to master his task and responsibilities and to free him from domination by selfish political "leadership."

His most notable contributions to progress are generally considered to be his origination of the council-manager form of government, which is now in effect in more than 1,100 places, and of the short ballot movement.

Civic Victories sets forth his basic philosophy of how to "make democracy democ" and covers in sprightly, readable fashion, the significant victories and defeats since 1910.

One of the most active lay leaders of the National Municipal League since he engineered a rebirth of the organization three decades ago and lured it from Philadelphia to New York, Mr. Childs was formerly president and is now chairman of the executive committee.

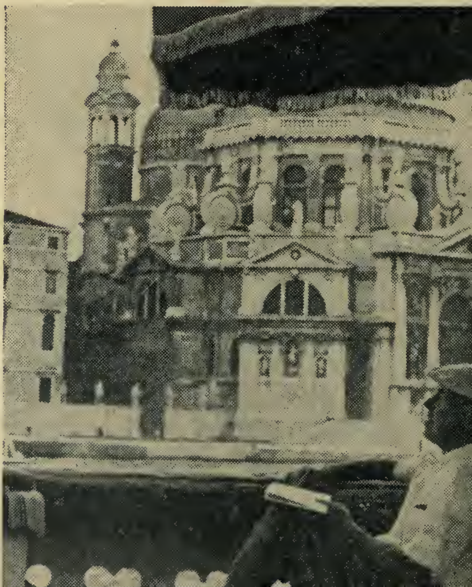
Five years ago he retired from the American Cyanamid Company to become an unpaid member of the League's staff, a vocation he would have preferred to business.

"I've wasted a lot of years making money," he has confided to friends. "This is more fun than anything."

HOW TO MAKE TOUCHDOWNS

(Continued from previous page)

public relations for General Foods, at the Tuesday luncheon, Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, at the Wednesday luncheon and Charles Edison at the annual dinner. Governor Edison's talk, "Barriers and Beginnings," will offer an important program for immediate action to increase the local civic energy needed for the achievement of national goals. Dr. Reed's speech, entitled "Proud City," will close the Conference.



Richard S. Childs, during his summer vacation trip to Europe, reading proofs of his forthcoming book and, with typical passion for efficiency, catching sunshine and relaxation beside the Grand Canal in Venice.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 9 **Total Number 425**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for October 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 433

EDITORIAL COMMENT 436

ETHICS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT .... *Fritz Morstein Marx* 438

'AMERICANIZATION' IN JAPAN .... *George A. Warp* 443

TOO MANY ELECTIVE OFFICIALS? .... *Donald S. Hecock* 449

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 455

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 461

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 463

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 467

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 471

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 476

BOOKS IN REVIEW 480

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. **Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.**

**Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.**

Editorial Comment

A City Manager for New York?

THE Citizens Union, enlightened and effective civic organization, has, with its customary quiet courage, startled politicians and experts alike by setting up a committee to determine whether and how the council-manager form of government can be adapted to the world's largest city, New York.

It is startling to the politicians for obvious reasons, to others because some political scientists are fond of saying, on the basis of theory rather than factual evidence, that of course the plan that has wrought miracles in so many other places could not possibly work in a really big city.

This is like saying a small business must be logically organized and efficiently managed but a big business can be run any old way, picking the president in a popularity contest and hiring help on the basis of friendship or nepotism.

Before and after the committee was named, newspapers and others complained about the obvious lack of top management of the city's affairs. A leading business man in a public speech said "administration of the city of New York doesn't exist."

A career man in the city's government, keenly analyzing the situation, commented:

> From his first day in office, the mayor is overwhelmed with a multiplicity of duties and responsibilities. They fall generally into three categories:
>
> 1. Ceremonial-social,
> 2. Policy formulation and adoption,
> 3. Administration.
>
> Demands within the first category alone easily can and often do so fill his waking hours and are so exhausting that he has little time left and very little energy, mental or physical, to devote to the two remaining categories, which of course embrace all the really worthwhile work we may expect from anyone occupying the office. A great many of these ceremonial activities are inescapable and many more seem to the mayor to be so because, quite naturally, he wishes to sustain the popular personal appeal which may have elected him over others with less such appeal.
>
> If he wishes to continue in office, he is likely to select as his most important assistants persons who are mainly interested in helping him realize that wish and they consequently arrange his schedule for weeks in advance with that almost solely in mind. It is a common complaint of department heads that the mayor's engagement book is so filled with these commitments that they seldom see him for even a fleeting moment (startling emergencies excepted) unless they are able to arrange identical outside engagements.

This is the gentlest way of saying that a mayor tends to choose patronage dispensers as deputy mayor and as administrative assistants. On several rare occasions, when mayors have appointed competent administrators, such men have been used to handle inconsequential detail rather than administrative problems.

In other words, the mayor of New York is now a "ceremonial mayor" such as is provided in the council-manager form of government. Relieving him of the pressures of administration, which he largely ignores anyway, and of the importunings of favor seekers would leave him free to do what he likes and does best.

The current mayor never administered anything before he was chosen to handle about a hundred departments with a couple of hundred thousand employees. His predecessor had a spectacular career from immigrant boy to mayor but, likewise, never administered anything much, which may not have been the reason he decided to change to a brief career as ambassador to Mexico.

The chief fear is that the people, victims of the trickery of powerful political machines, would not be able to elect a city council that could be trusted to appoint an adequate city manager. Perhaps the fact that the city council has no real powers has had something to do with the voters' lack of discrimination in the kind of people they put into it. They did quite well, however, when the proportional representation method of election was used. Since the politicians of both major parties ganged up to kill P. R., controls have been transferred from city hall back to the clubhouse, which would be ruinous to the council-manager plan.

First step must be to find a way to elect a competent, responsible and representative city council; representative of the voters rather than the party leaders, that is.

A Plank for All Candidates

IT IS not necessary to pass final judgment either on Senator Nixon's private political expense fund or on Governor Stevenson's fund to supplement salaries of key state officials to be definite on one all-important fact: the people generally are badly confused.

Nothing could have better demonstrated the critical importance of ethical questions in a democracy. The issues will certainly not be appreciably cleared in the heat of the campaign but it should be possible for all concerned to come together on one plank. That plank, laid down some months ago by the Douglas Committee, calls for establishment of a commission on ethics in government.

Both candidates for president might well agree that after election they will cooperate, winner and loser alike, in seeing to it that a commission of citizens of unimpeachable integrity, broadly representative of the American people, is set up to explore the whole complex field of ethics, as well as simple morality, in government and politics. Its mission should not be confined to federal government and elections. In fact, it should begin in the home town and precinct, whence all politicians and civil servants come.[1] It should also explore fearlessly the other side of the coin, the ethical climate in which government operates, including especially the behavior of interest groups and citizens in dealing with government and seeking to influence its agents.

---

[1] See "Ethics in Local Government," page 438, this issue.

Ethics in Local Government

Arlington County, Virginia, looks for 'practicable ways of sustaining a high standard of official conduct.'

By FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX*

ROBERT W. COX, youthful-looking chairman of the county board, felt paternal pride as he handed to the press copies of the document.

"I understand," he declared, "that no other similar body has ever been organized in this country to delve into the subject of public ethics."

The body he referred to was the Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government,[1] appointed June 30, 1951, by the County Board of Arlington County, Virginia, to prepare a code of ethics and to consider "additional practicable ways of sustaining a high standard of official conduct." The document glanced over by the newspapermen with professional detachment was the Commission's report, together with a proposed Code of Public Ethics and further recommendations. Cox, then a newcomer to the board, had introduced the resolution by which the Commission was established.

County government in the United States has not had a reputation for pioneering. Perhaps the first question to be answered is how it came about that the initiative in this matter was seized by a county government. One answer is, of course, that there are great differences in vitality and inventiveness between different counties, which often but not always are explained by differences in resources. More specifically, while Arlington is a county in name, it is in fact an urban community of some 150,000 people, who are described in a recent report of the County Planning Commission as generally well educated and blessed with stable income. It is only the unresolved doubts about the pros and cons of incorporation that still stand between Arlington and its designation as a city.

How does a local government get into a project of public morality beyond such problems as what to do about prostitution? Ethics, after all, is a pretty obscure subject to most people who think of themselves as practical-minded. And ethics in government is probably the more obscure side of the subject. To be sure, some smoke has risen recently in various parts of the country from nice little understandings about mink coats, deep freezes and related matters. But the political capital made of these things might indicate that as a nation we are today more rather than less fastidious in the appraisal of official conduct than we used to be.

---

*The author, staff assistant in the Director's Office of the Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, and adjunct professor of political science at American University, served as chairman of the Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government of Arlington County, Virginia.

[1] In addition to the author, members of the commission were Frank L. Ball, attorney and former member of the Senate of Virginia; John J. Corson, head of the Washington office of McKinsey and Company, management consultants, previously an executive in the federal government and with the Washington *Post*; Hon. Chan Gurney, member of the Civil Aeronautics Board and formerly United States senator from South Dakota; and Rev. Paul R. Hunter, pastor of the Rock Spring Congregational Church in Arlington. The commission submitted its report August 15, 1952.

The conclusion finds added evidence in the background of Arlington's Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government. There had been no searing scandal. There had been no wholesale pilfering. There had been no overreaching gesture of boss rule. Arlington had kept its skirt rather dainty. It enjoyed an active civic life. On its county board of five members, a majority of three represented the nonpartisan voters dedicated to the cause of good government.

One thing that did happen, however, was a surprise trial for malfeasance of two board members early in 1951. One of these was a leader of the nonpartisan voters, having just been returned for a second term by a strong vote. The other was tagged with the label of the political party that had long been in control. The locally elected commonwealth attorney in charge of preparing the prosecution was of the same political party, which was sharply antagonistic to the new majority on the county board. According to rumor current at the time, the motive behind the trial was to wreck a key figure in the nonpartisan camp, to be concealed by the simultaneous onslaught upon a minority member who was being put on the skids by his own party (and who actually was defeated for reelection later in the year).

Both board members were acquitted. But some of the testimony presented during the trial about the private doings of some officials left a less than agreeable odor in the nostrils of many citizens. These doings involved relatively small things, it is true. Yet errors of ethical judgment appeared as bad in small things as they would have in big ones.

Commission's Procedure

Board member Cox considered the selection of the membership of the Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government a matter of prime importance. Attention was paid to diversity and balance of experience on the one side and to political equilibrium on the other. The result was a body combining competence and impartiality of approach. In recognition of the independence of the Commission, its members were left free to pick the chairman.

At the outset, the Commission decided to enrich its deliberations by taking counsel with both officials and community leaders. A series of public meetings was scheduled over a number of months. To each of these meetings the Commission invited from three to five individuals as its special consultants.

Some of the consultants were in the expert category, like Kathryn H. Stone, close student of local government in theory and practice, and Rowland Egger, for many years at the helm of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia and more recently one of the guiding spirits of Public Administration Clearing House. Other consultants were elected and appointed officials, including the chairmen of the county board and the school board, the county manager, the superintendent of schools, and heads of some of the county departments. Invitations also went to representatives of the county employees, such as the chairman of the Employees Advisory Council, and the chairman of the ethics committee of the elected Teachers Council of Instruction.

On the side of the larger public, the Commission called upon the knowledge of local party officials, representatives of economic and professional bodies, spokesmen of the churches, and officers of citizen organizations, like the Arlington Civic Federation, League of Women Voters, County Council of Parent-Teacher Associations and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Some of these bodies played dead, as did the Chamber of Commerce. But most proved ready to help. In this way the Commission not only learned much about the attitudes of the community but also encouraged the citizenry to come to grips with the complex problems of public ethics. When the time came to formulate its recommendations, the Commission felt it had well-nigh saturated itself with the thinking of the community.

But because this thinking was less than clear, saturation with it did not relieve the Commission of searching for its way through the thicket. In plotting its course, the Commission established as its main premises three propositions. First, in a free society no individual, no group and no agency of government has a moral claim to erect a monopoly of values and hence of ethics; such a monopoly would be the graveyard of freedom. Second, in public ethics no less than in private ethics it is the individual's responsible moral judgment that must serve as the compass of decision; this judgment should not be displaced by a submissive acceptance of how most other people act. And third, in the absence of a single authoritative source of public ethics, a "code" of official morality should seek to inform individual judgment and thus strengthen it, rather than insist on unflinching obedience to a thousand special rules.

Ethical Guidelines

The unanimous report of the Commission deals with the origin, authority and working approach of the Commission, the community's attitude toward it, the difficulty of the task, the assumptions of the proposed Code of Public Ethics and the need for a widespread concern with the moral foundations of public life. The attachments include the resolution by which the Commission was established, a list of invited consultants, the Code of Public Ethics and the Commission's additional recommendations. The last two attachments are each of about the same size as the report itself.

On the community's attitude, the Commission concluded that Arlington "regarded public ethics as something rather important in a general way but found it hard to work up a real interest in the subject." Arlington was apparently willing to see "what a Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government might come out with at the end but pretty much assumed that the outcome would be more like a mouse than a mountain."

In its own perspective, the Commission was far from claiming magic effects for a code of official conduct. It did stress the value of such a code within certain bounds. Said the Commission: "No code of public ethics, by itself, can drive selfishness from public office. No code can make devoted public servants out of crooks. No code can be effective when it makes demands that most people fail to honor in their own conduct. Despite these limitations, however, a code like this can do several useful things. It can draw attention to the importance of public ethics. It can restrain those who reap personal gain by ignoring public ethics. It can, above all, increase the influence of the large majority of people to whom a high standard of official conduct is a self-evident necessity."

Instead of presuming to have "the last word for each decision to be reached," the Code of Public Ethics "sets forth general guidelines as a means of reaching ethically sound decisions." The guidelines point out, for example, that each official action must be put to the "threefold test of efficiency, legality and morality" by all those participating in the decision; that the ethically relevant facts behind the decision are "public property" and subject to disclosure; that all officials should make it known what their personal position is on the "resolution of conflicts between narrower loyalties and the fundamental loyalty to the community as a whole" which flows from the purpose of public office; and that a high standard of official conduct cannot endure "unless it is bolstered in the daily work performed on all levels of public responsibility."

Additional guidelines are presented for elective officials, for appointive officials, for county employees and for teachers. With respect to electoral contests, the code indicates the close connection between the ethics of office-seeking and the ethics of office-holding. Candidates are reminded that responsible campaigning includes the assumption of personal control on their part over what is being done in their behalf. They should also make their sources of financial support a matter of public knowledge.

On the administrative side, the code elaborates the obligations of effective public service. Space does not permit here to go into particulars.[2]

Additional Recommendations

The Code of Public Ethics is followed by the Commission's additional recommendations. These are "so stated as to underscore principal points, without getting into the mass of technical details that have to be sifted and thought through when it comes to designing specific solutions." Some of the recommendations require action by the state legislature, for instance those for strengthening the safeguards against corrupt election practices, providing public information about the use of money in campaigns, outlawing anonymous political literature, overhauling the grand jury system and separating public office from private profit. Other recommendations can be acted upon immediately by local authorities. These cover a considerable variety of subjects, including sample investigations of official involvement in gainful economic transactions such as real estate deals.

---

[2] For these the reader is referred to the October issue of *Public Management*, International City Managers' Association, Chicago.

Of still greater significance are the recommendations offered for the consideration of citizens. "Ultimately," the Commission explains, "the ethics of official conduct are the product of the ethics of citizenship." For this reason, the members as well as the leaders of organized groups are under an obligation to "orient their demands toward the interest of the community as a whole."

For the same reason, groups as well as individuals, when dealing with public authorities, are as much subject to the rule of disclosure of ethically relevant facts as are public officials or employees. Moreover, group action "becomes a hollow pretense when there is no actual sharing of responsibility within the group, when spokesmen act frequently without bothering to find out whether the group is ready to commit itself, or when the group makes it a habit to confirm the decisions of its leaders without delving into the facts."

The state of public ethics, in the words of the Commission, "is not the business of any particular group of individuals, in or outside of public office, but it is truly the business of every citizen." For practical purposes, every citizen means most citizens or, rather, most individuals whether or not they demonstrate civic sense. The job of the Commission ended with trying to reach their ears. Only time can tell about the results.[3]

---

[3] Specific action on the Commission's proposals by the county government is not likely at this moment because, as an interesting example of "government by the judiciary," the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, by decision of September 10, 1952, swept the nonpartisan majority on the county board out of office. The three members of the majority happened to have been employees of the federal government when elected, and the decision, on "taxpayer's suit," voided their tenure on the argument that the Virginia statute of 1928 (!) allowing such tenure in the face of a legal prohibition enacted in 1787 (!) was unconstitutional. The representatives of the two major parties on the county board had shown themselves unsympathetic to the work of the Commission. The three vacant seats will be filled in a special election on November 4, 1952. In the interim the seats are occupied by three judicial appointees, none of whom is a representative of the nonpartisan voters.

‘Americanization’ in Japan

Observer concludes that many U. S.-inspired changes in local self-government institutions will be modified.

By GEORGE A. WARP*

THE current system of local government in Japan is a conglomeration of American, German, Chinese and native Japanese forms. About 1,000 years ago Chinese forms were imported. In 1888, after a brief trial with a system resembling that of the French, the national government adopted a system modeled after Prussian local government. And during the Allied occupation, American institutions were urged or imposed upon the Japanese in an effort to decentralize and render more responsible to the people the institutions which were basically German in form.

Regardless of what may be said of its institutional reforms, the Allied occupation unquestionably has added greatly to the prestige and consideration accorded the individual Japanese citizen. While Japanese officials still show less deference to their clientele than the American official does, the lot of the individual has been greatly improved.

The new Japanese constitution provides specifically that “all public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof.” Other provisions give the people “the inalienable right to choose their officials and to dismiss them,” guarantee universal adult suffrage with regard to the election of public officials, assure the secrecy of the ballot and provide for suits against governmental units for wrongs committed by public officials.

In spite of the recent doubling of the electorate in Japan by the extension to women of the right to vote, the percentage of eligible voters in local elections is amazingly high for a country without a system of compulsory voting. In the 1951 local elections, 83 per cent of those eligible voted for prefectural candidates, 84 per cent voted for city candidates and 95 per cent voted for town and village candidates. It should be noted that most of the local candidates, except those for prefectural assemblies, run as independents. Indeed, in the 1951 elections, more than 90 per cent of the candidates for town and village offices ran as independents.

There is a tendency for local government officials to underestimate the importance of the phenomenon evidenced by the large proportion of eligible voters who participate in local elections. This writer gained the impression that local officials, particularly in the larger and more populous units of government, appear to hold the Japanese voter in low respect. They claim that

---

*Mr. Warp is associate professor of political science and associate director of the Public Administration Center, University of Minnesota. On leave from September till March, he spent this period in Japan serving as consultant for the Public Administration Clearing House and advising Japanese associations of local government officials.

"bosses" bring out the vote and dictate the voters' choices. They are critical of the high cost of campaigning for public office. They constantly berate the lack of civic consciousness on the part of the Japanese citizen and insist that he possesses an inferior political intelligence which is badly in need of "education."

Efforts are being made to improve the qualifications of the voter. Many cities have sponsored the organization of public information committees. These are intended to arouse an awareness of local problems. Officials meet with the committees and endeavor to establish a system of two-way communication between officials and citizens. There is some fear that these committees, officially sponsored, will be used for political purposes or that they may eventually take on some of the objectionable features of the old neighborhood associations.

Citizens Organize

Under occupation sponsorship, better government associations have been organized in many Japanese localities. These associations are made up of private citizens and include representatives of the various local civic groups, trade union councils, parent-teacher associations, agricultural and consumer cooperatives and other such organizations. Regular open meetings are held and publicity is given to the proceedings in the local press. While there seems to be a tendency for these to come under official control, if they can remain independent they will constitute an important potential force for good government.

Parent-teacher associations, which are organized throughout Japan and which appear to be very active, do much to improve the consciousness of the voters, especially so far as the education function is concerned. Many local officials are critical of these new organizations; they fear they will develop political objectives outside of the education field. There is no question, though, but that parent-teacher associations are exercising a substantial influence in furtherance of greater civic consciousness.

One of the new Japanese national holidays, *Seijin no Hi,* observed on January 15, is being used to promote civic consciousness. It is known as "coming of age" day. Many localities in Japan hold assemblies on this day for impressing upon new voters the nature of their responsibilities.

For purposes of local government, all of Japan is divided into 46 prefectures, and each prefecture is divided into cities, towns and villages. In addition, nine well defined blocs or regions are used extensively for administrative purposes, and a unit called the "gun," existing intermediate between the prefectures and the municipalities, is also used for certain administrative purposes. Overseeing this local government system but presently without extensive supervisory powers is the Local Autonomy Agency, the successor of the old Home Ministry which was abolished in 1947 by order of the Allied occupation authorities.

The occupation-inspired local autonomy law provides for the recall of local executives and assembly members. Under this provision, there have been about 300 recall actions of municipal mayors and assemblymen. There is no case of a prefectural governor or assemblymen having been removed on the basis of recall action. Political considerations rather than corruption or incompetency are alleged to have motivated most of the recall actions.

It should be noted that the threat of recall has been partly responsible for the large number of resignations of local executives and assemblymen in recent years. In four of Japan's 46 prefectures, more than one-third of the local executives submitted their resignations during the two-year period 1947-1948. Usually the threat of recall arose from irreconcilable conflicts which developed between the popularly elected executives and the assemblymen.

Official Organizations

The prefectural governors, prefectural assembly chairmen, city mayors, city assembly chairmen, town and village mayors and town and village assembly chairmen have organized separately into national associations. While only two are postwar organizations, all of them have had a great increase in activity and importance since the war. This increase has been due, in part, to the necessity for developing agencies for cooperative effort to fill the void left by the abolition of the old Home Ministry.

All eligible governmental units belong to the appropriate national associations in spite of the fact that membership is not compulsory. Attendance at annual meetings is usually good. For example, at the 30th anniversary meeting of the Town and Village Association, more than 80 per cent of the mayors of the 10,000-odd towns and villages were in attendance at the huge auditorium in which the meeting was held. The combined staffs of the six associations total 112 employees, 82 of whom are on the staffs of the three associations of executives.

As for activities, all of the associations hold annual or semi-annual meetings. Regional and prefectural associations also hold periodic meetings. All emphasize their political programs, their pressure activities being directed primarily at the national government agencies and secondarily at Diet committees. All maintain research units and engage in some publication activities, three of them publishing periodicals. And all give some attention to in-service training. Some degree of cooperation between the national associations is achieved through the medium of the Japan Local Self-Government Institute, which is a Japanese version of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago.

One of the significant cooperative efforts which should be noted is that involved in the formation of mutual assistance associations to provide coverage to local government units against losses to public properties because of fire damage. Separate associations have been established for towns and villages, cities and prefectures. These three associations provide protection to the local government units at rates which are only 50 to 60 per cent of the rates charged by commercial insurance companies. And, in spite of the low rates, they have been able to build up impressive surpluses and to conduct fire prevention campaigns.

Cooperating with the national associations and serving as secretariat for the Japan Local Self-Government Institute, the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research is perhaps the outstanding organization in Japan for improving the quality of municipal government. The Institute developed its program with the assistance of Dr. Charles A. Beard, who visited Japan from September 1922 to March 1923. It was modeled after the New York Institute for Municipal Research. The Beard influence is still dominant.

The Tokyo Institute is an independent corporation which finances its activities largely from the rent of space in the large office building in which its endowment is invested. It is governed by a board of nine men on which present and former national government officials predominate. The Institute has about 60 employees, 18 of whom are specialists in such fields as planning, finance, labor, industry, sociology, education, police, administration and engineering.

Current activities of the Institute include the operation of a municipal reference library containing some 52,000 Japanese books, 15,000 western books and more than 100 periodicals. The Institute publishes a Municipal Year Book and a quarterly journal, *Municipal Problems*. It is engaged in its third comprehensive city survey, this one of Toyonaka City—a city of 90,000 population located in Osaka Prefecture. And the Institute serves as secretariat for the National Municipal League of Japan as well as for the Japan Local Self-Government Institute.

The officials of the Tokyo Institute support the development of better government associations, the movement for civil service reform, the rationalization of local government units and the principles of administrative reorganization. It appears to be particularly interested in improving the efficiency of municipal government and in fostering the cooperation of local government organizations in the interests of more effective local self-government.

Sentiment for Reorganization

Administrative reorganization is a much discussed subject in Japan. During the Allied occupation, the number of administrative employees and the number of administrative agencies increased greatly. For example, a recent study by the Local Autonomy Agency showed that since the end of the war the number of prefectural executive organs had increased from one to six and the number of advisory committees from 17 to 41. The study showed that in many jurisdictions the number of employees had doubled. There were also alarming increases in the number of departments, sections and subsections. Some of these were due to occupation pressures; some to pressures within the Japanese bureaucracy itself.

Under the occupation, the number of boards and commissions was greatly increased. In spite of the fact that the reorganization movement in the United States has tended away from the board form of organization, the board form was introduced in Japan in such fields as education, public safety, elections, personnel and auditing. Experts, who often favor an administrative board to head up their particular specialties even though they may not favor the board form generally, were in a position to bring pressure upon the Japanese to adopt their recommendations. The board system is not popular with the Japanese bureaucracy and it is criticized generally in public administration circles.

A Step Backward

The Japanese constitution required that local executives be elected by direct popular vote. Before the occupation, local executives were appointed. Prefectural governors were national officials responsible to the Home Ministry. City, town and village mayors were selected by local assemblies subject to the approval of higher authority. Like the board system, the idea of elected executives is criticized generally in public administration circles as lowering the efficiency of local government. Here, too, the system imposed upon the Japanese is contrary to the trend of reorganization thought in the United States.

The constitutional provision for election of local executives has been criticized as precluding the adoption of the council-manager form of government in Japan. Many Japanese officials and scholars who have visited the United States since the war have been greatly impressed by the council-manager form of government. The constitutional provision, inserted by occupation advisers, has frustrated their efforts to work for a similar system in Japan. This writer pointed out to Japanese that several American state constitutions contain provisions somewhat similar to that in the new Japanese constitution and that the courts in these states have given interpretations favorable to the manager plan.

In Japan, which has adopted the American principle of judicial review, the fate of any legislation providing for the council-manager plan will depend ultimately upon the attitude of the courts. There is some agitation, however, for avoiding the constitutional issue by developing the assembly-appointed deputy mayors and governors into managers and for lessening the administrative responsibilities of the elective governors and mayors.

Japanese bureaucrats have a passion for uniformity in matters of governmental organization. They feel that all prefectures should have a similar organization, that all cities should have the same organizational breakdown, and that all towns and villages should have the same agencies of government. Even under the new legislation, a substantial degree of uniformity exists, but there is enough local variation now to disturb many of the national government officials with local government responsibilities. Some of these are obviously concerned over the difficulty of controlling a system of local government in which each local unit is organized according to its needs rather than in accordance with a pattern prescribed from above.

Allied occupation authorities were

late in tackling the democratization of local government. This was due partly to inertia on the part of those advisers who had local government responsibilities and partly to intersection conflict in General Headquarters which rankled for several months. The decision to insist upon a revision of the old German-inspired system was made in 1947. In that year the Home Ministry was abolished, the local autonomy law was passed and the Local Autonomy Agency was created. Three years later, the local finance law and the local public service law were passed over potent opposition.

Innovations May Fall

Many occupation officials were skeptical of the plan to decentralize Japanese administration by strengthening local self-government. They felt that a highly centralized system was best for Japan, in view of its small area, its limited resources and its traditions of centralization. They insisted that a highly centralized government could still be a democratic government. Other occupation officials, however, felt that democracy in Japan would be more likely to endure if it developed a grass-roots basis.

Even before the end of the Allied occupation, a strong reaction set in against the American institutions which had been brought to Japan in an effort to achieve a more decentralized and responsible local government. Probably all the American reforms had some advocates in Japan and some of the reforms have received considerable additional support since their imposition. Opposition to American reforms has centered upon the least tenable, such as the requirement of elected executives and the multiplicity of boards and commissions. It seems obvious to an observer, though, that the real aim is to restore many of the old controls which characterized the previous centralized system.

Doubtlessly, the American label on the new institutions of local government will cause many of the new institutions to fall or to be drastically modified in the reaction against occupation reforms. And some of the institutions deserve to fall or to be drastically modified, because they are not adaptable to Japanese conditions. It can only be hoped that the operation of the new institutions will be examined carefully and that rejections or modifications will be made only in the light of such careful examination. Undoubtedly many of the American innovations are good and should be retained and developed, and most intelligent Japanese local government leaders are aware of this fact.

Too Many Elective Officials?

Michigan reorganization committee's poll finds citizens have scant knowledge of state officers and how selected.

By **DONALD S. HECOCK***

OPINION survey techniques have been used in a variety of investigations but only recently have they been made a part of state reorganization studies. In what is believed to be a pilot study, the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government polled citizen reactions in preparing its report on general management of the state.

Citizen interest in and acquaintance with state executive offices have a direct bearing on state reorganization. In fact, the matter of citizen concern about these offices might well have more weight in determining how an office should be filled than the usual arguments—that the lesser offices should be *appointive* for greater administrative efficiency or *elective* because that would preserve a proper balance of power. With adequate citizen attention, the election of any official becomes feasible and significant; without that attention it becomes an empty form and a travesty on the democratic process.

Citizen attention to public office may be assessed roughly in terms of the ballots cast. Even there a consistent falling off in votes at the bottom of the ballot is evident. Furthermore, these differentials increase when straight party ticket votes are eliminated. The relationship of this behavior to the voter's knowledge of the offices to be filled, however, has not been investigated, and understandably so. It requires a hardy, perhaps brash, interviewer to go to the sovereign citizen who has been making these decisions at the polls and ask him what he really knows about what he does. Yet such direct evidence is needed and the survey described below was intended as a beginning in this direction.

To survey Michigan as a whole was beyond the resources of the investigation so it was felt that sampling a county would be sufficient to produce significant results. The county selected was chosen because in recent years election results there reflected statewide results more accurately than any other county. The votes for winning candidates, expressed as a percentage of the total vote cast, are typical:

TABLE I

1946	*State*	*Bay County*
Governor	60.2	58.3
Treasurer	62.6	61.0
Secretary of State	62.8	60.7
1948	*State*	*Bay County*
Governor	53.4	53.9
Treasurer	49.6	49.0
Secretary of State	50.8	49.1

The sample was made up of 371

---

*Dr. Hecock, acting chairman of the Department of Public Administration at Wayne University, Detroit, conducted the survey upon which this article is based.

interviews of which 31 per cent were made in rural areas and 69 per cent in urban areas—chiefly Bay City. On the basis of the 1948 vote, this over-represented the rural interviews slightly.[1] Thirty-two calls involved persons not at home and sixteen persons who were at home refused to be interviewed. This left 323 interviews which resulted in answers to part or all of the questions.

For the rural areas, a random sample of the 1,058 one-mile stretches of road, as shown on the county road commission map, was chosen and one adult was interviewed in each house on the roads selected. For the city, election districts were selected by a system of random numbers. Each district was then divided into quarters and again the quadrant to be polled was selected in random fashion. Within the quandrant approximately every third house was used, leaving little discretion to the interviewer.

Interviews and Questionnaire

The interviews were held just seventeen days before the 1950 election, an election which, as it turned out, was to attract more voters to the polls then ever before in a non-presidential year. The questions were not designed to predict the election outcome. The key questions dealt with fact rather than opinion. However, to elicit a maximum of response and to minimize possible feelings of frustration, several opinion questions which did not have a vital relationship to the main point of the investigation were included. These are discussed below as "peripheral questions."

The first key question was: Which one of the state offices do you know most about? As each person was questioned he was given an alphabetical list: attorney general, auditor general, controller, health commissioner, highway commissioner, police commissioner, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction and treasurer.[2] At a later point, to serve partially as a check on other data obtained, the question was asked, "Which one of the offices do you know least about?"

Table II shows the distribution of responses among those who had opinions:

TABLE II

	Percentage of Responses	
	Best Known	*Least Known*
Highway commissioner	26.	0.
Health commissioner	16.3	1.6
Secretary of state	14.	4.
Police commissioner	10.	3.
Treasurer	7.4	2.6
Attorney general	7.	9.4
Superintendent of public instruction	4.	13.
Auditor general	0.3	7.
Controller	0.	37.
"I don't know" or "I don't know about any of them"	15.	22.4
	100%	100%

The inverse correlation between the two sets of figures is readily noted. The fact that the highway commissioner was most familiar and the controller least familiar is understandable in terms of the direct services furnished to the public and the publicity attached to each office. The fact that the position of controller had existed for only about three years and that his name did not appear on numerous construction projects in the area is also pertinent.

---

[1] In that election rural voters cast 25 per cent of the vote.

[2] All elective except controller, health commissioner and police commissioner.

Of special significance is the fact that two appointive offices, the commissioners of health and of police, ranked well above most of the elective offices. This should at least stimulate some question as to the basis for election of certain administrative officers and not others.

As soon as the "best known" official was indicated, each respondent was asked to tell about that office. If no answers were forthcoming, specific questions were asked as to the functions, the present office holder, whether elected or appointed, how long in office, term of office and time of next election or appointment.

There were 228 persons who had answers to these questions. If all six items had been answered there would be a total of 1,368 answers. Actually there were 780 answers of which 553 were correct.

The percentage of those responding and having one to six correct answers on the six questions about the office they said they knew best, is shown in Table III:

TABLE III

Number of correct Answers	1	2	3	4	5	6
Per cent responding correctly	29.5	29.5	21	8	8.5	3.5

Recalling that each individual was talking only about the office he said he knew best, 59 per cent could answer only one or two of the questions and only 20 per cent could answer more than three. On the average there was one wrong answer for every two correct ones. Many incorrect statements were due to confusion between state and local officials. Others were traceable to well preserved memories of outstanding officials of more than a decade ago.

Responses to two of these questions were examined in detail—who holds the office now? And, is he elected or appointed? Results appear in Table IV.

TABLE IV

	Number Choosing Each Office As Best Known	*Number and Percentage Correctly Identifying Method of Selection*		*Number and Percentage Correctly Identifying Incumbent*	
	No.	*No.*	*Per Cent*	*No.*	*Per Cent*
Highway commissioner	79	52	66	20	25
Health commissioner	50	23	46	0	0
Secretary of state	44	27	61	12	27
Police commissioner	30	15	50	4	13
Treasurer	23	19	83	1	4
Attorney general	21	11	52	4	19
Superintendent of public instruction	13	8	61	3	23
Auditor general	1	1	100	1	100
Controller	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	261	156	60	45	17

In respect to identification of present office holders, it should be reported that the secretary of state had campaigned for the nomination for governor just a few weeks earlier. The election for highway commissioner and superintendent of public instruction was last held in April 1949 and they might be considered as being at a disadvantage in the survey because of this.

To obtain comparative data in conjunction with the survey, a test on identification of incumbents in state office and the method of their selection was given 500 college students in social science classes at Bay City Junior College and Wayne University. This was done two days after the interviews and the same offices were included, with the addition of the governor—see Table V.

TABLE V
Test of 500 College Students

Office	*Method of Selection—Per Cent Correct*	*Identification of Incumbent Per Cent Correct*
Governor (e)[a]	99.2	99.2
Secretary of state (e)	70.4	54.4
Police com'er (a)	89.8	16.6
Attorney general (e)	61.6	15.0
Highway com'er (e)	23.4	12.6
Treasurer (e)	65.4	4.6
Superintendent of public instruction (e)	18.4	3.8
Controller (a)	89.0	3.4
Auditor general (e)	35.0	2.0
Health com'er (a)	86.4	0.2
Total—exclusive of governor	60.0	12.5

[a] Candidates marked (e) elected; (a) appointed.

Instructions required the students to check those offices which were elective. Thus, the absence of a check mark would be interpreted as showing the office to be appointive while the student merely may not have known. The effect was to exaggerate the number of correct answers for appointive positions. For the six elective offices (eliminating that of governor), which were of chief concern in this study, only 46 per cent of the students indicated they were elective—less than the 50 per cent score that would be expected on the basis of chance. While 60 to 70 per cent knew that the secretary of state, attorney general and treasurer were elected, few knew that the auditor general, highway commissioner and superintendent of public instruction were also elected.

Few Name Lesser Officers

In the attempt to name the persons then holding office the results were most striking. While 99.2 per cent could name the governor and 54.4 per cent could name the secretary of state, who had recently sought the nomination for governor, only 7.6 per cent correctly named the other five elected officials.

The results in the student test and the survey of voters were similar in many ways. Where the adults scored 60 per cent in distinguishing between elective and appointive offices, the students also scored 60 per cent — eliminating the governor. In identifying present office holders, the adults scored 17 per cent as compared with 12.5 per cent for the students. It should be recalled, however, that the students were asked to respond to all offices, while the adults responded only in respect to the office best known to them. It is a fair assumption that if adults attempted the entire list their record would suffer.

Perhaps a more significant comparison between the two groups involved the results for individual offices. A larger percentage of students and adults correctly identified the secretary of state than any other officer (excluding the governor) and both had the greatest difficulty identifying the health commissioner and the controller. Both groups demonstrated that the method of selecting the superintendent of public instruction and the auditor general was not well established in their minds. The principal difference between the two groups appeared in relation to the highway commissioner. Among adults it was well known that the office was filled by election, but among students the notion seemed to prevail that commissioners of all types must be appointed. Students in the metropolitan area were especially uninformed on the highway office.

Peripheral Questions

In the survey an attempt was made to find explanations for differentials in response. One of the first questions was "Have you or any member of your family ever run for election?" The assumption was that those who answered in the affirmative might have more information on state government than the others. About 8 per cent did answer "Yes." Although the number involved might be too small to be of significance, these people were able to identify, on the average, twice the number of incumbents that others could. Although the number of facts each gave regarding the offices was not above average, the errors made were less.

It was hoped that one early question in conjunction with the last two in the interview would give some suggestion as to public awareness of the long ballot and whether there was any tolerance for change. The question read: "At the present time some of our state officials are elected and some are appointed. Do you think that we elect too many, too few or about the right number?" It was felt that if this question followed the last two questions requesting specific information on offices it would tend to load the questionnaire in the direction of "too many officials." The responses were: too many, 12 per cent; too few, 22 per cent; about right, 41 per cent; don't know, 25 per cent.

There is no doubt that in answering one of the final questions, "Do you think state government could be improved?," most people were in effect responding with the stereotype: any institution can be improved. The fact that one-third of the respondents had no specific suggestions for improvement seems to support this conclusion. Considering these answers in relation to those on the question, "Do you think we elect too many etc.," a surprising amount of internal consistency appeared. Only nine of the 107 persons who felt too many or too few were elected indicated that they thought the state government could not be improved, while eight others "did not know." Interviews reported that some individuals, recalling the follow-up questions which had been asked earlier, doubtless answered in the negative to avoid the request for specific improvements. There were 76 per cent who said state government could be improved, 11 per cent who said it could not and 13 per cent said they did not know. One of the latter commented, "The state is O.K., but something should be done about the world. It's a mess!"

Improving State Government

Most suggestions offered for improving state government were readily classifiable. As might be expected, the largest group emphasized the need for economy, lower taxes or fewer taxes. The next largest class (which also included a few of the former) sought increased construction or maintenance of public works—especially roads. Politics, graft and excessive partisanship were cited frequently as areas needing attention. Concern with social services and law enforcement was prominent among the reactions. This included problems of relief, pensions, health and housing as well as more stringent control of speeding, liquor and gambling.

As suggested above, this open-ended question was included primarily to detect interest in governmental reform. Whether any persons interviewed would suggest such a thing themselves, in contrast to or in addition to such items as more school aid or elimination of the sales tax, was the question in the background.

About twenty responses could be considered in this category. They included elimination of apparent duplication of state police and sheriffs' functions, a longer term for governor, appointment of lesser offices, modification of the primary ballot to permit splitting tickets, lowering the voting age, increased public reporting on state activities and the consolidation of selected departments. Last, but not least, "Voters should take more interest."

The usual smattering of contradictory answers appeared, including the need for more direct contact between officials and the public and "more time spent at their desks in Lansing." Nevertheless, the responses to this question should indicate to exponents of constitutional revision the existence of a sympathic nucleus in the population.

The results of the present study indicate that citizens generally do not know most of their state officials or their functions and have considerable difficulty distinguishing between those who are elected and those who are appointed. This condition should not be interpreted as evidence of the failure of the schools to live up to their responsibilities in developing citizens, but rather as evidence that the present constitution calls for impractical levels of knowledge. Citizens generally demonstrate preoccupation with other facets of daily living. While the only logical step would seem to be a severe streamlining of the organization, there is actually little ready-made support for this. The rationalized attitude is: "We don't follow these matters closely, but we believe in maintaining the

(Continued on page 460)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Executive Reorganization Urged for New Mexico

Committee Would Slash 200-Agency Arrangement

AS A result of a year's study of the administration of the state government, the New Mexico State Reorganization Committee has issued its final report, with numerous recommendations for change. The committee was established by statute in 1951 and, with its staff, undertook an analysis of the state's administrative agencies—some 200 in number.

Most of the changes recommended could be accomplished by administrative or legislative action; some would require constitutional amendment. The latter type was restricted to very few. Although there are eleven elective state officers provided by the constitution the only eliminations would be the commissioner of public lands, who would be made appointive, and the three members of the Corporation Commission, which body, together with the present appointive Public Service Commission, would be superseded by a new appointive Public Utility Commission.

The report (139 pages) sets forth the following general and primary recommendations, in addition to a large number of detailed proposals for specific agencies or functions:

Establishment of approximately twelve departments, to integrate many of the functions now belonging to numerous small boards, commissions, committees, etc.; the department heads to be appointed and made subject to removal by the governor;

A comprehensive statutory personnel system, on the basis of merit; a strong Personnel Department under the supervision of a Personnel Commission, which shall appoint a director to be in charge of the technical work of the department;

A Department of Finance and Administration, headed by a director responsible to the governor;

A statutory executive budget system, to be administered by a Budget Bureau within the Department of Finance and Administration;

A general fund for all state revenues unless specifically exempted by law, and abolition of many special funds;

A constitutional amendment to do away with present constitutional income funds and place all current income in the general fund;

A well organized tax code.

The committee consists of seven members, the chairman being E. L. Moulton. Its two directors are Dr. Frederick F. Blachly and Dr. Miriam E. Oatman.

Kentucky to Vote on Short Ballot

The 1952 session of the Kentucky General Assembly has submitted two constitutional amendments to referendum, to be voted on in November 1953.

One would remove the secretary of state, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction, and commissioner of agriculture, labor and statistics from the constitution. They are now required to be elected. The effect of the amendment would be to permit the legislature to provide for them as it sees fit. If the amendment passes the only administrative officials required to be elected will be the governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, auditor of public accounts and a three-member railroad commission.

The other amendment would permit the General Assembly to provide for the distribution of state school funds as it sees fit. Under present constitutional provisions 75 per cent of all state appropriations to the common school fund must be distributed to the local districts on a "per capita pupil basis." This has been interpreted by the state's highest court to mean on the basis of the number of children in each school district between six and eighteen years of age.[1]

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

Nebraska to Vote on Constitutional Amendments

Six amendments to the Nebraska constitution will be submitted to the voters of that state on November 4. If adopted they will create a state board of education; change the requirements for publication of proposed constitutional amendments; change the basis of taxing motor vehicles; provide for the equalization of salaries of members of courts, boards and commissions; increase the salaries of legislators; and clarify provisions regarding the membership of constitutional conventions.

The Nebraska Legislative Council has prepared and distributed a 22-page pamphlet summarizing the six proposals in order that the public may be informed as to the purposes and effects of the amendments.

Louisiana Establishes Legislative Council

The regular session of the Louisiana legislature, which adjourned July 10, created a legislative council to furnish research and bill-drafting assistance to the legislature. It was formally organized July 30, as an eighteen-member committee with equal representation from each house. It was granted an appropriation of $60,000 a year for 1952-54. A survey of legislative procedures was chosen as its first project. The Council of State Governments reports that with Louisiana there are 29 states that have established permanent interim legislative research agencies of this nature.

Two States Plan Water Pollution Control

A stream classification program has been worked out by officials of Rhode Island and Connecticut for water pollution control on an interstate basis. If it is approved by the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission, Rhode Island and Connecticut, as members of the commission, will each be bound to carry out its share of the recommended clean-up plan. The commission was established several years ago by interstate compact to combat water pollution in the New England-New York area and to protect the water resources of the states in that region.

Pollution control is sought in the Pawcatuck River valley, which covers 313 square miles along both sides of the boundary line between Rhode Island and Connecticut. Streams lying in both states drain into the river. Obviously, neither state alone could end pollution.

The proposed classification program divides the Pawcatuck River and its tributary streams into some 40 sections and specifies improvements for each through treatment or elimination of industrial and domestic wastes.

---

[1] See also the Review, March 1952, page 146.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Voters of **Hereford, Texas,** (1950 population 5,207) at a referendum held September 6, adopted a home rule charter providing for the council-manager plan of government.

Wamego, Kansas, (1,869) adopted the council-manager plan on September 12 by a vote of 364 to 320. The plan had the support of the chamber of commerce and both local newspapers. The former distributed an eighteen-page booklet explaining the plan to all Wamego homes and business houses. Personal calls and interviews were made where possible.

In **Clinton, Maine,** which has had the town manager plan since 1945, a committee of five has been appointed to study the existing plan and to report to the town meeting by December 1952.

A committee appointed in **Cohasset, Massachusetts,** is investigating the advisability of a town manager form of government for that community.

An active movement for the council-manager plan is under way in **Geneva, New York.** On August 12 George F. Train, former manager at Auburn, New York, addressed the Kiwanis Club on the plan. On August 13 the public improvements committee of the Geneva city council visited Rochester, New York, to study the plan in effect there. The League of Women Voters began consideration of a proposal to place the question of adopting the plan on the November ballot.

In **Long Beach, New York,** the council-manager plan, which has been in effect since 1946, is under attack, it being claimed that the manager is dominated by the Democratic city leader. A further criticism is that the city has no elected mayor; in Long Beach the term "mayor" is not used but the president of the city council performs the usual functions of the mayor under the council-manager plan. The manager, of course, is appointed by and is responsible to the council.

In **East Paterson, New Jersey,** W. F. Meyers, leader in the council-manager movement there, has taken legal steps to force a referendum on the subject, on the basis of a filed petition, and extra signatures, which the borough clerk refused to accept as adequate.

Mayor H. R. Murken of **Ramsey, New Jersey,** has announced that a referendum election will be held in November for a charter commission to draft a charter. He advocates the manager plan.

Several members of the city council of **Lake Wales, Florida,** have expressed themselves in favor of placing before the voters the question of adopting the manager plan.

Evanston, Illinois, will vote November 4 on adoption of the council-manager plan. Representatives of 25 civic organizations circulated petitions asking the referendum. **Oak Park, Illinois,** will also vote on the same question in November.

The **Herrin, Illinois,** Chamber of Commerce is undertaking a drive to place the manager plan before the voters.

The Coahoma County Chamber of Commerce, of **Clarksdale, Mississippi,** reports that many business leaders in Clarksdale are greatly interested in changing from the commission plan of city government to the council-manager plan.

The manager plan was urged upon the **Macon, Missouri,** Junior Chamber of Commerce at a meeting in August.

On August 26 **Brookfield, Missouri,** voted 1,321 to 686 to continue its council-manager government. On August 19 the city council voted four to one to cut the manager's salary to $6,000 from $8,000, to which figure it had been raised last year when Kearney, Nebraska, offered him that salary.

Bethany, Oklahoma, voted 320 to 178 for charter revision and elected a board of freeholders to draft a new charter. The latter is expected to be a council-manager charter and will be submitted to popular vote. Charles F. Spencer, president of East Central State College at Ada, will assist the board.

Petitions calling for a vote on changing from the commission to the council-manager plan were filed on September 2 with the **Helena, Montana,** city council. Total signatures were reported as 3,669 as against a requirement of 1,971 valid signatures in order to compel action.

A vote on the question of adopting the manager plan is expected in **Cheyenne, Wyoming,** as a result of a petition filed on August 5; the date of the election, however, has been a subject of controversy.

The International City Managers' Association has announced that the city council of **Winnetka, Illinois,** has placed in the city hall a plaque in memory of the late Herbert L. Woolhiser, who was that city's manager for 34 years until his death in October 1951. A wild bird sanctuary also has been planned in Winnetka as a memorial to him. In **Stockton, Kansas,** a Goodrich Memorial Fund, set up in memory of O. M. Goodrich who was city manager for 28 years, is being used to improve a playground.

The sixth New England Managers' Institute was held in Orono, Maine, in late August. It was attended by 63 managers and 25 others.

ICMA Adopts Revised Manager Code of Ethics

Members of the International City Managers' Association, at their 1952 conference, approved a revised Code of Ethics and adopted several amendments to the association's constitution. The new Code of Ethics strengthens the professional aspects of the manager's job. It places more emphasis on the role of the manager as a community leader in submitting policy proposals to the council. Other new provisions in the code include: "The city manager defends municipal policies publicly only after consideration and adoption of such policies by the council. . . . The city manager avoids coming in public conflict with the council on controversial issues. Credit or blame for policy execution rests with the city manager."

The new code also stresses the duty of the city manager continually to improve his ability and his usefulness and to develop the competence of his associates in the use of management techniques. Finally, the new code places more emphasis than previously on public relations, stressing "friendly and courteous service to the public" and stating further that "the chief function of the local government at all times is to serve the best interests of all the people on a nonpartisan basis."

The amended constitution provides that the professional conduct of all members of the association shall be governed by the Code of Ethics and that violation of the code will be considered reason for suspension or expulsion from membership.

Strong Mayor Proposed for Warren, Ohio

A charter commission of fifteen members, elected last November in Warren, Ohio, has presented a strong-mayor charter for action by the voters on November 4. It provides for election of a mayor, council president and nine councilmen—seven from wards and two at large, each for two-year terms. The present elective offices of city solicitor, auditor and treasurer are abolished; departments of law and finance, each headed by a director appointed by the mayor, are created.

If approved at the polls the charter will take effect January 1, 1954.

Merger of Local Housing Agencies Recommended

In as diverse and widely separated communities as Chicago and Norwich, Connecticut, the consolidation of local housing agencies has recently been urged as a means of improved administration and control.

A study of government organization for redevelopment and housing in Chicago, just completed by the Public Administration Service at the request of the city council's committee on housing, finds that the redevelopment and public housing programs in that city could be accelerated by consolidating the functions of five existing municipal agencies into a single city department. It says, "The complexity of relationships which exists among those agencies and which makes it difficult and even impossible to determine the exact degree of responsibility, if any, of a particular agency" has caused delays in Chicago's housing and redevelopment programs.

The five agencies are: Chicago Housing Authority, a municipal corporation charged with the construction and management of low-rent public housing; Chicago Land Clearance Commission, a municipal corporation responsible for the redevelopment of most types of blighted areas; Chicago Dwellings Association, a non-profit corporation organized to build medium rental housing; Office of Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator, an extension of the mayor's office created to coordinate the efforts of local housing and redevelopment agencies; and the Bureau of Housing Inspection of the city's Department of Buildings, which inspects existing housing for conformance with established use, safety and sanitation standards.

Norwich, Connecticut

In the city of Norwich, Connecticut, the city manager has rendered a report and recommendations after an investigation, authorized by the city council, into public housing administration. In Norwich and vicinity there is a town housing authority as well as the city housing authority. Both had been severely criticized but without the power of subpoena the city manager was hampered in developing legal evidence. His report reviews the situation as based on various types of inquiry.

Besides urging that state legislation be sought to enable the manager, as appointing officer, to subpoena persons and records in an investigation of public housing, he advocated legislation to merge the two housing authorities. He also recommended a continuing analysis of all tenant applications, as to eligibility, and a careful screening of existing tenants from the income standpoint; and a full exploration of the ramifications of public housing by the planning commission and the redevelopment agency.

San Antonio Has 8 Radio and Television Programs

Recent additions to radio and television publicity projects of the city of San Antonio, Texas, have brought to six the number of radio programs, with two television programs in addition.

The latter includes a bi-weekly show entitled "The City Manager Reports," for fifteen minutes on Sunday morning, which has been supplemented by a short interview with a city employee each Thursday afternoon.

The radio programs include an hour and a half weekly broadcast of city council meetings: "Your City Government," on Friday evenings for fifteen minutes, with City Manager C. A. Harrell as moderator; two programs featuring on-the-spot activities of the police department and the corporation court; and short summaries at 5.45 P.M. five days a week, of daily activities of the police and fire departments respectively.

Permanent Registration Spreads in Louisiana

The parishes (counties) of Ascension, East Feliciana, St. James, Calcasieur, Iberia and Jefferson, Louisiana, have adopted permanent registration of voters, as may be done by any parish. In Orleans, East Baton Rouge and Caddo it is mandatory inasmuch as each contains a city of over 100,000 population — New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Shreveport, respectively.

Ouachita and Beauregard parishes have adopted permanent registration conditioned on state financial support. This makes eleven parishes, which represent more than half of Louisiana's voting-age population.

AMA to Meet in Los Angeles

The American Municipal Association will hold its Municipal Congress in Los Angeles, California, December 1-3, with headquarters at the Statler Hotel.

Three half days are reserved for group meetings and two half days for general sessions. Daily luncheons will be addressed by prominent mayors.

NIMLO to Meet in Louisville

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers has announced that its 1952 annual conference will be held at the Brown Hotel, Louisville, Kentucky, on December 1, 2 and 3, 1952. The program will feature reports by NIMLO's 21 committees, summarizing the most important legal developments and experience in municipal law.

TOO MANY ELECTIVE OFFICIALS?

(Continued from page 454)

machinery of direct control just in case of an emergency."

Students of political processes have explained that the public, although short on identifying basic problems of organization and action, is better able to make a competent selection among competing personalities seeking public favor. Life experiences are said to furnish a laboratory for appraising real people but not abstruse programs. Even this is a dubious explanation when applied to a long ballot situation in state government. It does apply with some force, however, to the relationship between the voter and his acquaintances who specialize in public affairs. When in doubt, the voter turns to the leaders of friendly pressure groups, civic agencies and party organizations for advice. Thus, we have a sort of second-hand control without officially recognizing it, when what we need is an organization simple enough to permit the vast majority of voters to make informed judgments on elected officials and their performance.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Florida to Vote on County Home Rule

Self-government Amendment to Be on November Ballot

ON THE Florida ballot on November 4 will be the question of home rule for counties. At present there is no semblance of self-government and county structure is frozen in a uniform pattern by the state constitution. Matters not prescribed by the constitution, such as officers' salaries, duties and procedures, are determined by local bills enacted in the state legislature.

The home rule amendment will provide: "The legislature shall have the power to grant to any county a charter under which it may regulate and govern itself. The legislature may provide, by general or special law, the manner in which any county may form its own charter. Any county charter may designate the name of the county, regulate hours, duties and jurisdiction of all county officers and designate their classes, terms and jurisdiction, and provide the manner of their selection and compensation. The legislature may authorize the adoption of charters by the several counties at general or special elections, which charters may be altered or amended only by the method by which they are adopted, notwithstanding other provisions of the constitution."

City-county Cooperation in Georgia and Kentucky

Bibb County and the city of Macon, Georgia, have developed various areas of coordination in administration. They have created a joint board of health which administers health rules and regulations irrespective of city limits. The board is financed by both city and county funds. A joint planning and zoning commission is under consideration. The proposed plan would include a joint board appointed by city and county officials and financed by both governmental units. The municipal airport is owned jointly by the city and county, although operated by the city only. In the area of flood control, the city and county are cooperating in levee construction and maintenance. Finally, highway construction activities have required extensive cooperation between the city and county governments.

The city commissioners of Cynthiana, Kentucky, have entered an agreement with the Harrison County Fiscal Court to pay half the costs of operating a health center. It will be operated jointly by the city and county, but federal and state funds amounting to $50,000 will be contributed to the costs of constructing the public health building.

City-county Consolidation Proposed in Colorado

The city manager of Pueblo, Colorado, recently recommended that that city consolidate with Pueblo County to form a single unit of government. He said consolidation would result in economy and efficiency for the taxpayer and pointed to the combination which had succeeded in Denver for more than fifteen years. A consolidated city-county health unit became effective last July 1 and the manager will propose a joint parks and recreation system in 1953. This recommendation will require the approval of the city council and the county commissioners, but the overall consolidation will be possible only after a favorable referendum vote.

County Considers Status as City

The Arlington County, Virginia, board recently requested the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration to make a study as to the feasibility of incorporation of the county as a municipality. The question will be on the ballot at the coming general election, but it is anticipated that the results of the study will be available to citizens before the referendum.

If Arlington votes favorably on the proposition, it will be the third Virginia county to do so, Warwick and Elizabeth City Counties taking such action earlier this year.[1]

Indiana to Vote on Increasing County Officer Terms

Two amendments to the Indiana constitution will be submitted to the voters in Indiana at the November 4 election. Both relate to terms of office for elective county officials—clerk of the circuit court, auditor, recorder, treasurer, sheriff, coroner, surveyor and prosecuting attorney. The proposed term for all these officials is four years, none to continue in office for more than eight years in any period of twelve years. Terms of prosecutor, surveyor and coroner are now two years, the rest are four.

Pennsylvania Governor Appoints County Study Commission

Nearly eight months after the Pennsylvania legislature provided for appointment of a Metropolitan Study Commission for Allegheny County — to engage in long range planning for the county and its municipalities including Pittsburgh — Governor Fine has named the fourteen commission members. Appointments were made from nominations of fourteen civic, labor and municipal organizations.

In calling a commission meeting, the governor reiterated the act's instructions that the commission "is directed to make a report on its findings and recommendations on or before January 1, 1953." This gives the commission three and a half months to accomplish the work for which it was to have had at least a year, reports the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*.

The commission is to study techniques of developing uniform building codes, control of housing developments, cooperative law enforcement and fire protection, consolidation of small communities and school districts, and improvements in the systems of roads and public transportation.[1]

County Coroners on the Way Out

Coroners disappeared from Virginia this year with the passage of a law changing the title to medical examiner. Since 1948 coroners in the counties and city-counties of Virginia have been appointed by the (appointive) state health commissioner, who also appoints the chief medical examiner. The latter operates the state central office and laboratory, to which the local officials report cases of suspicious deaths.

A 1952 law in Louisiana authorizes two-thirds of the coroners of the parishes (counties) in any congressional district, subject to the approval

(Continued on page 466)

---

[1] See "Virginia Counties Turn Cities," the REVIEW, September 1952, page 387.

[1] See the REVIEW, July 1952, page 359.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Sales and Excise Taxes Widely Used

'Hidden Levies' Mainstay of State Revenue Systems

By judicious selection of his place of residence or employment, or both, a citizen of these United States may limit his income tax liability to that imposed by the federal government. Some nineteen states still refrain from taxing his individual income as such, and he need exercise only reasonable vigilance to avoid a city, school district or county income tax.[1]

When it comes to excise and sales taxes, however, no such freedom of choice prevails. He can scarcely avoid in normal existence the purchase of articles upon which the federal government, the state or a local unit imposes an excise tax and, if he would avoid a general sales tax his choice of residence is even more restricted than if he seeks to avoid an income tax. Still, he may find solace in one thought — there is as yet no federal general sales tax.

That use of sales and excise taxes is widespread at all levels of government is confirmed by the U. S. Treasury's current revision of *Federal-State-Local Tax Coordination: A Treasury Tax Study,* which provides a catalogue, as of January 1, 1952, of the principal taxes in use by the federal, state and local governments. In last month's column the study was the basis for a brief survey of the income tax; this month it serves conveniently to point up the still important place in our revenue systems played by the excise tax, both general and selective.

In terms of revenue produced, excise taxes, of course, lag far behind the income tax. Yet even at the federal level excise taxes in fiscal 1951 yielded more than $8,704,000,000 or close to 19 per cent of federal revenues exclusive of social security payments. At the state-local level the yield was in excess of $5,000,000,000, equal to about 32 per cent of state-local revenues.

General Sales Taxes

The federal government does not levy a general sales tax, although suggestions that it do so have not been lacking. Such suggestions are usually vigorously opposed by the states, a majority of which depend to a large degree on the general sales tax to finance major cost items in their budgets. At the beginning of the year, according to the Treasury study, general sales taxes were levied by 31 states and the District of Columbia. Among the larger and wealthier states, only New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania lack this modern device for extracting taxes from their citizens.

By far the commonest general sales tax rate is 2 per cent, but one state (Rhode Island) levies at 1 per cent, and there are eight states levying at 3 per cent. All but four states have accompanying use taxes, contrived to make impossible avoidance of the sales tax by purchase of the article in a tax-free state.

Not only is the general sales tax a central feature of the revenue systems of more than two-thirds of the states, but it is becoming widely used also at the local level. Since New York City imposed the first city sales tax in

---

[1] See the Review, September, 1952, page 412.

1934, its use has gathered momentum, slowly at first and more rapidly in the postwar period. New Orleans was the second city to adopt the tax in 1938.

An eight-year lull followed, and then local sales taxes broke out like a rash in California and spread rapidly elsewhere. About 150 cities have adopted sales taxes in California since 1945, with 147 still in effect at the beginning of the current year, according to the U. S. Treasury. Rates range from ½ of 1 per cent to 1½ per cent. Two cities and four counties in Alabama have local sales taxes, mainly levied at 1 per cent, while Mississippi has six cities using the tax (all ½ of 1 per cent) and New York has four cities, in addition to New York City, and two counties. Rates range from 1 per cent in Erie County (Buffalo) to 3 per cent in New York City. In Louisiana, Baton Rouge in 1951 followed New Orleans' example with a 1 per cent levy, while other sales taxes are to be found in Denver, Colorado, (1 per cent) and Bristol, Virginia, (2 per cent).

Selective Sales Taxes

Easily the most varied and simplest to collect of taxes are the excises — the selective sales taxes which may be imposed either at the consumer or at the manufacturer level, and sometimes are imposed at both. They are levied in almost every conceivable form by the federal government, are duplicated, generally at materially different rates, by virtually all the states, and are not infrequently imposed again at the local government level. Often they are associated with licenses, but it is the tax itself with which this summary is concerned.

Examples drawn from taxes on three classes of commodities will suffice to illustrate the situation: alcoholic beverages, tobacco and gasoline, which together produced close to half the total sales tax revenues of federal-state-local governments in fiscal 1951.

The big revenue producer among the excises is the federal tax on distilled spirits, now $10.50 per proof gallon. By comparison, state excise taxes on spirits are low, ranging from 50 cents to $3 per gallon in the 30 license states. In the sixteen liquor monopoly states, nine impose no tax, securing the equivalent from their profits in operation of the monopoly, while the remainder generally impose a tax at a specified percentage of the retail price. The prohibition states, Mississippi and Oklahoma as of January 1, 1952, derived no direct income from distilled spirits.

Taxes on beer are imposed by the federal government ($9 per barrel), by all 48 states and by the District of Columbia. State rates are less than $3 per barrel in about two-thirds of the states, but run to $10 or more in four, with $13 per barrel in Mississippi the highest reported. Thirty-one states impose taxes on wines, as does the federal government. Classifications vary greatly as to wines, but the Treasury notes that light wines are mainly taxed by the states at rates greater than the 17 cents per gallon federal levy and fortified wines at rates less than the federal 67 cents rate.

Like taxes on alcoholic beverages, taxes are levied in some form on gasoline by each of the states as well as by the federal government and the District of Columbia. They are also imposed by some 298 local units in seven states, this overlapping producing a top combined rate of twelve cents per gallon in at least one Mississippi county. The federal rate, imposed at the manufacturer's level, is two cents per gallon. State rates are mainly at five cents or less but range up to nine cents, in Louisiana. At the local level, one cent is the most popular rate for city and county motor fuel taxes, and three cents the highest.

Third tax selected for illustrative purposes is the excise on tobacco. The federal government, 41 states and the District of Columbia levy the most prevalent tobacco tax, that on cigarettes. The federal tax, under the 1951 revenue act, is $4 per 1000, equal to eight cents per pack of twenty cigarettes. The District of Columbia imposes one additional cent, but no state lets the smoker off so easily. The commonest state rate is three cents per pack, but seven states charge five cents or more and the top is eight cents, Louisiana again.

Local taxes on cigarettes are also levied in eight states, including two where permissive legislation became effective in mid-1951. In Florida, under a 1949 statute, cities are authorized to levy not to exceed five cents per pack (the state rate), with the state rate reduced proportionately and collections prorated between the state and municipality. One Alabama city is reported to levy at three cents, but other local rates reported are two cents per pack or less. Among the larger cities, Atlantic City, Denver, Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City (Missouri), and Omaha are included in those levying local cigarette taxes.

The foregoing excises are all based on the sale of commodities, as are most excise taxes. Some sales of services have been made subject to excise levies, however, most prevalently "admissions," telephone and telegraph service, and transportation, all taxed at the federal level and by some states and local units.

Louisville Medals Awarded

The annual Louisville Awards, announced at the recent conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, went this year, for achievements in 1951, to men who as finance directors in two cities worked out respectively a money-saving bond financing plan and a comprehensive manual of accounting procedures. Three certificates of merit and honorable mention were also presented.

The Louisville gold medal went to Carl J. Faist, director of finance of Saginaw, Michigan, for his work in developing a plan whereby the city saved an estimated $500,000 in interest over a 25-year period by issuing general obligation bonds to pay off its share of a special assessment drainage project. Special legislation was required. The drainage assessment carried 6 per cent interest, the city bonds 1.85 per cent.

The silver medal went to Robert P. Aex, now city manager of Newburgh, New York, for his work in developing an accounting manual for a newly established internal auditing staff when he was city comptroller at Rochester, New York.

Hopes Dashed for Government Census

Unless the next Congress assembling in 1953 should reverse the action of the last, local officials, civic groups, statistical organizations and just plain citizens will have to wait another five years for the now past due Census of Governments. Funds for the study were deleted from the appropriation bill by the conference committee in the closing days of the last session.

The last census was that of 1942. and it had been hoped that with the end of the war the intended but seldom realized schedule of a study every five years could be resumed. As things stand, there is still lacking a comprehensive, accurate compilation of state and local governmental basic statistics that is reasonably up to date and reflective of the tremendous changes wrought by the war and postwar years.

While students of local government apparently must continue to get along without an up-to-date set of benchmarks on local debt, revenues and expenditures, the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census continues to make available its annual studies for selected units, including data on each of the states and on cities having populations of 25,000 or more. These include the annual *Compendium on State Government Finances and Compendium on City Government Finances,* which may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., as well as preliminary bulletins on state finances and on city finances available directly from the Bureau. Also directly available from the Bureau are two bulletins covering all governmental units, *Governmental Debt in 1951* and *Governmental Revenue in 1951.*

Other Governments Division publications include a series on public employment (issued quarterly), on state employment, on city employment, and on state distribution of public employment (the latter annual).

Civic groups and others having a need for comparative data on local or state finance, and especially those who had been awaiting the appearance of the comprehensive Census of Governments, may find useful a current bulletin of the Governments Division, listing the various series currently available and some of the more useful recent publications. The leaflet is *Census Bureau Publications on Governments,* and is available on request addressed to the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 462)

of the police juries of the several parishes, to establish a forensic laboratory for ascertainment of the causes of death.

The Wisconsin Bar Association is considering a proposal to introduce legislation to transfer the duties of the coroner to the district attorney of the counties and to a new state office of medical examiner. A committee of the association reported that the typical coroner is not trained or equipped to make medical or legal investigations in this day of modern science and that he is not selected for his technical qualifications. Investigation in 1951 revealed that 36 of the 71 coroners in the state were undertakers. The report pointed out that the state medical examiner system, functioning in collaboration with the office of prosecutor, now is in effect in several states and is endorsed by the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association.

Missouri Counties Transfer Roads to State

In Missouri the county courts and county highway commissions are cooperating with the State Highway Commission in the selection and transference of roads to the state. From ten to fifteen miles of local roads in each county will be transferred during the current year, and eventually twelve thousand miles will be shifted to the state. The legislation provides for $118,000,000 to improve the roads so transferred over a ten-year period.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Three Massachusetts Cities to Vote on P. R.

Retention Is Challenged in Cambridge, Quincy, Medford

AS THE result of petitions filed under 1952 legislation,[1] the question of retention or abandonment of proportional representation will be determined by referendum at the November election in Cambridge, Quincy and Medford, Massachusetts. If P. R. is voted out in any of these cities, there will be no possibility of re-adoption by future referendum under existing Massachusetts legislation.

Cambridge was the first Massachusetts city to adopt P. R. when it voted for a "Plan E" council-manager charter in 1940. It has enjoyed a remarkable improvement in government since that time, mostly under the direction of Colonel John B. Atkinson, who served as manager from the beginning of operations under the new charter until last summer. The Plan E Committee has been reactivated in support of P. R. and has challenged certain of the signatures to the petitions as invalid.

In Medford the group advocating abolition of P. R., led by ex-Mayor John J. Irwin, praised the city's council-manager charter for its efficiency but asserted that P. R. was mysterious and expensive. This drew a reply from City Clerk George P. Hassett, who challenged the expense comparison, quoting costs of elections under both the old election system and under P. R., and added that "there is no mystery to P. R. voting to myself, my associates or to the election workers who aided in the count."

The move to repeal P. R. in Quincy is being led by the city's mayor, David S. McIntosh. The petitions, claims Mayor McIntosh, contain about 3,000 names. Approximately 2,300 valid signatures are required under the 1952 state law which reduced the number needed for a P. R. vote from 10 to 5 per cent.

No P. R. Referendum in Worcester

Since insufficient signatures were obtained on petitions for a referendum on P. R. in Worcester, Massachusetts, no vote will be held in that city in November. The petitions were circulated pursuant to resolution of the Democratic City Committee adopted in July.

The Worcester *Telegram,* in an editorial of July 25, treated the petitions as a matter of straight party politics, with these remarks:

> The conclusion is inescapable: the Democratic machine in the commonwealth has given a high priority to the defeat of P. R. Why? Because it is the one method by which a city can cancel the tickets of free riders on the municipal gravy train. P. R. short-circuits the control of any political machine over a municipality's political life.
>
> The decision of Worcester's Democratic City Committee is all the more difficult to understand since Plan E has not deprived the Democrats of their margin of control in the city council. The slight surplus of registered Democrats over Republicans in Worcester has been faithfully reproduced by P. R. in the city council. That the Demo-

---

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1952, page 257.

cratic members of the council have not been able to act in concert is their own affair. P. R. has done the job of accurately representing the political complexion of the city in the municipal legislative body.

Thomas S. Green, Jr., president of the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, made a public statement on August 24 urging voters not to sign the anti-P. R. petitions. He said:

> CEA regards P. R. as an integral essential part of the Plan E charter. Repeal of P. R. would open the door to city control by political machine. CEA will combat, with all its strength, this move to sabotage our charter.
>
> Worcester, under Plan E with P. R., has had the most representative government in its history.... Our two and a half years under Plan E have been marked by a spirit of cooperation among our elected officials. They can and have worked freely together to provide increasingly efficient, constructive and nonpartisan government for all the city.
>
> When a Worcester citizen votes under P. R. he knows that his vote will count. In 1947, in our last old-style plurality election, 47 per cent of the voters elected the council. With P. R. 83 per cent elected it. This is true majority rule.
>
> Those who say that P. R. is confusing have closed their eyes to Worcester's own record. In 1949 Worcester set a record low for percentage of invalid ballots—2 per cent.[1] This figure is below the 3 to 4 per cent invalid ballots cast in the average Worcester plurality election. Anyone who can read the instructions on the ballot can vote properly under P. R.
>
> Those who say that P. R. elections are more expensive than the old plurality style forget that with P. R. the expense of primaries is eliminated. With P. R. the citizen can vote more effectively in one trip to the polls than he can in two with plurality voting.

British Columbia and Alberta Use Alternative Vote

A report on the use of the "alternative vote" for the first time in a British Columbia general election appeared in *Saturday Night,* published in Toronto, Canada, on August 2. In this system of voting representatives are chosen by single-member districts, but a preferential ballot is used to provide each elector with a single transferable vote.

This system has been used for many years in the rural constituencies of the neighboring province of Alberta, but there the two principal cities are multi-member constituencies and elect their representatives by the Hare system of P. R., using the same type of ballot as the rest of the province.

According to the British Columbia report, written by Melwyn Breen, the alternative vote was introduced in British Columbia just before the recent election by a coalition of the Conservative and Liberal parties in the hope that it would permit them to resume their traditional rivalry without risking domination of the government by a minority third party such as the socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. The previous election, in 1949, had returned 40 members of the coalition of Conservatives and Liberals to the 48-member provincial parliament, while the CCF strength was reduced from sixteen to seven.

The rupture of the coalition and resumption of rivalry between the older parties had an unexpected result, however. In spite of the alternative vote, the parties acting separately could not attract the majority they had gathered in their previous joint effort. Although the CCF registered a substantial gain and obtained eighteen seats, the feature of the British Columbia contest was the election of nineteen candidates of the Social Credit party, the governing party of Alberta, which had not obtained a single seat in the previous election. Of these nineteen only two have had previous legislative experience. The party's campaign was conducted with leadership supplied by the neighboring province.

---

[1] In some elections in Ireland the percentage has gone even lower. EDITOR.

Mr. Breen's article states that if the plurality system had been used instead of the alternative vote, the CCF would have obtained three additional seats, which would have distorted the electoral results, since its three rivals all espoused a free-enterprise policy opposed to the socialist orientation of the CCF. "For the first time in British Columbia history," adds Mr. Breen, "not a single member slipped into the legislature on a minority vote." The article does not give figures which would show whether the resulting representation unduly emphasized the new interest in the Social Credit party at the expense of Conservatives and Liberals, who suffered under the single-member district system from having their following geographically diffused.

P. R. Used Again in Alberta

While extending its influence westward the Social Credit party continued its preeminence in Alberta, where the principal issue in this year's election, according to the Calgary *Albertan,* appears to have been the manner and extent to which the province should assist municipalities now that revenues from newly discovered oil and gas resources have made the provincial government prosperous. All the parties in this contest promised increased grants of funds to municipalities of one kind or another.

Just before the election the representations of the two principal Albertan cities, Calgary and Edmonton, were increased, the former by one and the latter by two members in the provincial legislature, without changing the P. R. method of election at large in these cities. That the voting system is highly regarded by its users is voiced by the following editorial statement of the *Albertan* on August 4:

> Tomorrow Alberta will use the most advanced and most accurate voting system that can be found anywhere. It has been used many times before in this province, and the people would not tolerate any other kind. We have never heard any responsible Alberta citizen advocate its repeal.
>
> Other provinces are beginning to see its merits, and a few weeks ago British Columbia tried a distorted version of it. In spite of everybody trying to confuse what is essentially a simple procedure, and in spite of blundering delays in the counting of the ballots, the system worked well.
>
> Alberta's system is actually a hybrid. There are two kinds of constituencies here, the rural ones which elect only one member each, and the Calgary and Edmonton constituencies, which elect six and seven respectively. In the one-member ridings the single transferable ballot is used, while in the multi-member ridings it is the same kind of ballot but it is called proportional representation.
>
> To enlighten those who are voting here for the first time it is pointed out that each voter actually votes for only one candidate. He puts the figure one beside the name of the candidate of his choice. But if that candidate is elected by other people's votes, or if he is eliminated in the counting, the voter can save his ballot by having another choice marked on it. And similarly a third choice, and so on. . . .
>
> And when the ballots are counted, no one can be elected in the rural ridings without an actual majority of the votes. And the same in Cal-

gary and Edmonton,[1] with the added advantage that the seats are divided among the parties in proportion to the way the voters are divided. What could be fairer?

P. R. League to Meet in San Antonio

The Proportional Representation League will hold its annual meeting for the election of officers in San Antonio on November 17 at 2.15 P.M. As formerly, the meeting will be held during the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League November 17-19. Headquarters will be at the Gunter Hotel.

In accordance with action taken at a meeting of the League last year in Cincinnati, a committee to explore the whole subject of proportional representation methods and public relations will hold its first session immediately following the business meeting.

The following persons have thus far been invited to serve on the committee: Philip A. Alger, General Electric Company, Schenectady, New York; Emmett L. Bennett, Bureau of Governmental Research, Cincinnati; Hugh A. Bone, University of Washington, Seattle; Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former city council member, Cincinnati; Richard S. Childs, chairman, Executive Committee, National Municipal League, New York; Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis; Cyrus J. Fitton, attorney, Hamilton, Ohio; Forest Frank, executive director, City Charter Committee, Cincinnati; Robert P. Goldman, attorney, Cincinnati;

Thomas S. Green, Jr., president, Citizens' Plan "E" Association, Worcester, Massachusetts; George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, Proportional Representation League, New York; George P. Hassett, city clerk, Medford, Massachusetts; C. G. Hoag, honorary secretary, Proportional Representation League, Haverford, Pennsylvania; Elsie S. Parker, assistant editor, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, New York; Oxie Reichler, editor, *Herald Statesman,* Yonkers, New York; Donald Spencer, attorney, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Howard White, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; Thomas Raeburn White, attorney, Philadelphia; Wm. Redin Woodward, attorney, New York; Belle Zeller, Brooklyn College, New York.

Another session of special interest to P. R. supporters is scheduled for Tuesday morning, November 18. Titled "Representative City Government," it will discuss proportional representation as well as plurality election at large, the ward system, etc. A preliminary program for the entire conference will be mailed shortly to all members.

---

[1] Under P. R. any majority of the members represents a majority of the voters, but each single member can be elected by a smaller vote—called a quota—thus affording accurate minority representation. EDITOR.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

How One Group Selects Candidates

Citizen Action Committee of Miami Wins Elections

RECENT campaigns by the Miami Citizens Action Committee, for the election of good candidates to public office, have resulted in sweeping victories. Says M. L. Todd, chairman of the committee, "We won two out of three offices contested in the city election last fall and five out of six in countywide primary elections of the spring, making a total of seven out of nine endorsed candidates for high public office in the city of Miami and the county of Dade." In the city offices, reports Mr. Todd, both candidates elected with committee support scored the highest votes ever to be received for that office in the history of the community. The candidate for sheriff actually polled more votes than the winner of the gubernatorial race, who always leads the field in these elections. The victory was made despite "vicious allegations, charges and countercharges," declares Mr. Todd.

Mr. Todd describes the methods used by the Citizens Action Committee to select candidates it will support for election:

A screening committee of a minimum of fifteen members is selected from the general membership by the chairman. This panel selects its chairman, who is held absolutely responsible for all records and statements of the committee.

All members must attend the screening of all candidates for a particular office, otherwise their ratings will be discarded.

The following are the ten factors considered:

Factor	*Maximum Possible Points*
Personal integrity	25
Moral responsibility	20
Intelligence	20
Business ability	15
Civic accomplishment	10
Financial security	10
Leadership ability	10
Grasp of problems of office sought	15
Understanding of responsibility of office	15
Ability to get along with people	15
Total	155

A list of questions is prepared by the legal committee after consulting state and local laws governing the office sought by the candidates to be screened; these questions cover all matters which are of interest to the voters in determining which candidate is best qualified.

The screening of candidates is public and may be broadcast by radio and television. The candidate is placed under oath which, with his questions and answers, is wire-recorded and later transcribed and filed with the permanent records of CAC in the event the candidate is elected.

After the screening panel's moderator has propounded the questions formulated by the legal committee, the audience and screening panel members are given the opportunity to submit additional questions to the moderator, provided they are in writing, with the privilege reserved by the moderator to refuse to ask questions submitted which, in his opinion, are improper, and to interject additional questions from time to time as he desires.

The candidate is *not* given an opportunity to make a speech or any statements concerning his campaign at the conclusion of the questioning. All questions submitted by the audience in writing are delivered by the chairman of the screening committee to the chairman of the investigating committee. This committee consists of several members of CAC appointed by its chairman, who may employ outside help for the purpose of making a detailed, factual report on each screened candidate.

This report is submitted in writing under seal by the chairman of the investigators to the chairman of the screening panel. He in turn reads the investigating committee's report before a closed final session of screening committee members. This is for the purpose of reconsidering the grades given candidates on factors one, two, four, six, seven and ten, after the report has been submitted and analyzed by the screening committee.

Each screener totals his score for each candidate and gives it to the chairman who places it on a large master chart on which are the names of all candidates for the office considered. The candidate receiving the highest number of points is then considered by the committee as a whole as to whether the committee will recommend the candidate for endorsement by the CAC in its report to the board of directors.

The closed session is kept secret and the recommendations are not made known to anyone until the report is read by the CAC chairman at the next meeting of the board of directors for its approval, change or rejection.

Each screener's score is known only to himself and to the committee chairman, who keeps it in his possession when it is not in the hands of the screening committee member. The screener himself is listed on the master chart solely by a number which has been given to him by the chairman.

Corn Flakes and Voting

If the vote cast at the forthcoming November election is not larger than it has been for many a year, the fault will not lie at the feet of citizen groups or business houses.[1]

As a result of the campaign instituted by the American Heritage Foundation, large business concerns are entering into the plot to get the citizen out to register and vote. For the first time in American history the package of a business concern will be devoted to a public service campaign. The Kellogg Company, of Battle Creek, Michigan, is shipping corn flakes in packages which, beyond the necessary product identification, are devoted to a nonpartisan appeal to citizens to vote on November 4.

John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, one of the largest department stores in the nation, as well as other business houses, is giving advertising space in local newspapers to a plea to get out the vote.

The Boy Scouts are joining in the good work. Just before election day, scouts all over the nation will hang Liberty Bell cutouts on the door knobs of 30,000,000 homes, urging every citizen to vote. The scouts are working in cooperation with the Freedoms Foundation. A kit from the scout national office contains newspaper mats and suggested local stories. A million get-out-the-vote posters are being placed on display.

---

[1] See "Get Out the Vote a Continuing Theme," the REVIEW, September 1952, page 419.

One city in New York State—name unknown at this writing—is planning to ring church bells and blow sirens and whistles at eight o'clock the night before registration begins. At the same time radio stations will announce that the noise is being made as "operation alarm clock" to remind citizens to register. No advance publicity is to be given to the stunt so that there will be an element of complete surprise.

The Ballot Battalion idea pops up in Michigan again. Sponsored by the Kiwanis Club, East Detroit is working on a community-wide basis to get citizens to register and vote. Efforts are also being made to assist the public in getting the views of candidates and the principles for which they stand. "Every civic-minded organization," says the East Detroit Civic League, "has been invited to cooperate in carrying out these objectives."

Latest in its series of aids to the voter, the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) is its eight-page folder, *Voting Information Compiled in the Public Interest to Help You Find the Answer to Your Voting ?'s.* Discussed are the election schedule, qualifications for voting, procedure in voting, assistance to voters, watchers and other useful facts.

Manager Plan News

Some 800 citizens of Quincy, Massachusetts, attended a lively forum on the city's Plan E (council-manager with proportional representation for election of the council) government. The forum, sponsored by the Quincy Civic Association, heard the mayor, councilmen and city manager discuss local problems. Questions from the audience were made in writing. "It was good to give the issue an airing," says the Quincy *Patriot-Ledger* editorially, "and heartening indeed to find that so many persons felt it should be aired."

A new committee has been formed by the Chicago City Club "to examine, and possibly fill the need for, a center to supply information on the city manager form of government," reports the *City Club Bulletin.*

The League of Women Voters of Evanston, Illinois, has gone on record in favor of the council-manager form of government for that city. One of its local action programs this coming year will be to cooperate with other groups in support of a referendum to enable Evanston to adopt the plan.

The Citizens Committee of San Antonio, Texas, has published *San Antonio Report—A Review of the City's First Six Months under Council-manager Government.* An eight-page, tabloid-size newspaper, the report cites the great progress which took place during the period covered. "Manager Cites 6-Month Gain—Income Increased $173,974," "Back Tax Collections Increased 136%," "$160,920 a Year Saved for City as Dickson Cuts Engineer Costs," "Bulk Purchasing Cuts Supply Cost by 30 Per Cent," "Stronger Law Enforcement Shown in Police Department," "City's Fire Losses Slashed in 6 Months"—thus read a few of the headlines.

Looking toward an election on the question in November, the Village Manager Association of Oak Park, Illinois, has distributed a six-page folder on the council-manager plan, its advantages, how it has worked and how the voter can help.

A committee of the League of Women Voters of Boonton, New Jersey, is campaigning for adoption of the council-manager plan in November.

In Topeka, Kansas, where the manager plan is also scheduled for a November 4 vote, the Committee for City Manager Government is distributing a four-page flyer titled *Your Questions Answered.*

Volunteers Increase

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee, in a review of its Forward Movement organization, shows the largest number of workers in charter fund campaign history. "In the general gifts section," says the committee, "17 divisions, 73 teams and 350 solicitors were recruited. In the special gifts section 14 divisions, 31 teams and 138 solicitors were recruited."

The organization will shortly circularize its members with a ballot on which they will be asked to check the committees with which they would like to work for the coming year.

Summer Forums

The Michigan Seventh Annual Forum on State and Local Government held its sessions July 7-25 at Michigan State College, East Lansing. The forum is designed to give students and lay persons interested in government "a broad view of the major functions and problems of state and local government in Michigan." It is sponsored by several universities, state and local officials and their organizations, the State Department of Public Education and the Michigan Institute of Local Government.

A twelve-day workshop was held at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, in September, attended by teachers of government from twenty colleges and universities in New York State. Among the speakers was Oxie Reichler, editor of the *Yonkers Herald Statesman,* who stressed the fact that the college graduate "has a debt to society to participate in politics and government." The forum was under the direction of Dr. Rodney L. Mott of Colgate. Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultants, were among its leaders.

Constitutional Conventions

"After 82 years it's time to vote YES! for a Limited Constitutional Convention," said the Tennessee Citizens Committee for a Limited Constitutional Convention in its six-page flyer. And the voters evidently agreed, for the convention won by a large majority.

Ohio, on the other hand, is looking forward to a constitutional convention vote. The League of Women Voters of Ohio is distributing its brochure, "Why Ohio Can't Afford to Wait 20 Years to Go Modern," as it calls for favorable action in November. Numerous local organizations are working for the success of the convention vote. The Board of Trustees of the Cleveland Citizens League, in its statement supporting the convention, "further recommends that if there is a favorable vote in the fall, the governor of the state and the legislature should approve the appointment of a nonpartisan commission to analyze the constitution and to make a special survey and report prior to the convention as a means of focusing and expediting the work of the convention."

New York Mayor Appraised

"An Appraisal of the Impellitteri Record" was the innocuous title appended to the address of Milton M. Bergerman, president of the Citizens Union of New York City, before that organization's 1952 annual meeting. But Mr. Bergerman's address was far from "innocuous." He declared the mayor was "driving on the wrong side of the white line and his driving bids fair to result in disaster." Says the *New York World Telegram and Sun,* in an editorial, "Timely Reminder," "Mr. Bergerman didn't deal in generalities. He went right down the line in his indictment, naming names and citing instances." Mr. Bergerman's address has been published in the May 1952 issue of *The Searchlight.* It is available free of charge from the Citizens Union, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38.

Recent Publications

The slogan, "Know Your Government," has led to the publication of pamphlets describing local city government by various Leagues of Women Voters. *Western Springs, Our Village* (61 pages, 50 cents) comes from the Western Springs (Illinois) League of Women Voters; *Know Your City, Governmental Services in Phoenix, Arizona,* (18 pages, maps and charts, fifteen cents) is published by the Phoenix League of Women Voters.

This is Cook County (74 pages) comes from the Cook County Council of the League of Women Voters at Chicago. It has been prepared by Ruth E. Baker, a civics teacher at Fenger High School, Chicago, and is sold at 35 cents a copy.

Within Cook County, *Here's Homewood 1952* (48 pages, 50 cents) is published by the League of Women Voters of Homewood.

The Rhode Island Home Rule Association, which did valiant service for the cities of that state in aiding to secure passage of a home rule amendment to the constitution, has published a 51-page pamphlet describing city charters and forms of government. It sets forth model ordinances providing charter commission elections, model petitions for adoption of new charters, model nomination papers, etc. Reproduced are the new Rhode Island home rule amendment and the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island on home rule.

Gateway to Citizenship, by Carl B. Hyatt, director of the Attorney General's Citizenship Program, has been issued by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U. S. Department of Justice. Its purpose is "to assist members of the bench and bar, the staff of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and other interested workers to dignify and emphasize the importance of citizenship, particularly in relation to the ceremonies marking the culmination of the naturalization process."

"A Manual for the use of CIO councils and local union community services committees IN YOUR TOWN in developing health, welfare and recreation programs for CIO families and the local community," describes *Action for a Better Community.* Issued by the National CIO Community Services Committee, the 62-page pamphlet is priced at 25 cents.

"An informational handbook on the work, the problems and the members of the Louisiana legislature, designed especially for the citizen who, by his ignorance or his understanding, his apathy or his interest, his selfishness or his concern for the general welfare, will determine the course to be taken by the legislature," is the apt description of *Citizen's Guide to the 1952 Louisiana Legislature.* Published by the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, the *Guide* describes the work of the legislature, how laws are made, the citizen's role. It makes suggestions on strengthening the legislative body and lists biographical sketches of senators and representatives. The center spread shows "Passage of a Bill . . . a Complicated Procedure" by means of attractive pen-and-ink sketches. Price of the 48-page pamphlet is 25 cents.

Crisis in Traffic comes from the Citizens Union of the City of New York. Prepared by the union's committee on traffic and transportation, it discusses the numerous painful traffic problems besetting the country's largest city, with suggestions for their alleviation.

Researchers Gather, Cover Broad Field

Taxes, Personnel, Pensions, Schools Get Critical Review

ABOUT 250 researchers, including a fair representation of wives, constituted the 1952 GRA Conference which was held at Shawnee Inn on the Delaware in Pennsylvania September 10-12. The conference opened with a luncheon address, "The Next Step," by William H. Baumer, assistant to the president of Johnson and Johnson, and closed with the annual dinner at which the GRA awards were presented and Herbert J. Miller, director of the Tax Foundation, answered the question "Are We Better Off?" with statistics indicating a negative reply to the question.

In addition to breakfast discussions of bureau problems, there were general and workshop sessions dealing with State Regulation of Local Taxing Powers, State and Local Public Pension Systems, Citizen Education Through Governmental Research, Citizen Research and Public School Education, Inter-City Comparisons—Techniques, Problems, Pitfalls, Citizen Research and Legislative Action, Problems and Techniques of Public Personnel Administration and Lessons I have Learned about Governmental Reorganization. All sessions were well attended and elicited pointed questions and lively discussion from the floor.

The following awards were granted: most noteworthy piece of research, to the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research for its report on *Organization and Procedures for Performance of Financial Functions under Philadelphia's Home Rule Charter;* most effective presentation, to the Citizens Research Council of Michigan for *The Case for Reorganization.* Two honorable mentions were given: to Rutgers University Bureau of Governmental Research for its *Handbook of the New Jersey State Government,* and to the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League for *The Study of the Department of Aviation, County of Allegheny.*

The following officers were elected for the coming year: president, Carlton W. Tillinghast, New Jersey Taxpayers Association; vice president, George Bestrom, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association; trustees, Howard Friend, Governmental Research Department, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce; Daniel L. Kurshan, New York Citizens Budget Commission; Calvin Skinner, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research; Edward Staples, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey; Harland C. Stockwell, The Chicago Civic Federation. The latter acted as chairman of the conference committee.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Assessment

Improving Farm Building Assessment Techniques. By F. E. Hulse, W. P. Walker and W. T. Sigafoose. College Park, University of Maryland, Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing, 1952. 23 pp.

Kentucky Assessment Program. By Kenneth C. Back. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town and City,* August 1952. 4 pp.

Second Analysis (Last) of the City of Galveston and the Galveston Independent School District — 1951 and 1952 Assessed Value — Selling Price Ratio Survey. Houston (Texas) Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, July 1952. 27 pp.

Auditing

What Goes on Here? Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* July 28, 1952. 3 pp.

Authorities

Public Authority — Pro and Con. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* August 1952. 9 pp.

Budgets

Budget-Making and the Spiraling Cost of City Operations. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* August 1952. 4 pp.

A Comparison of the Cash Basis Law and the Budget Law of Kansas with the Model Cash Basis Budget Law. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 54 pp.

A Compilation of the Expenditures in Wyoming for County Governments, First Class Cities, First Class School Districts. 1952 Budget Data Sheets. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association. 1952. 24 pp.

1953 Budget Suggestions. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, 1952. 35 pp.

The 1952-1953 City Budget. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, (bulletin) August 1952. 3 pp.

City Councils

How to Conduct a City Council Meeting. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town and City,* July 1952. 6 pp.

County Government

1950 County Costs Show Upward Trend. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *The Iowa Taxpayer,* July 1952. 3 pp.

Debt

City Debt. Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* August 1952. 5 pp.

Deficits Are Contagious. Today, More Than Ever, States Follow Federal Example. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* August 1952. 4 pp.

Defense

You Are the Atom Bomb. By Hilary H. Crawford. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), July 28, 1952. 15 pp.

Education

Local Responsibility for School Building Needs Should Be Encouraged Over the Costly Alternatives of Federal or State Subsidies. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, 1952. 8 pp.

School Teachers' Salaries. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), July 1952. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

1952 List of Harris County Presiding Judges and Number of Registered Voters by Precinct. Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Inc., 1952. 24 pp.

Wisconsin Voting Record. Only 3 out of 10 Potential Voters May Visit September Polls, is Alliance Estimate. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* August 1952. 5 pp.

Forms of Government

Types of City Government. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* July 14, 1952. 4 pp.

Home Rule

The County Home Rule Amendment. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* August 18, 1952. 4 pp.

Housing

Public Housing in Waterbury. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Governmental Briefs,* July 15, 1952. 3 pp.

Industry

Tucson as a Location for Small Industry. By L. W. Casaday. Tucson, University of Arizona, College of Business and Public Administration, Bureau of Business Research, 1952. 51 pp. 50 cents.

Inflation

The Cities Meet Inflation. The League's Sixth Annual Review of 25 Western Pennsylvania Cities. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter,* July 1952. 20 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

City-School-County Cooperation. Utica (New York), Municipal Research Bureau, *Your City,* August 8, 1952. 3 pp.

Legislation

How Bills Become Laws in Texas. By Dick Smith. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1952. 28 pp. 50 cents.

Libraries

Three Pennsylvania Counties Join to Bring Library Services to a Large Region. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government, *Municipal Administration,* July 1952. 2 pp.

Liens

Five Years Experience under Utah's Lien Law. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* July 1952. 4 pp.

Personnel

Exempt Job Holders and Their Qualifications. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., August 14, 1952. 11 pp.

Police

Compensation and Conditions of Employment in Select Massachusetts Police Departments. Brockton (Massachusetts), Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts,* July 11, 1952. 14 pp.

Political Parties

Party Organization and Nominations in Louisiana. By Alden L. Powell and Emmett Asseff. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 21 pp.

Public Utilities

Proposed Gas Piping and Appliance Ordinance. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs,* August 23, 1952. 2 pp.

Public Welfare

Ending Relief Secrecy Expected to Be An Issue in 1953. Local Welfare Studies Are Worth While. Albany 7, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York State, *For Your Information,* August 14 and 21, 1952. 2 pp. each.

Purchasing

Possible Improvements in the County's Central Purchasing. Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* July 10, 1952. 2 pp.

Rent Control

Rent Control—Good or Bad? New Haven 10, Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment,* August 22, 1952. 2 pp.

Should Federal Rent Control Be Extended in Chicago from September 1952 to April 1953. Chicago 2, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* July 1952. 6 pp.

Salaries

Municipal Railway Wage Problem. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* July 11, 1952. 1 p.

State Aid

Toward a Better System of State Aid. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* July 30, 1952. 6 pp.

State Reorganization

Michigan Department of Aeronautics. (Staff Report.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1952. 24 pp.

Reorganizing the State Government of Minnesota. (An analysis of the Minnesota Little Hoover report and the problem of carrying it out.) St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1952. 31 pp.

Streets and Highways

County Road Administration and and Finance in New York. By George D. Young. Ithaca (New York), Cornell University, New York State College of Agriculture, Department of Agricultural Economics, February 1952. 38 pp.

Financing and Building State Highways. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, May 1952. 7 pp.

Highway Finance in New Mexico. By Julian S. Duncan, Harold O. Staus and Katharine Nutt. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1952. 31 pp.

Taxation and Finance

County Revenues and Expenditures in Mississippi 1950. By Gordon K. Bryan. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, 1952. 56 pp.

Fifth Annual Report (1951 Fiscal Year) on the Taxing Units in Harris County. Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 62 pp.

Improving Property Tax Administration. ("States are trying to eliminate inequities.") By William I. Herman. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* July 1952. 5 pp.

Pennsylvania Tax Chart. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 1952. 6 pp.

Real Estate Tax Sales in 1951. Unpaid Property Taxes. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* July 1952. 2 and 4 pp. respectively.

Receipts of California Cities 1949-50 and 1950-51. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* July 1952. 9 pp.

State Government Expenditures State of California. Payments by California Cities 1949-50 and 1950-51. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* August 1952. 5 and 9 pp. respectively.

Town and City '52 Tax Rates Larger Than in Past Years. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Connecticut Government,* July 1952. 2 pp.

Trends in State Expenditures 1940-1951. An Analysis of State Spending during and after World War II. New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1952. 30 pp.

Twenty Years of Sales Tax Collections. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, 1952. 4 pp.

Where Does the City Stand Financially? St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government,* July 30, 1952. 4 pp.

Wyoming Round-Up of 1952 Tax Levies. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, *Report,* August 1952. 25 pp.

Water Systems

Fluoridation: What Does it Mean to Public Health? By Carl L. Sebelius. **Fluoridation: What Are Requirements for City Water Systems?** By J. Wiley Finney, Jr. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* May 1952. 4 pp.

Zoning

County Zoning in Illinois. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1952. 34 pp.

Books in Review

Roadside Protection in California. A Handbook for Local Action. San Francisco, California Roadside Council, 1952. 68 pp.

California perhaps leads all the states in its grappling with problems connected with the modern highway. It is giving special attention to planning and building the type of highway known as the "freeway."

To the highway zoning movement the California Roadside Council makes another contribution by its *Roadside Protection in California: A Handbook for Local Action.* This is primarily designed for that state but should be of much wider service. It deserves a place beside the same organization's 1944 study, *Retroactive Zoning: The Legal Principle and Its Application,* which suggested what can be done within the law to cure the highway mistakes and omissions of the past. The pamphlet shows not only what ought to be done in and for the transportation corridor but also what has been done in certain cases. Ten photographs illustrate both current sins and proper roadside control.

Set forth is a "basic county zoning ordinance providing adequate roadside protection" by way of practical suggestion to communities interested in dealing with highway problems. This ordinance explicitly recognizes the two major classes of signs—business signs which are merely an incident of business on the premises, and are thus a part of the same land use, and outdoor advertising signs which are a separate land use and constitute a wholly different class of signs to be dealt with on wholly different principles.

Unfortunately the application of these concepts in section 15 of the proposed ordinance is not clearly carried out. In this section outdoor advertising signs are treated as an "accessory use," which they are not (although business signs are), instead of as a separate business and separate land use. This particular section should not be accepted as a model. It should be revised. The different classes and types of signs should be clearly differentiated and separately dealt with if legal and administrative difficulties are to be avoided. A few typographical errors also need attention. In Section 11.1(c) of the proposed ordinance the word "width" obviously means "area."

The pamphlet as a whole, however, will be found very useful. Its bibliography will be especially helpful to legislators and others whose study of the subject has not been intensive. To that bibliography the council's excellent 1944 study, already referred to and recently reprinted, should be added.

Albert S. Bard,
Vice Chairman and Counsel
National Roadside Council

Occupational Licensing Legislation in the States. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1952. 106 pp. $3.

This report presents state-by-state data on occupations licensed, legal qualifications for admission to practice in professions and trades, types of agencies that administer occupational licensing laws and arrangements for reciprocal, interstate licensing. It deals with the role of professional and trade organizations in the licensing and regulation of their own occupations. Major attention is given to the organization, powers and functions of state occupational licensing boards and the extent to which the processes of examination and licensure are subject to control by state officials other than members of these agencies. The report includes as background a brief history of occupational organization and regulation in past centuries.

Government by the People. The Dynamics of American National Government. By James MacGregor Burns and Jack Walter Peltason. New York City, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. xvii, 946 pp. $7.50.

This large volume conveys in fluent and breezy fashion, with a great array of pertinent illustrations, a picture of the outdoor aspects of American politics, enriched by an astonishing collection of cases to support the observations. The objectivity of the style helps vastly to facilitate swift reading and to keep the reader entertained as he goes—a fact that should be of use in classes.

R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Authorities

Municipal Authorities Act of 1945 (as amended). Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, 1952. 16 pp.

Bonds

Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1952. 480 pp.

Copyright Law

Fourth Copyright Law Symposium. By Melville B. Nimmer, Clinton R. Ashford, Franklin Feldman, Arthur S. Katz and Charles O. Whitley. New York City, American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, 1952.

Defense

Jordan's Dictionary of Civil Defence Edited by Carlton Wallace. New York 16, Philosophical Library, 1952. 160 pp. $2.75.

Disaster Planning

Disaster Rehousing. By Hubert Kelley, Jr. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* July-August 1952. 6 pp.

Education

The Personnel of State Departments of Education. By Fred F. Beach and Andrew H. Gibbs, in cooperation with the Study Commission of the National Council of Chief State School Officers. Washington 25, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 46 pp. 30 cents. (Apply United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Selected References on the State Department of Education. By Fred F. Beach. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 18 pp.

Government Manuals

United States Government Organization Manual 1952-53. (Revised as of July 1, 1952.) Washington 25, D. C., General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division, 1952. v, 742 pp. $1. (Apply United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Government Publications

Census Bureau Publications on Government. As Scheduled for Issuance in the Fiscal Year 1953 (July 1952-June 1953). Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 2 pp.

Highways

Highway Curves (Fourth Edition). By the Late Howard Chapin Ives and Philip Kissam. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1952. xvii, 389 pp. $7.

Housing

Reorganizing Chicago's Redevelopment and Housing. A Summary of Government Organization for Redevelopment and Housing in the City of Chicago. A Report to the Committee on Housing of the City Council. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 11 pp.

Industrial Development

Organizing for Industrial Development—Handbook of Procedures. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1952. 20 pp. 50 cents.

Legislation

1952 Laws of Interest to New Jersey Municipalities. (Second annual edition.) Trenton 8, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, 1952. 72 pp. $1.

Planning

You and the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission 1927-1952. Riverdale, Maryland, The Commission, 1952. 36 pp. Maps, illus.

Population

Estimates of the Civilian Population of Voting Age for States November 1952. Estimates of the Population of States: July 1, 1951 and 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 4 pp. each.

Presidential Election

Meaning of the 1952 Presidential Election. Edited by James C. Charlesworth. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* September 1952. 252 pp. $2.

Price Controls

The Price of Price Controls. By Irving S. Olds. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, The Foundation for Economic Education, 1952. 10 pp.

Public Employment

State Employment in 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 12 pp.

Public Records

The Disposal and Preservation of Public Records. A supplemental report to Special Bulletin S issued July, 1944, by the Committee on Disposal and Preservation of Public Records. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1952. 16 pp. 75 cents.

Recreation

Community Recreation for Defense Workers. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1952. 32 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Governmental Revenue in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 11 pp.

Urban Growth and Municipal Finance. By D. C. Corbett. Montreal 2, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, 1952. 32 pp. $2.

Two Decades of State and Local Income Taxes. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* June 1952. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Technical Assistance

International Technical Assistance. By Walter R. Sharp. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. xi, 146 pp. $2.50.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for November 1952: **Pedestrian Safety;** Theme for December 1952: **Holiday Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Putting the Voter in the Saddle

Several sessions of the National Conference on Government will deal with the problems of the citizen in his sovereign capacity as voter. These include one on Monday morning, "Finding Good Councilmen, which will explore ways in which organized citizens have succeeded in finding the right candidates for local office and in conducting winning campaigns for them. Leonard Sive, president, Cincinnati City Charter Committee, will preside. Tuesday morning a session on "Representative City Government" will consider the relative merits of various methods of electing city councils.

Dayton D. McKean

In recognition of current interest in political and governmental ethics, Dayton D. McKean, author, political scientist and practical politician, will conduct a session Wednesday morning on "Elections and Political Morality" to assess the situation in the light of 1952 election history.

Another session will deal with nominating methods. Members of the League's Committee on Direct Primary and others will explore ways of making nominating procedures more effective in turning up candidates that are truly representative.

Since progress in municipal government is frequently impossible without an assault on legislative barriers against freedom to act at the local level, one session will be devoted to successful campaigns for state laws for home rule, optional charters, etc.

Some Tough Problems

Citizens and officials wrestling with such problems as suburbanitis—otherwise known as the metropolitan area headache, how to reorganize and modernize an outmoded state administration or county government or an old-fashioned court system, or what to do about chronic and increasingly serious money problems of city government, will find sessions made to their order at the Conference.

Every session includes more or less amiable controversies over best ways to achieve common goals. This will undoubtedly be true in a session in which educators and political scientists will debate the issues of integration, cooperation and independence as guiding principles in determining the proper relationship between schools and general government. There will also be controversy, as well as fresh information, in a session on "The Citizen Looks at Public Welfare Programs."

How to do it? will be answered in three sessions in which practicing experts will get together to discuss some of their problems which are also of vital interest to the general run of citizens: "The Manager and the Citizen," "Municipal Public Relations" and "Education for Better Citizenship."

Try to Get There Sunday

Sightseeing of a richly rewarding nature in a "different" city and entertainment at the old Spanish city of La Villita await those who arrive in San Antonio by Sunday noon, November 16, the day prior to the opening of the National Conference on Government.

Texans Change Dates to Accommodate NML

One of the factors assuring the success of the National Conference on Government in San Antonio next month is the generous action of the League of Texas Municipalities in changing the dates of its 40th annual convention to November 22-26.

NML was forced by various circumstances to pick November 17-19 for its Conference dates despite the fact that the League of Texas Municipalities, with its nine departmental organizations, had chosen overlapping dates much earlier for its convention in Dallas.

The courteous withdrawal of the Texas organization, even though many of its plans had already been made, will make it possible for municipal officials to attend the NML Conference.

Mexican Trips Interest Conference Goers

Many of those planning to attend the National Conference on Government in San Antonio have inquired about opportunities to include short vacations in the southwest and in Mexico with the trip.

Detailed information may be obtained from travel agents, from American Airlines which has a low "fiesta fare" rate to Mexico City, and from the San Antonio office of the National Railways of Mexico.

What to Wear in San Antonio

The weather is normally pleasant and mild in San Antonio in mid-November, with afternoon temperatures going to 75 or 80 degrees and early morning temperatures as low as 50 or 55. Evenings might be chilly, too.

Men Conference-goers are advised that a summer suit and a medium weight suit would be useful. Those who will be going out evenings or who are planning to visit Mexico City after the Conference should take light topcoats. Women would be comfortable with light weight autumn dresses and suits and light wraps.

It just possibly might rain in San Antonio; indeed, after one of the longest droughts on record, many persons in that area are hoping that it will.

There will be no Conference occasion calling for formal dress.

Technical Assistance at Home and Abroad

An unusual conference session has been arranged on "International Aspects of Local Government." This will bring together Americans who have been on missions dealing with local government abroad and students and officials from foreign countries interested in studying local institutions here. The purpose is to consider the contributions of local democracy to unity and strength in the free world and to examine the problems involved in international exchange of experience in local affairs.

Another session will deal with the university's role in providing technical assistance for state and local governments through in-service training, studies, surveys, information and counselling.

Hotel Reservations

In making room reservations with the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio, be sure to mention the National Conference on Government. A quota of rooms has been set aside for Conference-goers.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VEMBER 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO. 1

PUBLIC [illegible] MO.
NOV 14 1952

NEWS for League Members 485

Code for Legislators .... *Editorial*

Town Meetings — City Style .... *Martha Murphy Lindegren*

Look to Local Government .... *Edwin O. Stene*

Economy Begins at Home .... *Richard L. Neuberger*

State Turnpike Authorities Expand 504

Utah Seeks to Eliminate County Coroners 511

Improved Standards Urged on Assessors 513

Swedish P. R. Elections Held 514

Weapon to End Smoke-filled Room 516

Legislatures Still Unrepresentative 523

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, EDITOR

ELSIE S. PARKER, ASSISTANT EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation
ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Townshi
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
FOREST FRANK, *Ohio*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT R. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *Colorado*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
KIMBROUGH OWEN, *Louisiana*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
VICTORIA SCHUCK, *Massachusetts*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
PAUL D. STEWART, *West Virginia*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
Lester Bates, Columbia, S. C.
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis
Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

e Gallup
ector
n Institute
c Opinion

Henry Bruère
President
National Municipal
League

Dr. Minnie L. Maffett
Hon. Pres., Nat. Fed.
of Bus. & Prof.
Women's Clubs

Mark S. Matthews
Former President
U. S. Junior Chamber
of Commerce

Mrs. Hiram Houghton
Former President
General Federation
of Women's Clubs

They'll Pick the Team

Here are the jury members who will hear applications for the 1952 All-America Cities awards at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio this month.

This is the fourth year of the All-America Cities awards. Applications have been coming to the League office for the past two months and are being screened by the Eligibility Committee.

The certificate given to each winning city is in recognition of progress made as a result of intelligent citizen action. The award is not necessarily made to a "good" city. It may, in fact, go to a city with bad government if intelligent and determined citizen action has brought about improved conditions.

Cases for the cities in this year's competition will be presented before the jury Monday and Tuesday afternoons, November 17 and 18, by representatives of citizen groups of the various competing cities.

Winning cities last year were Dayton, Ohio; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Kansas City, Missouri; Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Columbia, South Carolina; Asheville and Buncombe County, North Carolina; Mount Vernon, Illinois; Philadelphia, San Antonio, Boston, and Atlanta.

The awards this year will be presented in cooperation with *Look Magazine.*

Vernon C. Myers
Publisher
"Look Magazine"

Richard S. Childs
Chairman, NML
Executive Committee

Harold S. Buttenheim
Editor
"American City"

Charles Edison
Former Governor
of New Jersey

Anna Lord Strauss
Former President
League of Women Voters
of the United States

Arthur W. Bromage
University
of Michigan

Roy V. Peel
Director
Bureau of the Census

Here's the local arrangements committee for the National Conference on Government in San Antonio, shown at a meeting on October 15. Seated, left to right, Mrs. O'Neil Ford, vice president, Conservation Society; Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president, Research and Planning Council; Mrs. Ethel Harris, president, Conservation Society; Rev. J. Chass Lovern, president, Ministers Association; Jack Tallent, executive assistant, City of San Antonio; Earl Wentworth, vice president, Junior Chamber of Commerce. Standing, left to right, Rev. Thomas F. Maher, Archdiocese of San Antonio; G. O. Stone, vice president, First National Bank; Terry Sanders, Convention Department, Chamber of Commerce.

San Antonio Rolls Out Welcome Mat

The 58th annual National Conference on Government, which meets in San Antonio November 17, 18 and 19, should develop into one of the most memorable sessions in many years if the welcome mat being rolled out by the spirited and civic-minded citizens of the colorful Texas city is any indication.

Virtually every organization in San Antonio has been hard at work for many weeks to help make the Conference a success. The opening luncheon at which Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs, Ford Motor Company, will speak will be co-sponsored by the San Antonio Research and Planning Council, Citizens Committee, Pilot Club, Chamber of Commerce, local government officials and others. Tuesday's luncheon, at which Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opin-

(Continued on page 531)

Seated, left to right, Edwin R. Deitler, vice president, Council of Presidents; Mrs. B. H. Passmore, president, League of Women Voters of Bexar County and co-chairman, local arrangements committee; Mrs. Emily Netter, president, Pilot Club; Mrs. J. Otis Vaughn, president, City Federation of Women's Clubs; Miss Evelyn Weissmann, representative, Community Welfare Council; Oscar E. Miller, assistant superintendent, San Antonio Independent School District. Standing, left to right, Harry W. Nixon, administrative assistant to City Manager Harrell; Mrs. A. J. Pape, Council of Catholic Women; Peter P. Hindelang, president, Optimist Club. Other members of committee not in picture are Claude Ariol, president, Rotary Club; Sam Ricklin, president, Junior Chamber of Commerce; and Mrs. Lee J. Fountain, League of Women Voters.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 10 Total Number 426

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for November 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 485

EDITORIAL COMMENT 488

TOWN MEETINGS—CITY STYLE ...... *Martha Murphy Lindegren* 490

LOOK TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT .... *Edwin O. Stene* 496

ECONOMY BEGINS AT HOME .... *Richard L. Neuberger* 501

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 504

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 511

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 513

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 514

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 516

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 523

BOOKS IN REVIEW 528

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

Code for Legislators

SYMPTOMATIC of the deep concern people generally feel over the loose practices in public life that have come to light during the past year is a code of ethics for legislators proposed in New Mexico.

If an exhaustive, courageous study of the venality of many legislators could be made, the shock to good citizens would be unprecedented. Much of the wickedness is, unfortunately, beyond the effective reach of the law. Little of it comes to light even though legislators themselves and newspapermen covering legislatures are fully aware of it and come to think of it as "one of those things" that go with democracy.

The New Mexico code, approved recently by the Committee on Legislative Ethics of the New Mexico Legislative Council, provides broad hints of some of the sensitive spots. These hints evidently come from experts, since the drafting subcommittee which drew up the code included two clergymen and three men representing organizations with important interests affected by legislation.[1] This is tacit recognition that the problem of legislative ethics is not one for legislators alone. There is no opportunity for an unethical legislator where there is no conniving private or special interest or an individual or group ready to buy favors on the black market.

With the thought that other legislatures might well note and amplify this constructive New Mexico effort, the proposed code is reproduced here.

PRIMARY PRINCIPLES

A. *Legislative Responsibility*

Upon the legislature as a governing body lies the primary responsibility for maintaining a high level of ethics among its members. The constitution and statutes of New Mexico have provided the legislature with ample power to protect its integrity from any reprehensible conduct on the part of its members.

B. *Party Responsibility*

Since majority and minority parties within the legislature are the agencies through which the legislature operates to promote the public welfare, it is their obligation to enforce ethical standards.

ETHICAL CODE FOR LEGISLATORS

1. I will work for and represent the common good of the people of my state and my district. I recognize that to me is especially entrusted the defense of the rights of the ordinary citizen who has no organization or spokesman to represent him before the legislature. Hence, I will not advocate or support proposals intended to advance narrow private or party interests at the expense of the public.

2. I will not use my position as a legislator to further special interests at the expense of the public good.

---

[1] Members of the drafting subcommittee included: Brother Raymond, chairman, St. Michael's College; Emery Carper, president of the New Mexico Oil and Gas Association; Rev. G. L. Edie of Albuquerque; J. E. Owens, tax agent of the Santa Fe Railroad System; and W. S. Roberts, of the American Federation of Labor.

3. I will refrain from accepting any gifts or favors or promise of future benefit which would compromise my action as a legislator.

4. I shall introduce only such bills as I am willing to support personally or which are thoroughly identified as to source.

5. Before voting on a bill I shall attempt to learn the objectives and purposes sought so that my action will be based upon accurate information and conscientious judgment.

6. I will faithfully perform my duties as a legislator by attending all sessions of the legislature and all meetings of committees of which I am a member.

7. I will assist the proper officers of the legislature and my party to maintain the highest standard of legislative conduct by bringing to their attention all reliable information I may possess concerning breach of trust by legislators or unethical attempts to influence legislation.

8. I recognize that I have an obligation to the legislature as well as to my constituents to maintain a high standard of conduct in the legislature. Therefore I will vote to censure, discipline or expel any member who has violated these standards.

9. I will file with the secretary of state a sworn statement setting forth the names of any groups or individuals from whom I receive compensation for my services in the event that any of these are directly interested in matters before the legislature. I will keep the registration of my interests up to date.

Some points could certainly be sharpened in a second attempt. For example, it would be well if legislators would attempt to learn not only "the objectives and purposes" of a bill before voting on it, but what is in it as well. It may be that codes need to be more specific on such matters as conflicting interests and inadmissible "gifts or favors." Senator Paul Douglas has decided that he won't accept, even from a friend, anything worth more than $2.50. Perhaps the draftsmen of the next "code for legislators" might also try their hand at a parellel "code for citizens doing business with legislators."

Edison on Council-Manager Plan

A good council-manager charter is to a city what a good constitution is to a state. I have seen the weaknesses of commission government in New Jersey. Experience proves that any commission governed city should benefit by a change to the council-manager plan, which combines efficiency with democratic control by putting a professional in charge of city services and making him responsible at all times to a council that has no duty except to see that the government is conducted in the best interests of the whole city.

—Charles Edison
Former Governor of New Jersey

Town Meetings — City Style

Three cities find neighborhood confabs give citizens opportunity to voice complaints, learn city problems.

By MARTHA MURPHY LINDEGREN*

"A GOOD hot scandal is what we need," a city councillor in Worcester, Massachusetts, sighed as he glanced around the empty council chamber at last winter's budget hearings. "Nobody cares about city hall any more. Nobody comes down here. Nobody says anything."

The citizen does care. The citizen does have his say nowadays in Worcester, as well as in Portland, Maine, and Kansas City, Missouri, two other council-manager cities. City hall comes to the citizen in these three cities in a series of "little town meetings" held in neighborhood areas.

Citizen apathy sometimes is found where municipal matters run smoothly and there are no screaming headlines. Issues are only mildly controversial. Voting drops off and people sink back and lose touch with their government.

Between elections the citizen's vision narrows to his own neighborhood. He knows that his own child needs a new school but can't see that schools and their cost are city-wide problems. He gripes about low water-pressure during dry spells but can't see that a new reservoir means a tax boost for all.

Conversely, city hall can become so enwrapped in bond issues and budget problems that it doesn't realize some folks are worried about clean-up programs, better park policing, poor bus service. Sometimes city hall stabs blindly to measure the pulse of the people and misses a mile.

The "little town meetings" appear to be the antidote for all this. City officials put back the personal touch in city government, learning who the people are, what they want and what they think. The public learns what the city is doing and why and gets a chance to cooperate. Unity begins to grow out of diversity.

"It is the job of government in a free society to enable the people to judge for themselves, on the basis of full information, the quality of their public servants and the worth of the end results produced," said the late Lyman S. Moore, city manager of Portland. "We feel that the neighborhood town meeting shows promise of becoming an indispensable element of the medium-sized city in making democracy work at the grass roots."

"The neighborhood meeting can be a very instrumental factor in keeping citizens informed about their government and its problems," says Francis J. McGrath, city manager of Worcester. "It is an excellent medium for the exchange of ideas and can do much to keep officials

---

*Mrs. Lindegren, formerly a reporter with the *Chicago Tribune,* is secretary of the Worcester, Massachusetts, Citizens' Plan "E" Association as well as contributor to various magazines.

informed of the pertinent problems of each sector of the city."

The meetings "can be used as a sounding board and a mechanism whereby action can be taken not only as it affects the municipal government and its services but the board of education, social agencies, citywide planning groups and other civic organizations," says Dr. Hayes A. Richardson, director of welfare in Kansas City.

Citizen Meets Official

City-style town meetings work just like the old-time type. Folks go, with their neighbors, to a nearby church or school hall. (In Worcester, supper parties before the meetings are the style.) There is a spirit of friendliness, informality. People speak freely. The asking and answering bob back and forth from citizen to city official, from city official to citizen.

"We need a new school up here."

"Yes, we know you do. The capital budget schedules a school for your area in 1956."

"What do you think of these beach development plans?"

"The bath house should be closer to the beach. That's too far to drag children back and forth."

The give and take is the same in all three cities. The chief differences in the three series are the types of sponsoring group and the organizational setups.

In Worcester the meetings are sponsored by the Citizens' Plan E Association, a civic group dedicated to the furtherance of local good government through the council-manager plan with proportional representation voting (the Plan E form).

Kansas City's chain of community councils grew from groups originally organized by the city but functioning now as autonomous units with assistance from the city when requested. The Kansas City councils are more formal, more permanent organizationally than the meeting groups in Portland and Worcester. Because of this characteristic they can and do perform more services for the city and other groups and institutions which affect community life.

Portland's city council set up the neighborhood town meetings as a side-issue result of a psychological survey made to determine the reasons for a drop in voting. People don't vote, the survey showed, because they feel that:

1. "It won't do any good."
2. "Political control is held by a few."
3. "The citizen doesn't have a full role in the community."
4. "We don't know what's going on downtown."

Are the "little town meetings" answering these complaints? Portland's Mr. Moore assessed the meeting results this way—and he might well be speaking for all three cities. Portland finds the meetings valuable as a means to:

1. Provide direct communication with the citizens on their own ground,
2. Learn from citizens what their problems are,
3. Secure immediate government response to justified complaints,
4. Test citizen reaction to proposed programs,

5. Explain and identify city policy problems,
6. Confirm priorities for improvements,
7. Show the range of the municipal program in relation to size, cost and time factors,
8. Get citizens to accept "bad news" gracefully and with understanding.

In Kansas City the community service division of the welfare department is charged by ordinance to "coordinate the resources of the community, to report on social conditions, and to plan and recommend programs needed to meet social problems."

Kansas City Setup

Community councils are one of the division's translations of this ordinance. There are fourteen of these councils—one to each high school district, composed of about 40,000 people. Under the community councils are neighborhood councils, one to each elementary school district. Over-all is the Association of Community Councils in which each community council is represented.

There are, in addition, youth councils, composed of high school students and sponsored by the community councils, and a junior citizen program with 26 elementary schools participating.

Fourteen paid community workers employed and assigned by the city welfare department serve the councils. Customarily, the workers live in the area which they serve. They are in constant touch with the people of their neighborhoods, talking over problems and giving assistance, explaining city activities, serving as liaison between councils and resource groups.

Dr. Richardson emphasizes that the councils operate completely independently, are free to criticize or praise municipal activities, and are not subservient to municipal authority. City assistance is provided only when requested.

Everyone is welcome to the monthly meetings of the councils. These meetings feature speeches by city and area authorities and discussions on neighborhood and city problems. Survey and study committees on subjects ranging from patriotic and community chest campaigns to city and school bond levies make recommendations and reports to the councils and the city. Kansas City planning activities have been greatly facilitated by the work of these committees.

The Association of Community Councils has taken action, made recommendation, or cooperated with the city on such matters as a city employee pension plan, school levies, liquor ordinances, street lighting, construction of a high school stadium, public housing, rezoning, and cleanup and beautification programs.

The association publishes a monthly *Newsletter for the Citizen* and a statistical index of social conditions and presents weekly radio and television programs. The junior citizens present a weekly radio program and publish the *Junior Citizen News*.

City officials come to the Kansas City councils just as they do to the "little town meetings" in Portland and Worcester.

"It is most desirable that a two-way street be developed between a city government and the people in the community," says Kansas City's City Manager L. P. Cookingham. "I attend as many community meetings as possible and encourage other members of my administrative staff to explain and make periodic reports to them. Today it is necessary that citizens not only know about the activities of their city government, for which they are paying, but also evaluate its services and know and advise with the municipal officials that serve them. If we are to have an effective democracy we must have a large, informed, participating citizenry and officials that are respected and dedicated to their work."

Portland Town Meetings

In charting out their neighborhood areas, Portland's city council and Worcester's CEA followed, roughly, the boundaries of school zones and church and business areas. Many such neighborhoods bear their own names, almost towns within cities.

In Portland the council sets the date and neighborhood for each meeting. The newspaper prints a map of the area and a daily question blank on which residents may write their queries about their city or neighborhood to be discussed at the meeting. Neighborhood organizations receive letters asking them to submit questions.

As the questions come in, the newspaper prints stories on the problems they raise. The questions are sent to city hall to be distributed for study by the department heads concerned. These department heads meet once or twice before the meeting to talk over the questions and plan preparation of illustrative materials for display at the meeting.

Posters placed in neighborhood stores and meeting places and radio spot announcements provide further publicity.

The city manager, department heads, neighborhood councilman, and the chairman of the council sit with the moderator, a neighborhood man, around a table at the front of the meeting room. Mr. Moore felt strongly that placing the table on audience level, rather than on a platform or stage, facilitated the feeling of friendliness.

The Portland city manager opens each meeting with a five-minute discussion outlining the purpose of the "little town meetings." Then the questioning starts. The moderator reads the questions according to category, addressing them to the city official concerned. Although the meetings are open to questions from the floor, here, as in the written queries, attempt is made to group them according to subject.

Questions cover a wide range. City officials sometimes are surprised to hear what's bothering the neighborhood most. Snowplowing is a favorite subject in Portland.

"Wilson Street and Upper Atlantic Street are kept plowed for the busses to travel on," wrote a taxpayer who signed his name "Wet Feet." "Aren't we just as faithful taxpayers as the Bus Company? If you don't think so, just start figuring up the taxes a car or property owner has to pay. (Go ahead, figure it out!)"

This complaint was read at a little

town meeting. "Wet Feet" was told that it is Portland city policy to plow first those streets most heavily traveled.

"Why can't Atlantic Street or a street in that area be set aside for kids' sledding?" asked a mother. In answer, the city posted an area street for sledding.

"Outside of politicians up here on the hill, the taxpayers are satisfied with the form of government. Just a new fire truck and take the old one out," wrote a more satisfied customer.

"The Greeks used to consider tragedy as a purge for the emotions," Roger L. Creighton, planning director of Portland says. "Perhaps the town meeting is a useful modern equivalent as far as pent-up griping is concerned."

Worcester Citizens Want Schools

Worcester officials, too, hear plenty of griping at their citizen conclaves. The pet topic is schools. Worcester people don't seem much concerned with city finances. In three "little town meetings" held around tax time only one budget question was asked and that came from an accountant who had a technical query.

"Everybody in Worcester wants a school in his own backyard," a Worcester councillor remarked.

That's just what everyone seems to want most, so Worcester's Citizens Plan E Association, the group sponsoring the meetings, makes one of the two talk topics at each meeting a school subject.

Except that in Worcester the organizational work is done by a civic group, the CEA, the Portland and Worcester "little town meeting" setups are basically similar. In Worcester it is CEA which charts out the neighborhood, sets the date and place, arranges for the speakers and issues the publicity.

Once the neighborhood is selected, CEA contacts area civic, PTA and church leaders, asking them to serve on a committee for the meeting. When this committee meets, problems troubling the neighborhood are discussed and suggestions for speakers, question panel participants and a moderator are made.

CEA contacts the speakers—choosing one from the city council and one from the school committee. Although CEA endorses candidates and campaigns for them in municipal elections, it does not limit its meeting speakers to its own endorsees. The speakers are chosen for their special knowledge of the neighborhood's problems—for example, the chairman of the council's public works committee for an area plagued with street and sewer troubles.

CEA also invites those department heads concerned to participate in the question-and-answer period. The city manager, the planning director and all members of the city council and school committee are invited to all of the meetings.

CEA sends letters to all interested clubs and churches, inviting them to attend the meeting. "This is your chance to ask questions about YOUR problems," CEA tells them.

Two weeks before the meeting CEA sends announcement flyers to all its own members in the area and to members of the neighborhood groups. Postcard reminders follow these two or three days before the meeting.

On the day of the meeting a telephone committee starts dialing in the neighborhood, reminding people to come and bring their friends.

As in Portland, posters are placed in neighborhood stores and buildings. Newspapers print stories and radio stations make spot announcements.

Worcester meetings start on a lively note—CEA's "Quiz for Good Citizens" game. Pencils and copies of the quiz are passed down the rows. People are asked to check the right answers to questions on city problems—streets, schools, budget. The quiz is varied from neighborhood to neighborhood, laying stress on the area's particular problems.

The moderator reads the answers and neighbor marks neighbor's paper. The results are surprising. Many Worcester residents don't know the city's tax rate! Some don't know their ward and precinct numbers!

Quiz for Citizens

The quiz serves as an ice-breaker and permits CEA to get in a few digs for the increasing efficiency of Worcester's council-manager government. When Plan E went into effect in 1950 Worcester's new government faced a tremendous backlog of street, school and sewer work. The "Quiz for Good Citizens" tells people how many miles of streets have been paved, how many new schools started.

Each of the two speakers at the CEA meetings talks for fifteen or twenty minutes. The meeting then is thrown open to questions and answers from the floor. Questions flow freely from floor to platform and vice versa. CEA's problem at one meeting was to get people to go home so the hall could be closed!

Because of the apparent disinterest in money matters, despite a large demand for improvements that cost money, Worcester city officials hammer home that people can have what they want if they are willing to pay for it.

"We'll give you rubbish pickup if you'll pay a dollar more in your tax rate," City Manager McGrath told a complainant.

"We'll give you dozens of new schools if you'll pay for them," Superintendent of Schools Thomas F. Power told a PTA spokesman. "Schools are a city-wide problem."

Worcester city fathers are learning a precept which Mr. Moore put into practice in the Portland meetings: "Let the citizens know that the residential neighborhoods do not support themselves and that taxes received from them do not usually pay for the services provided."

While the "little town meetings" are news in the three cities they sometimes make news, too. New ideas come to the front. New plans are presented for the first time.

Neighborliness, news, exhibits, speakers and, most of all, free discussion—those are the secrets of the success of the "little town meetings." The citizen becomes part of his city. He learns. He helps make decisions. He is proud of the city in which he participates.

Look to Local Government

The city and county, where national politicians are born, should be first to get the citizen's attention.

By **EDWIN O. STENE***

AMONG the criticisms repeatedly directed against our national administration are charges of corruption and incompetence in high public office, of arrogant bureaucracy and of centralization of power in Washington at the expense of state and local governments.

In part, the continued chorus of complaint may be ascribed to party politics and to the efforts of special interest groups which seek annulment of particular regulations. But behind these political maneuvers there is a genuine public concern over the trend toward centralization and the necessity of dealing with a remote and impersonal bureaucracy. And the recent disclosures of corruption in national offices have been more than disturbing.

Yet as the citizen reflects upon his government he wonders what part he plays in the whole affair. "What can I do," he asks, "when I have but one vote in fifty million?" Major national and international problems are beyond his immediate control even when he has formed opinions about what to do—and his opinions are probably based upon sorely inadequate information. He lives in a country that is governed for, by and of the people; but how can the people govern when they have neither the information nor the machinery to act upon the great national problems when they arise?

Here lies the fundamental problem of strategy with regard to citizen participation in public affairs. Do we look too much to the center ring, watching the great drama of national and international affairs and ignoring those governmental areas where we could make our individual voices more effectively heard? Do we try to influence the star performers whose value concepts and habits have been firmly established and neglect to influence the formation of values and political habits of future star performers?

Local government issues may not be dramatic and important in themselves but by participating actively at the local levels we may well influence national trends more than we can by talking about centralization, bureaucracy and corruption in Washington. Not that we can bring about a resurgence of decentralization; the basic causes of centralization are largely beyond our control. But in part at least the centralizing trend has been due to an unwillingness to take responsible action at the local levels.

The proposition is offered here that an attentiveness to local affairs would be more effective in influencing national trends than is our almost exclusive concern over current national affairs.

---

*Dr. Stene, professor of government at the University of Kansas, is executive secretary of the Committee on City Management Training of the University's Bureau of Government Research.

First, politicians, like the rest of us, learn by experience; and many of them get their early experience at local levels. How do they get votes for local offices? What standards of conduct are they expected to follow there—by their colleagues and by their constituents? What are the most successful ways of dealing with matters of policy? Should they try to pass the buck, seek grounds for action in minor technicalities, consult a few influential people, consult many people, or stand on their own best judgment? Whatever methods work best locally, those methods will probably also be used at the state capital and at Washington. And while rising politicians are at the local level, citizens may be able to influence their experience a bit.

Cause of Centralization

Second, centralization is often a consequence of insincerity, bungling and inertia at the state and local levels.

In considering this problem we should look at state-local relations as well as at national policies. Kansas is taken as the principal example not because Kansas is bad but because it is probably typical.

Kansas politicians decry centralization, as loudly perhaps as those of any state. Yet Kansas is one of the more centralized states in the union. Local government powers are spelled out in detail and on certain subjects the cities can adopt ordinances only in the form prescribed by state law. Virtually no taxes or fees can be levied by cities except as specifically authorized.

Kansas puts much emphasis on special legislation despite constitutional prohibitions. Special legislation enhances the powers of individual legislators through the exchange of support for local bills; yet the individuals can escape responsibility because the decisions are made ostensibly by committees and by the legislative body as a whole. Also the system encourages local officials to seek specific authorizations from the state and thereby to avoid responsibility for action taken.

Kansas, like other states, has a high degree of decentralization in administration, especially from the state to the county level. But administrative decentralization combined with detailed policy determination at the state level promotes local irresponsibility, because local officials base their decisions, in form at least, upon technicalities.

Kansas, by failing to take responsibility, has helped to promote national centralization in a number of fields. For 25 years the state administration made intermittent and half-hearted attempts to regulate gas rates. Minor reductions were made in a few areas, but the expressed objectives were attained only after federal legislation and administrative action forced a 25 per cent reduction in pipeline rates.

The state made little headway in public health from the time of Dr. Crumbine's fight to eliminate the common drinking cup until the federal government stepped in with substantial grants conditioned upon quality standards. No serious consideration was given to establishment of an unemployment insurance program until federal legislation compelled the state to act in order to avoid loss of considerable tax revenues. And Kansas maintained an antiquated system of public welfare relief until requirements of federal aid made change necessary.

In many fields the federal government took the initiative—and usually a large part of the control as well—because its personnel was of higher quality in capacity, training and ethical standards. There is much to be desired in the federal civil service, but on the whole it has provided more care in selection, more incentives and opportunities than have state and local governments.

State Corruption

With regard to public morals and freedom from favoritism, the individual instances of state corruption may be less striking because the governments are smaller, but no accounts of federal corruption present an over-all picture comparable to the conditions depicted by Robert S. Allen and his associates in *Our Sovereign State*. The Kefauver Committee, of course, was concerned primarily with matters under state and local jurisdiction. And the FBI has grown to what it is partly because states failed to deal with the Capones, Dillingers and their kind.

Decentralization to the levels of local government presents legal handicaps more restrictive than those involved in state action. In both cases there are problems that cannot be resolved within the limits of fixed boundaries, and aggressive state action is often contested on the ground that the regulations concern interstate commerce. But a state government has general powers whereas local governments have only those powers granted by the state.

Yet there are many instances where state centralization originated as a result of local irresponsibility. Witness, for example, the assumption of state control over Kansas City's (Missouri) police department and election administration during the Pendergast era. In view of its present excellent city government, the Kansas City case also illustrates the difficulty of restoring local control once a step has been taken toward centralization, hence the importance of avoiding local dereliction.

Influencing Political Behavior

The point has been made that, if citizens pay more attention to their local governments, they may well influence the whole pattern of political behavior through the selection and training of future political leaders and the establishment of healthy relationships between public officials and their constituents. But how can such influence on local government be made effective? What patterns of operation should be sought after and what kinds of official experience might be provided?

Time after time we have been told to exercise our right to vote and to shake off apathy toward government. But obviously those admonitions alone are inadequate. Rather we might take a careful look at units of local government, see where we have been most successful, and try to determine what features of organization are associated with active public interest and effective control on the one hand and with apathy, incompetence, waste and low standards of operation on the other.

In most areas of the United States there seems to be a general feeling that the highest standards of ethical conduct and the most intense interest in quality of service is found in public school administration. An examination of the significant characteristics of these systems should be of value, therefore, in considering possible improvements in other units of local government.

School Standards High

First, we watch our schools closely not only at election time but throughout the year. This continuous scrutiny is perhaps far more effective than any amount of voting or non-voting on election day.

Second, school systems have established a high degree of professionalization. Professional training and its association with anticipated lifetime careers promote high ethical standards and a sense of personal dignity and responsibility. Moreover, the public service profession itself instills in its members a strong sense of purpose, an interest in self-improvement and an urge to serve the employing community.

Third, there is probably a more equal distribution of the benefits of public education than there is of the services of other units of government. This feature, however, would be difficult to extend to the great variety of services provided by cities and counties.

Finally, there are opportunities for local initiative. The field of service is limited and standards are prescribed by the state, but there are considerable opportunities for local program control and these opportunities have been fully exploited.

At the other extreme of the scale of ethical standards and quality of service stands the county government, which has been labeled by students of government as the "dark continent of American politics." What then are the features that characterize most of our county governments?

First, the responsibilities of government are divided into many relatively unimportant segments and scattered among elective officers no one of whom is important enough to attract public attention. Interest in county government is casual and sporadic, and even at election time we are seldom prepared to evaluate the services of officers who seek reelection.

Second, popular election of minor officers is an obstacle to professionalization. Not only the elected county officers, but also most of their deputies as well, are amateurs in everything except vote-getting.

Third, there is little policy determination at the county level. Lack of opportunity for local planning and initiative is a deadly impediment to continued citizen attention. Moreover, with policy control at the state level, county decisions are specific rather than general and ostensibly they are made on the basis of technicalities. Policy may be present in administrative decisions—on assessments, contracts and other matters—but policies hidden in a maze of petty decisions are difficult to detect or evaluate.

Yet county offices are among the most common local stations on the road to state and national office. Can we as citizens do anything to change the character of that road?

In city governments we find wide variations in standards and in performance. Cities seem to be in a state of transition, some of them retaining many features that characterize county governments while others have taken on characteristics similar to those of school governments. The variations, however, provide further evidence to support the view that the features of school government have a causal relationship to the quality of service performed.

Certainly the evidence here indicates that continuous attention is more important than voter turnout on election day. In Kansas City, Missouri, many more votes were cast during the 1930s than in elections since 1940—and the statement would doubtless hold true even after the ghost votes and other illegal votes were deducted. Yet the average citizen probably has more voice in his city government today than in the days of Pendergast, and he is more fully informed about government programs and activities.

There are many obstacles to effective exercise of the citizen's voice in government. Yet we often fail to devote our attention to areas where it might be most effective. Interest in national and international affairs should not be relaxed, but to make that interest more productive we need to participate in local government activities as well. And in that connection a few simple rules are presented here by way of partial summary of this discussion.

Watch Local Level

(1) A constant watch is more important to the maintenance of responsible and honest government than is a large vote at election time. A community can no more be judged by the number of votes cast than a police department can be judged by the number of arrests made. It is only natural that votes will be brought out by controversy. But the nature of the controversy is the important factor, not its mere existence.

(2) We are in better position to maintain constant watch over government at the local levels than over state and national governments. The local community is where we can select the individuals for future political advancement and where we might see that experiences train officials and party workers in such a manner that they will develop a philosophy of responsible leadership.

(3) We cannot expect moral standards to vary greatly among different spheres of community activity. Morals in state and national governments are necessarily similar to morals in local government and in private business. Also, morals are related to professional outlook and to our philosophies of public and personal responsibility.

(4) Our most effective way to check centralization is to promote vigorous and responsible government at the state and local levels.

Economy Begins at Home

Oregon legislators ask Congress to adopt suggestions of Hoover Committee but laugh at county consolidation.

By **RICHARD L. NEUBERGER***

ECONOMY, like charity, ought to begin at home.

I was sitting in the Oregon state senate as the reading clerk droned off a series of bills raising the salaries of elective officials in practically all the 36 counties of Oregon.

I thumbed through a volume of Oregon history which I had borrowed from our excellent state library. One significant fact struck me forcefully. Eighteen of the counties had been formed before Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859. They precede statehood. Nearly all the other counties dated from prior to the start of the twentieth century.

What did this mean? It meant, in a nutshell, that these 36 separate courthouses, all supported with taxpayers' hard-earned funds, had originated in an era when there was not one internal-combustion engine in Oregon. The automobile was unheard of. When most of the counties were formed, the golden spike had yet to be driven on the railroads across the continent. The Wright brothers had not been born. The sole transportation in Oregon was on horseback or wagon or on sturdy legs and moccasins.

Unquestionably, many courthouses were necessary when it required two rugged days in the saddle to get from Pendleton to La Grande. Were they still required when the Union Pacific streamliner made this distance in running time of two hours and ten minutes?

I studied the county-salary bills on which we were voting. Here was the Gilliam County measure. The increases for individual county officials were not overly large. Yet the operation of the new salary schedule would cost every man, woman and child in Gilliam County approximately $5.75 a year. This stemmed, of course, from the fact that the population of Gilliam County numbers only 2,817.

Salary increases for county functionaries in the larger counties of Oregon were not quite so oppressive on individual citizens. When we were passing upon the Lane County salary bill, I did a little quick figuring. County salaries in this populous county of 125,776 people would cost every man, woman and child only 24 cents annually—a mere 4 per cent of the financial burden for this particular expense in Gilliam County.

I decided that other states must have the same load, a load which originates in the fact that there are too many counties.

County government is that realm which Brand Whitlock, noted novelist and Woodrow Wilson's wartime minister to Belgium, once called "the

---

*Mr Neuberger is a state senator in Oregon. Author of three books, he is a well known newspaper and magazine writer, with recent articles appearing in *This Week, New York Times* and *American Magazines.* Mr. Neuberger's article above is reprinted from the *Sunday Journal Magazine* of the *Oregon Journal.*

dark continent of government in the United States." And the W. M. Kiplinger News Agency in Washington, D. C., has added:

"Those old-fashioned county governments, with their courthouse squares and their county-seat business, are pretty far behind the times. Their systems are cumbersome, archaic and very expensive. The county areas are too small to be economical. They were established years ago to meet the needs of horseback travel, long before motors and hard-surfaced roads were dreamed of. There are too many counties. In the interest of efficiency, they ought to consolidate and save their taxpayers' money."

Bill for Consolidation

With these ideas in mind, I introduced Senate Bill No. 257. It provided for consolidation of four comparatively small counties in eastern Oregon with Umatilla County, the county seat to remain at Pendleton.

These were the four counties, with their present population: Sherman, 2,271; Gilliam, 2,817; Wheeler, 3,313; Morrow, 4,783.

In other words, none of these counties seemed to have very many more inhabitants than one or two large blocks of apartment houses in Portland. If they had been united with Umatilla County, it would have made one contiguous land unit along the Columbia River and paralleling the John Day River, which flows northward through lava canyons to the Columbia.

The new consolidated county would have had a population of 54,887. Its area would have totaled 9,038 square miles. It would have been the third largest county in area, exceeded by Harney and Malheur. In population it would have ranked seventh. This appeared to make it fairly average and typical, in my opinion.

Best of all, four separate county governmental units would have been abolished at one fell stroke, with their myriad of clerks, sheriffs, deputies, jailers, auditors, commissioners and other plenipotentiaries. To make sure that the decision would be democratic and fair, my bill provided that the issue should be submitted to a vote of the people of Oregon after its passage by the legislature.

All at once I learned that economy was easier to urge upon folks in Washington, D. C., than to put into actual hard practice in Oregon.

A terrific protest ensued. It came not only from courthouses in the four counties involved but from many other counties. These counties seemed to fear they might be next, if consolidation took place in the eastern Oregon area. As a result, the Senate did not even take my bill seriously. It was regarded as something of a joke. Amidst many laughs, it was amended to combine Multnomah and Columbia Counties with the courthouse at Scappoose. Then Bill 257 was buried in committee.

Eight senators — three Democrats and five Republicans—voted against this jocular dismissal of an attempt to combine counties in Oregon. I am grateful that Paul L. Patterson, president of the Senate, was among the eight.

The Oregon legislature had memorialized Congress to put into effect the Hoover report, consolidating superfluous and overlapping federal agencies. This laudable goal could be urged upon the bureaucrats in the District of Columbia but the unification of superfluous and overlapping Oregon counties seemed to be a different question. It always is simpler to tell the other fellow to swallow a bitter pill than to take it yourself!

Someone Must Sacrifice

I can understand and sympathize with the feelings of people in Gilliam and Morrow Counties, for example, who might not want to see their own particular county merged into a larger Umatilla County. Yet how are we going to reduce the cost of government unless someone, somehow, somewhere, is willing to make sacrifices?

And I think that governmental economy, too, could begin at home, right here in Multnomah County. For four years I have urged county-city consolidation. Multnomah [containing the city of Portland] is the Oregon county of smallest area. I doubt if two sets of commissioners, two finance officers, two auditors' staffs, two teams of public attorneys and a city police and a sheriff's police are imperative in a realm of only 424 square miles. Furthermore, county-city unification has been successful in San Francisco, St. Louis and Denver.

Look at a map of Oregon today. Note how close together are the county seats. Albany is barely ten miles from Corvallis, Oregon City and Portland are a mere thirteen miles apart. Hillsboro lies only 21 miles from Portland. A drive of half an hour takes a citizen from Salem to Albany. In sparsely settled eastern Oregon, high-speed automobile roads now connect communities which were linked only over rugged backwoods trails when counties first came into existence.

Thirty-six miles lie between Oregon City, seat of Clackamas County, and Salem, seat of Marion County. These two counties were created in 1843. Think a moment of conditions in that era. It was more than a full day's ride between the two settlements. Indians still were hostile. The Whitman massacre was yet to occur. Sixteen years would elapse before statehood for Oregon.

The distance between Salem and Oregon City can be negotiated at this time in approximately 45 minutes by train or automobile, or in fifteen minutes as the commercial airplanes fly. But the same counties remain, those counties which were organized before the railroads spanned the Rockies or before the original creaking Model-T was even a gleam in the pale blue eye of Henry Ford.

I stress these changes in technology because a multitude of counties was required in the frontier period to serve people who were separated by nearly impassible solitudes. The requirement no longer exists.

Nor is economy the sole goal in suggesting that the myriad of counties be pared in number. Efficient government is a parallel objective. The National Municipal League, one of America's outstanding organizations in the field of governmental research,

(Continued on page 530)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

State Turnpike Authorities Expand

Their Express Highways to Be Supported by Tolls

MORE states are joining the movement for express highways financed by tolls, and existing state agencies for this purpose are expanding their programs. The agencies include various types of separate "authorities" or commissions as well as the regular state highway department in some cases. Money-raising methods range from private financing, as in Maine, to issues of revenue bonds with or without the pledging of state credit.

One state, New Jersey, which already has one toll road agency, the New Jersey Turnpike Authority operating the 118-miles from Deepwater on the Delaware River to the northeastern corner of the state, has recently added the New Jersey Highway Authority for the purpose of constructing and operating the Garden State Parkway, to extend 180 miles along the state's entire eastern border. Work had been started by the State Highway Department as part of its regular federal-aid program. The new authority has taken the work over; it let its first construction contracts on August 21.

The New Jersey legislature has authorized a referendum at the fall election to put the state's credit back of $285,000,000 of bonds to be issued by the new authority and thus obtain a lower interest rate.

The Pennsylvania turnpike, first of the modern toll expressways, has been extended in the last two years to Norristown, near Philadelphia, on the east and to a point near Youngstown, Ohio, on the west, making a total distance of 327 miles. The Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, which was established in 1937 and completed the initial turnpike in 1940, is now planning an extension from Norristown to the Delaware River near Bordentown, New Jersey, in order to connect with the New Jersey turnpike. Two other highways are planned, one from Pittsburgh to Erie, the other from Maryland to the northeastern corner of Pennsylvania.

Ohio has established the Ohio Turnpike Commission to construct and operate a toll highway from the western end of the Pennsylvania Turnpike 241 miles to the Indiana border. Test borings began in September. The project has been opposed in the courts, but the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the turnpike act. Its decision has been appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

In Indiana a turnpike is proposed from the end of the Ohio Turnpike to the environs of Chicago. Its construction would provide a through turnpike route from Philadelphia to Chicago or, upon completion of the connection between the Pennsylvania and New Jersey turnpikes, from New York City to Chicago.

Work has been started on a West Virginia turnpike, a north-south toll highway eventually expected to be linked with the Pennsylvania and Ohio turnpikes. The initial portion is an 88-mile stretch from Charleston to the Virginia boundary. The project has met with vigorous opposition and legal obstacles.

In Virginia a turnpike agency is proposed, to establish a route from the West Virginia turnpike to Mt. Airy, North Carolina, and a coastal highway from Virginia Beach to Nags Head, North Carolina, in collaboration with the North Carolina Turnpike Authority.

The latter decided in September to build a toll turnpike from Mt. Airy to the South Carolina boundary, if engineering studies show it to be feasible. If so, the first bonds would be issued next spring and construction work would start next fall.

The New York State Thruway Authority has built a considerable portion of the toll highway to connect New York City and Buffalo and eventually to tie in with the New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio turnpikes.

Connecticut has its Merritt and Wilbur Cross toll parkways for passenger cars from New York to Hartford and is laying out the route for an expressway through the southern part of the state.

Massachusetts is considering a 90-mile link between the Wilbur Cross Parkway and the New Hampshire turnpike, a fifteen-mile toll road across the southeastern corner of New Hampshire and connecting with the Maine turnpike, from Kittery to the vicinity of Portland. The New Hampshire turnpike was built by the State Highway Department and was financed by a revenue bond issue of $7,800,000. Maine is proposing to extend its turnpike to the Canadian border.

Toll turnpikes exist or are projected in various other states. The Oklahoma Turnpike Authority has been constructing a 90-mile road from Oklahoma City to Tulsa. A regional network to link Oklahoma City, Wichita, Kansas City and St. Louis is contemplated. In Colorado a toll road from Denver to Boulder is under way. California is considering one between San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Wisconsin is planning a 300-mile road across the state. Iowa, Michigan, Kentucky and Maryland have under way official studies of prospective toll roads. Georgia has created a toll road authority to build a highway from Cartersville to the Tennessee boundary, where it would tie in with proposed Tennessee turnpikes from Chattanooga north to Kentucky and west to Memphis. In Texas a toll road is proposed from Dallas to Houston, but as a privately operated venture.

In Florida the State Road Board has engineering studies in progress for a 443-mile toll turnpike system from Jacksonville to Miami with a spur to Tampa and Clearwater. The board has set up a new division in the State Road Department to handle toll road and bridge projects.

The turnpike movement goes ahead despite the traditional opposition of the federal government to toll roads and the claim of trucking companies that tolls are an undue additional burden. Some proposed federal laws would go forward with a federal superhighway system; other proposals would utilize present and prospective state toll roads for through routes.

Local Ownership for Two Government Towns

Two communities created and owned by the federal government are now facing transfer of ownership to private hands and related problems of local government. In Greenbelt, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, a contract for sale of most of the residential property to a group of residents and others has been made. In Boulder City, Nevada, sale of government owned houses and sites is expected to be authorized at the next session of Congress; meanwhile a new municipal administration under a city manager has been established by the

Bureau of Reclamation, with the prospect of Boulder City becoming self-supporting and self-governing.

Greenbelt (1950 population 7,074) was established in 1937 by the Farm Security Administration as an example of modern town planning in a semi-rural setting; 579 dwellings date from that time. In 1941 a thousand less permanent houses were built for war workers. In 1942 Greenbelt was taken over by the Public Housing Administration, which has now, under legislation passed by Congress in 1949, contracted for sale of both groups of houses to the Greenbelt Veterans Housing Corporation, for $6,285,450. The corporation is a non-profit cooperative group with some 900 members—veterans and resident non-veterans—of whom 670 now live in Greenbelt. The sale does not include several apartment houses, commercial facilities, about 1,700 acres of undeveloped land and public utilities. Sale of these is contemplated for the future.

Greenbelt has had council-manager government since 1938 and no change is expected. However, local taxation and municipal financing will naturally be affected.

Boulder City (1950 population 3,903) began as a tent community in connection with the construction of Boulder Dam on the Colorado River, and has been developed as a modern, carefully planned community by the Bureau of Reclamation. According to *Western City* for September, it has recently been given a separate municipal administration under a city manager appointed by the commissioner of reclamation, with an advisory council of seven members for consultation but without legislative authority.[1] Four of the members are elected; the others are the regional director of the Bureau of Reclamation, a National Parks superintendent and a representative of the Boulder Dam power agency.

The federal government has allocated $590,000 for the new municipal administration in its first year. Transfer of land and government-owned houses to private ownership may start by mid-1953 and actual independence, with incorporation as a city, may be possible by 1955, together with a self-sustaining status.

The Boulder City pattern may be followed in other reclamation communities such as at Shasta and Grand Coulee dams, and at atomic energy cities such as Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Richland, Washington. In Richland, an unincorporated community of about 22,000 people, incorporation as a city has recently been studied but the fact that land is government-owned presents the problem that if incorporation and charter-drafting are to be done by "freeholders," as usual, no resident could qualify under the prevailing definition that a freeholder is an owner of real property.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Mankato (1950 population 18,809) and **New Ulm** (9,348), both in **Minnesota,** voted on September 30 to adopt council-manager charters, to take effect January 1, 1953. The vote in Mankato was 2,617 to 1,129; that in New Ulm was 1,491 to 694. Thus the manager plan carried by over two to one in both cities. Voters of **Bemidji, Minnesota,** (10,001) adopted a new charter providing the council-manager plan on October 7, 1,144 to 457.

North Miami, Florida, (10,734) on August 26 voted to incorporate as a city and adopted a charter providing for the council-manager plan. The new charter went into effect on September 2.

---

[1] As the city manager is appointed by a federal official and not by a locally elected council, Boulder City cannot be listed as having a true council-manager plan.

Despite strenuous opposition on the part of city officials and local unions, voters of **Wood River, Illinois,** (10,190) adopted a new council-manager charter on October 7, 1,690 to 1,177.

The International City Managers' Association reports adoption of the council-manager plan in **Hastings-on-Hudson, New York,** (7,565).

On September 3 an ordinance providing the council-manager plan for **Whitehall, Pennsylvania,** (7,342) a suburb of Pittsburgh, was adopted by the borough council. The plan is scheduled to go into effect January 1, 1953.

The voters of **Nevada, Missouri,** have upheld the council-manager plan 1,377 to 891. It has been in effect in that city since 1946.

Colby, Kansas, which adopted the manager plan in 1947, and **Holton,** in the same state, which adopted it in 1948, will vote November 4 on the question of retaining or discarding the plan, as the result of petitions calling for a vote.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, is expected to vote on a council-manager proposal some time after January 1, 1953. Sponsors of a petition calling for a vote had sought an earlier date, on the basis of statutory provisions, but the question of the time for holding the election has been litigated and has gone to the State Supreme Court.

In **Yuma, Arizona,** the Yuma County Chamber of Commerce has appointed a committee to work for approval of the council-manager plan.

The **Helena, Montana,** city council has set November 25 as the date for a special election on a proposal to change the city's form of government from the commission plan to the council-manager plan. Petitions with 3,669 signatures, double the number required, requested the election.

A citizens charter committee appointed by the **Roseville, California,** city council has gone on record as favoring the council-manager plan. A committee of the Roseville Area Chamber of Commerce had recommended the plan to the chamber's board of directors, which passed the recommendations along to the city council. The council then appointed the charter revision committee.

The Maine Town and City Managers' Association has sponsored a monthly *Maine Managers' Newsletter,* the first issue of which was that for September 1952, a ten-page mimeographed document. It is published at the University of Maine in Orono and is edited with the cooperation of the staff of the university's government department.

Use of Voting Machines Increases in South

A major election reform was enacted during the regular legislative session in Louisiana, says the Council of State Governments, when legislation was approved providing for the use of voting machines in every precinct in the state. Other southern states now having voting machines in major cities include Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

Effort Made to Stifle California League of Cities

Among various propositions to be voted on by the people of California at the November election is one, No. 10, which would cut off all payments by cities to organizations, such as the League of California Cities, which make any effort to influence legislation. The proposal is reported to stem from old-age pension advocates, as a reprisal for the repeal of their ambitious pension plans, previously authorized.

Proposition No. 10, if adopted, will make it unlawful for the cities of California to make payments of any kind whatsoever to any organization or association which attempts in any manner to influence federal, state or local legislation. The fact that the money paid is not so used makes no difference so long as the organization ever attempts to influence legislation. Such activity is not confined to lobbying, to committee appearances or to conversations with legislators, but includes also resolutions aimed at any legislation of any kind. It would include recommended action on statutes, codes, ordinances, charters, administrative regulations, etc.

Revised Commission Plan Defeated in Duluth

The voters of Duluth, Minnesota, at the primary election on September 9, rejected a proposed charter amendment which sought to remedy some of the defects of the commission plan in effect in that city. The commission members, each of whom now heads a city department, on a full-time basis, would have been relieved of their individual administrative duties and would constitute a legislative or policy-making body, without requiring their full time. Their salaries would have remained the same, however, as they are controlled by statute. City departments would have been reorganized on a functional basis, headed by administrators appointed by the city commission.

The revised plan would still have left the city without a chief administrator to coordinate departmental activities.

The voters also turned down a proposed amendment authorizing a city tax on earned incomes and net profits and an increase in the property tax limit.

It is expected that the city's charter commission will submit other proposals for administrative reorganization and city revenue.

School District Helps City Train Employees

The city of Long Beach, California, is conducting an extensive on-the-job training program for municipal employees with the aid of the separate school district authorities. As the city itself could not supply enough instructors to undertake the training of some 2,500 employees, arrangements were made with the school district for the latter to plan and conduct the courses, the city to furnish proper facilities.

In addition to local schools, public and private agencies helped give specialized training. Vendors of equipment and products which the city purchased and the local telephone company also participated in the program by providing trained instructors and course material.

Seven courses were conducted in the first year of operation. They included a ten-week supervisory course and classes in public relations, first aid, management improvement and inducting new employees. Courses planned for the second year include advanced supervisory techniques, work methods improvements, and park maintenance and landscaping.

Birmingham Bars Municipal Strikes or Picketing

The city commission of Birmingham, Alabama, on September 16, 1952, adopted an ordinance prohibiting strikes and picketing against that city. Concerted slowdowns are also barred. Violation of the ordinance is to be followed by discharge, without right to re-employment by the city for one year thereafter. Picketing by any person or group, in connection with a labor dispute with the city, is declared unlawful and punishable by jail sentences up to 180 days and fines of up to $100.

More Annual City Reports via Newspaper

White Plains, New York, county seat of populous Westchester County, has followed the lead of various other cities and has presented a report for the year ending June 30, 1952, as a special section of the *White Plains Reporter Dispatch* for Saturday, September 27. It comprises twelve pages and includes a general report by the mayor and many special illustrated articles on city activities and achievements, in addition to a simplified financial statement. Inasmuch as the city changed in 1951 from a calendar year to a fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, the report covers the first half of 1951 as well as the new fiscal year. It includes a brief report on the White Plains Parking Authority, established six years ago and said to be the first in the country.

Richmond, capital of Virginia, submitted its 1951-52 annual report to the people in a twelve-page supplement to the *Richmond News Leader* Tuesday, September 9, 1952. It contains brief reports by the mayor and the city manager, a concise and descriptive financial report, a statement of the capital budget, and illustrated special articles. It is stated that for those desiring more detailed information the reports of all departments and agencies, summarized in mimeograph form, are available upon request to the city manager.

New Primary Law Brings Few Party Upsets in Rhode Island

The Rhode Island primary election system comes nearer than any other to the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System,*[1] inasmuch as it facilitates endorsement of nominees by the party managements and identifies the endorsees by asterisks on the ballots; other nominees get on primary ballots by petition. The law falls short of the *Model* in that the party managements are not required to show their programs two weeks before the deadline so as to leave time for possible rebellion and counter-designations by petition by disgruntled aspirants or insurgents. Nevertheless, with or without knowledge of the intentions of the party managements, contestants have appeared and, somewhat rarely, have succeeded.

The September primaries of 1952 were statewide in the Democratic party since renomination of Governor Roberts (endorsed) was contested—very weakly, however, judging by the vote, 36,593 to 3,579; total 12 per cent of the 331,423 eligible to vote.

In Providence, Mayor Reynolds (Democrat, endorsed) beat his challenger four to one. The only important upset of a Democratic party management was in Woonsocket "where the hold of John F. Doris, party boss, in the city organization was shattered. Kevin K. Coleman trounced the organization-supported candidate for the mayoral nomination . . . 4,364 to 2,947. Insurgents took city council nominations in three of the five wards and won enough ward committee seats to gain 14 of the 25 places on the city Democratic committee," according to the *Providence Journal.*

In Pawtucket, scene of an unfinished civic insurrection, "the battered Democratic organization showed unexpected strength in snowing under two rebellious groups"—4,768 for the endorsed candidate for mayor to 1,017 and 200.

---

[1] See "Rhode Island Tries Primary," The REVIEW, March 1949, page 126.

Elsewhere the contests were for legislative seats, town officers, school committees and party committees with less than a thousand votes and productive of no conclusions as to the practicality of the law since personal and neighborhood considerations loom relatively high in such small constituencies. It is clear, however, that contests by one or two challengers were numerous although almost uniformly futile.

The turnouts of eligible voters varied with the intensity of the contests, being as high as 44 per cent and ranging down to .1 per cent where the only issue was the nomination for governor which the voters evidently and correctly appraised as a foregone conclusion. The Democratic town chairman of North Providence, where there was no other contest, was "very pleased" that 5 per cent voted. In Smithfield, the Democratic management did not endorse the incumbent highway commissioner who had served 22 years, so he appealed to the party voters and won by 276 to 258. In Exeter the endorsed list of the town committee was altered on the day of the primary, exhibiting the possibility of last minute finesse.

In the Republican primary, with no statewide contests against the endorsees, voting was generally lighter, although in Little Compton 73 per cent and in Charlestown 71 per cent turned out for local battles. The 18,000 (6 per cent) Republicans who voted in the whole state compared with 14,000 in 1950, when there were only local fights and 53 per cent in a real statewide fight in 1948. In Pawtucket a member of the current council-manager charter committee defeated the endorsed candidate for mayor 1,704 to 1,634, but his group failed to capture the party committee or the council nominations.

All in all, it appears that the facilities of the Rhode Island law are freely used by challengers of the party managements' endorsees although rarely with success in 1952. Surely the use of asterisks on the long ballots to indicate which candidates are endorsed by the party managements must be useful to both regular and insurgent voters.

R.S.C.

ICMA Conference Has Record Attendance

Setting a new record for attendance, 368 city, county and town managers, as well as some 350 others, were present at the 38th annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, September 28 to October 1 in Kansas City, Missouri. Most of them arrived on Sunday, September 28, in time to attend the get-acquainted session when L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City and chairman of the local host committee, introduced the Kansas and Missouri managers and their wives who composed the committee, members of the city council of Kansas City and their wives, and various distinguished guests.

The formal opening was on Monday morning when Mr. Cookingham introduced Mayor William E. Kemp of Kansas City who gave the address of welcome, followed by the presidential address by Bill N. Taylor, Wichita Falls, Texas, who stressed the part city managers play in raising the prestige value of public administration. Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan gave the keynote address on "The Art of Management." Immediately thereafter, a panel of managers discussed adminis-

(Continued on page 527)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Utah Seeks to Eliminate County Coroners

Health Groups Will Work for Medical Examiner Act

LEGISLATION in Utah looking toward the substitution of an appointive medical examiner system in place of county coroners, along the lines of the National Municipal League's *Model Medico-legal Investigative System,* has been prepared under the leadership of Dr. Richard A. Call of the College of Medicine, University of Utah.

Dr. Call developed his concern with old practices in the course of making occasional autopsies for Salt Lake County attorneys. He has been successful in enlisting the support of other local agencies for a bill following the League's model; the State Medical Association, State Bar Association, State Public Health Department, Utah Pathologists' Association, Peace Officers' Association, the Attorney General, some newspapers, and other smaller groups have been enlisted.

Thus far, no opposition has appeared. The program for securing attention in the 1953 legislature includes mailing a resumé of the proposed bill to every physician in the state, illustrated lectures to interested groups, organization of a supporting delegation for a legislative hearing and a publicity campaign. Bipartisan support has been secured.

The bill creates a board of post-mortem examiners consisting of the administrative head of the Department of Pathology in the University of Utah College of Medicine, the representative of the attorney general, the director of health, a member of a local health department and the superintendent of the Utah State Highway Patrol.

This board would appoint a chief medical examiner, a licensed doctor of medicine with at least two years of post-graduate training in pathology. He would hold office for an indefinite term subject to removal by the board on charges. Appropriations for the board and its staff would be obtained through the College of Medicine. The chief medical examiner would take over all the medical functions now devolving on justices of the peace acting as coroners in the several counties. He would appoint subordinate technicians from merit system lists. A laboratory would be established in Salt Lake City. The other features of the bill follow the Maryland law and the League's model.

A set of the proposed rules and regulations for adoption by the Board of Post-mortem Examiners has likewise been drawn up.

R.S.C.

Vermont Takes Steps to Secure Medical Examiner

The State Bar Association and the State Medical Association of Vermont have had two joint meetings of their executive committees looking toward creation of a competent appointive medical examiner system. A state pathologist already exists in the State Department of Health. A 1951 law requires notification of every death where there is no attending physician to be reported to the local health officer for immediate investigation by a physician. If the latter is uncertain of the cause of death, it must be reported to the state pathologist, who may make an autopsy and present a report of suspicious cases to the state's attorney of the county. Further plans for progress look toward creation of regional medical examiners adequate to improve the effectiveness of the initial field examinations.

New York Law

Under a law which became effective April 12, 1952, New York State permits its county boards of supervisors, after referenda, to abolish county coroners and to replace them with medical examiners.

Missouri Newspaper Proposes County Manager

A manager plan for Jefferson County, Missouri, is being proposed by a newspaper published within the county, the *De Soto Jefferson Republican.* It comments editorially that even persons who opposed the manager plan for the city of De Soto before its adoption now see the advantages of manager administration.

Counties to Be Studied in Georgia and New Mexico

The League of Women Voters of DeKalb County, Georgia, is organizing a Local Government Commission to study the county governmental structure and possibly to make recommendations for improvements.

Committees formed in Bernalillo County, New Mexico, are becoming increasingly active in their study of the possibility of consolidating the county with the city of Albuquerque. Such consolidation was made possible as a result of a constitutional amendment approved in 1950 and legislation enacted in 1951.[1]

City-County Cooperation Increases

Recent reports indicate that DeKalb County, Georgia, has been successful in cooperating with the city of Decatur in the development of adequate water supplies and library facilities, with Fulton County and Atlanta as well as Decatur in sewage disposal, with Fulton County in the creation of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, and with Atlanta and Decatur in the creation of a joint health department.

Lubbock County, Texas, and the city of Lubbock have entered agreements involving street construction and the maintenance of a joint library.

The Tarrant County, Texas, commissioners and the Fort Worth city council held a joint meeting recently to plan the area's civil defense program.

Officials of Durham County, North Carolina, and the city of Durham, in cooperation with school boards in both units, have been discussing for the past year the feasibility of creating a single administrative school unit, but eventually decided to abandon the idea for the present.

Allegheny County Commission Begins Work

The chairman of the Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, Metropolitan Study Commission, recently appointed by the governor,[1] has announced the appointment of a steering committee to direct the study of Pittsburgh's suburban problems. The steering committee of six is headed by Dr. David Kurtzman, research director of the Pennsylvania Economy League.

County Charter Campaign Reaches Climax

The hotly contested charter struggle in Prince George's County, Maryland, reached its climax in October,

(Continued on page 515)

---

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1951, page 427.

[1] See the REVIEW, October 1952, page 462.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Improved Standards Urged on Assessors

Six Pressing Needs Named at 18th Annual Conference

MEMBERS of the National Association of Assessing Officers, at their recent international conference on assessment administration in Detroit, were urged to raise the standards of competence in property assessment administration. Albert E. Champney, director of the Bureau of Taxation of Wayne County (Detroit), Michigan, and retiring president of the association, said that "The assessment field is no place for a jellyfish," and proposed six pressing needs of the assessing profession today:

1. Schools to train competent assessors of the future;
2. In-service training schools to continue the education of practicing assessors;
3. Certification of the qualifications of assessors;
4. Informing and educating the public and other public officials as to the vital importance of the assessing function;
5. Getting "men and women of courage to continue the struggle to obtain standards of competence in the assessment function"; and
6. Canons of ethics.

Newsworthy items regarding assessing should be called to the attention of local newspapers and published in sufficient detail to give the taxpayers a sound conception of what the assessor is doing, the members were told by another speaker. Crowell D. Eddy, assessor of San Diego County, California, observed that "The bright light of public scrutiny has ushered in many a good reform."

Duluth Defeats Income Tax

A proposed charter amendment which would have permitted the imposition of a municipal income or payroll tax at rates of ½ of one per cent to one per cent was defeated ten to one by the voters of Duluth, Minnesota, at the September primary election, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association *News Letter.*

City income tax adoptions during 1952, as listed by the *Tax Administrator's News,* include four Ohio cities and one in Kentucky not previously reported here. Warren, Ohio, reenacted an income tax for the second time, the first having been terminated by the voters in 1950, according to the *T.A.N.,* while Marietta enacted a levy subject to voter ratification at the November election. Both these taxes are at a rate of ½ of one per cent, as are levies enacted in Lancaster and Struthers in the same state. In Kentucky, Newport enacted a tax at the rate of one per cent.

Insurance Placement Studied

A survey of the practices of 79 United States and eleven Canadian municipalities in placing fire and public liability insurance, made by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, reveals that few continue to depend on a single broker or insurance company. Use of competitive bids is fairly common, as is the use of insurance counselors to review insurance needs and assure adequate coverage at reasonable rates. A few of the larger municipalities have self-insurance or partial self-insurance programs.

The most common method, par-

(Continued on page 522)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Swedish Election Held by P. R.

Results in Few Changes Over 1948 Parliamentary Contest

NATIONAL elections held September 21 in Sweden resulted in some modification of the relative political strength of the parties without indicating any impending change in government. Sweden uses a party list form of proportional representation.

The Conservative and Liberal opposition parties gained eight and two seats respectively over their 1948 representation, but the Socialist- Agrarian coalition led by Premier Tage Erlander held its majority in the 230-member parliament. Premier Erlander's Social-Democratic party is the largest in the new parliament, with 110 seats, corresponding to its large percentage (46) of the popular vote, but with a loss of two seats; its Agrarian ally, with 25 seats and 10.7 per cent of the vote, lost five seats and is now smaller than either the Conservative or the Liberal party, the latter the leading opposition group.

The small Communist vote shrank still further at this election and secured only five seats, a loss of three. The four larger parties were united on basic foreign policy in opposition to the Communists, although on domestic policy the Liberals and Conservatives attacked the economic record of the government, criticizing high taxes, price increases, housing shortages and the decline in the value of the krona.

The results are given in the table below. Approximately 79 per cent of those eligible voted.

Swedish National Elections, September 21, 1952

Party	*Percentage of Votes*	*Gain or Loss from 1948*	*Percentage of Seats*	*Seats*	*Gain or Loss from 1948*
Social-Democratic	46.	—0.1%	47.8	110	—2
Liberal	24.6	+1.8	25.7	59	+2
Conservative	14.2	+1.9	13.5	31	+8
Agrarian	10.7	—1.7	10.8	25	—5
Communist	4.4	—1.9	2.2	5	—3

Greece Discontinues Use of P. R.

Proportional representation has been discontinued in Greece by the passage of a new electoral law in October. Shortly before the last national election, in September 1951, the system of proportional representation adopted at the close of World War II was modified to accord representation only to parties obtaining at least 17 per cent of the popular vote.[1]

The present change was followed on October 10 by resignation of the Greek cabinet, preparatory to new parliamentary elections set for November 16, in accordance with the plans of Premier Nicholas Plastiras which were approved by King Paul. A leading proponent of the change was Field

---

[1] See the Review, November 1951, page 541.

Marshal Alexander Papagos, opponent of Premier Plastiras and leader of the Greek Rally party, which now has the largest party delegation in parliament. The change is believed by its proponent to encourage stability by enabling one party to obtain a majority of the members of parliament without necessarily securing a majority of the popular vote.

According to a report in *Time Magazine,* the October electoral law, in addition to abolishing P. R., removed the franchise from women and from members of the armed forces.

The country has changed from the majority system to P. R. and back again several times.

New Members Added to P. R. Committee

Invitations to become members of the P. R. Committee to explore the subject of proportional representation methods and public relations, the formation of which was announced in this department for October, have been extended to the following additional persons: John H. Campbell, chairman of the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Civic Association's Committee on P. R.; Mrs. William H. Hessler, member of the City Planning Commission of Cincinnati; and Leonard M. Sive, president of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. The committee will hold its first meeting at the Gunter Hotel, San Antonio, Texas, November 17, in connection with the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 512)

with both local political parties opposing the home rule charterites who are organized into the Citizens Committee for Good Government. Both the Citizens Committee anud the Republican Board of County Commissioners selected charter board nominees to be placed on the ballot, but several of the latter's nominees have indicated that in reality they oppose the adoption of a home rule charter. Several partisan groups, such as the Fourth District Republican Club of Bladensburg and the County Council of Democratic Women, have aligned themselves with the charterites. If the proposal is approved, the charter board would draft a charter for submission to the voters in 1954.

Dallas County Auditor Explains Local Finance

In an effort to secure better popular understanding of local finance, Moore Lynn, auditor of Dallas County, Texas, circulates several reports which explain the operations in terms familiar to anyone. One report, *What is Done with Your County Tax Payment,* analyzes the tax dollar in terms of the functions it supports. A second report, *Duties of the Dallas County Auditor,* consists of a seven-page description of that office.

Weapon to End Smoke-filled Room

'Fireside' Meetings Inspire Minneapolis Citizens to Act

EDITOR'S NOTE—The story below was written by GEORGE GRIM for his newspaper column, "I Like It Here," and published in the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune* for July 28, 1952.

WE ALL trooped down the stairs to the amusement room.

In a few minutes everybody was filled with the wonderful sense of purpose. No longer did we feel that there was nothing the average citizen could do about his government. No more would he have to wonder just what does a county commissioner do with your money, what are the problems of the sheriff's office, what about that city council?

As government becomes more complex, more expensive and more elusive, Joe Citizen has become more cynical. He feels that the gravy boys are at work everywhere. He has no way of finding out what officials are really trying to do a good job. He has no way of discovering the problems faced by the people he elected or what sort of qualifications the man he should elect ought to have. Somehow, millions of us have thought—somehow, we ought to get the government back to the people.

Down in that amusement room in a suburban Minneapolis home last week, I found an answer. The meeting was duplicated all over Hennepin County—in quonset huts, apartment living rooms, on wide porches. For government cuts across all social and income groups. Poor government double-crosses the family that misfortune has put on the relief rolls just as much as it whacks the family in the high tax bracket. Everybody loses when government goes limp or, worse, dishonest.

Five months ago, a group of citizens met in Minneapolis and decided to do something about this problem of government. They call themselves "Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis," which actually means Hennepin County. This wasn't an indignation meeting at which emotional gripes about politicians created heat but little light.

Membership Grows

The Citizens League decided to go about the problem methodically. Since then, they have enrolled some 1,100 members. More are joining. It is hoped 5,000 families will make up the broad base of membership, although if more come on, the better for everyone.

Meetings are held in homes in your neighborhood. At them you discuss the actions the League already has taken. You discover that a League member "visits" the chief of police, the mayor, many a Minneapolis and township official regularly. Not a snooper, not a muckraker, but a person who wants to see what are the problems of that man we elected. Often, money and energy are wasted because the setup of the office machinery is wrong. An honest man lost in cumbersome government red tape can waste a lot of the taxpayers' money.

These men and women League members report what they have seen to committees. Several intensive studies are already going on. A full-time professional research director has just been hired to put down the troubles in irrefutable form to prove that this system—perhaps this person—doesn't add up to good public service. The League not only wants to give its members a thorough grounding in how local government works, but what each member can do about it. It is hoped League members will learn so much about the efficient operation of these jobs that they might be induced to run for them at election time.

There's a full-time executive director on the job coordinating the activities. A hundred "fireside" meetings in neighborhood homes already have been held and the lethargy of summertime hasn't stopped them. The group isn't a political unit, doesn't engage in partisan politics. (If it did, the idea would deservedly fall flat on its face.)

Members are worried about that long ballot, about the confusion and waste of overlapping boards and commissions. Liquor licenses, public transportation, are part of their job. (The other night at the meeting there was quite a report on how the League had helped some action on the unsavory Smitty's bar affair. That bar's now out of business.)

For almost two hours, I listened to these citizens discuss, suggest, listen to reports. Their plan of action is calm, calculated to worry a dishonest official, to give hope to the honest official who is beaten down by an archaic system.

Youth Has Its Day in Politics

Oberlin College has held its 23rd mock convention for the nomination of presidential and vice presidential candidates. The convention has been a feature of campus life since 1860, the year Abraham Lincoln was first nominated.

Preparation for the convention, held every presidential election year, begins a year previous with the selection by the student council of a national chairman. Says the Souvenir Program issued last spring, "By fall [of 1951] executive board members had been chosen and a referendum of the student body in September gave a two-to-one victory for a Republican convention. Soon delegation and pressure group chairmen were selected. Second semester 1,500 delegates, the most in convention history, signed up and the work of learning issues of the day, building floats, publicizing the states, and campaigning for candidates kept the campus in frenzied activity until convention time."

Paced by a huge elephant, a parade was held just previous to the convention sessions in which "states" were represented by floats of all descriptions.

Presiding over the mock convention as permanent chairman was U. S. Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon. Governor Earl Warren was selected as the presidential nominee; Paul G. Hoffman as the vice presidential nominee.

The convention drew up a party platform with planks on foreign policy, mobilization, industry, internal improvements, public welfare, civil rights and civil liberties, labor, government ethics, etc. It favored immediate statehood for Alaska and Hawaii and abolition of the electoral college in favor of the election of the president by popular vote.

Students of Northwestern University also held a mock party convention. Some 966 delegates, apportioned according to "population" of sororities, fraternities and other campus organizations, each with the name of a state, met to nominate presidential and vice presidential candidates. Held every four years, this was Northwestern's twelfth such gathering. Campus campaigning, parades in the old torchlight tradition, aligning of delegates' votes and all the stumping of a real convention was the order of the day. Students look at the convention from two angles —they'll be having lots of fun but at the same time they'll be educating themselves on politics, convention procedure and clarification of important national issues.

National Assembly

On the high school level, the First National Youth and Government Assembly met in Washington in June. Under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A., delegates included youth governors, youth presidents of the senate, speakers of the house and other official representatives from the 29 state Y. M. C. A. model legislatures held earlier. Delegates "identified and built up a store of information on national issues, developed their own points of view on these issues in assembly work groups, sharpened their understanding of these issues in interviews with government officials, newspaper reporters and radio interviewers."

The fourth annual model legislature was welcomed by Governor Earl Warren in California when 175 "legislators" assembled under the sponsorship of the Y. M. C. A. The boys elected officers, formed committees and formally conducted affairs of the two legislative chambers, processing bills dealing with driver training courses, fair employment practices, alcoholic beverages, narcotics and rainmaking.

North Carolina was among the states holding an annual boys' state under the direction of the American Legion, meeting on the campus of the University of North Carolina. The location of his dormitory room determines the boy's "city" and "county." A slate of state officials was nominated and elected. The last day was "Government in Action" day. After viewing a movie, "How a Bill Becomes Law," the boys received instructions on the operation of a legislative body. Each delegate was made either a senator or representative and sample bills and bill forms were issued. Governor Young of North Carolina addressed the two bodies assembled in joint session.

The New Jersey "boys' state" met, sponsored by the American Legion, at the New Jersey College for Women. Sixteen to eighteen years of age, the 450 delegates are chosen on the basis of leadership traits, character, scholarship and service—in that order. Delegates are organized into two parties. Campaigning is hot—rallies, speeches, posters, bands and parades all lend color to the occasion. Two of the delegates, picked by the boys, went to Washington later, together with delegates from other states, to spend eight days observing the federal government in action.

A girls' state, held under the same auspices, followed quickly on the heels of the boys' state sessions. Both groups have been organized annually since 1945.

City Youth Government

Cities have their student government days. In Eureka, California, aided by officials, the girls and boys elected to fill various local offices went through the motions of governing the city for the day. They toured the water reservoir and treatment plant, police court, sewage disposal plant, police and fire stations and other city hall offices and wound up visiting a session of the city council.

The second annual youth government day in Big Stone Gap, Virginia, also found students acting as mayor, members of town council and department heads. The students tackled ably such problems as what to do about stray dogs, reckless bicycle riding, establishment of a bird sanctuary and creation of better public recreational facilities.

Publications on Education for Democracy

"Law Schools and Government," by David L. Maloof, reports on a survey sponsored by the National Self-Government Committee, inquiring "into the attitudes and methods of instilling into law students some of the basic leadership qualities, such as honor, integrity and independence, apparently so lacking in many politicians today." The article appeared in the *Journal of Legal Education,* Spring 1952.

The Commissioners of Education of the Northeastern States, representing New England, New York and New Jersey, have published the *Report of the Committee on Education for Citizenship* (105 pages). Dr. John J. Mahoney, director of the Civic Education Project at Cambridge, Massachusetts, acted as chairman of the committee.

Do Citizens and Education Mix? (159 pages) is "A Community Guide to School Study," prepared by the Governor's Fact-finding Commission on Education of Connecticut. It is based on the history of 85 communities which formed school-community study groups and reported their findings to the Governor's Commission. To tell other communities "how to do it," the report presents the story of a composite community named "Brookhaven." Says the introduction, "The sequence of events which gave rise to a citizen survey of education, the methods used in conducting the survey, were naturally not the same in every town. Nevertheless, there were enough similar sequences to make up a trend. This trend has been followed in our story—with ample reference to alternate patterns."

The Indiana Chamber of Commerce is offering a new edition of *Here Is Your Indiana Government* to Indiana high school principals, city and county superintendents. Selling for one dollar, the publication is now in regular use in over 350 high schools and colleges.

Local Government, Livingston County (New York) is for the use of local schools. Prepared by Loren S. Woolston, professor of social studies at State University Teachers College, Geneseo, New York, the pamphlet has been published by Sanders Newspapers, Geneseo, from which it is available at 65 cents per copy with discounts on quantity orders.

Olga Adams, author of *Children and the City,* believes youngsters of five and six should be taught about city planning. The book is a description of a teaching technique to encourage in kindergarten children a greater awareness of their civic responsibility, illustrating how teachers can help children visualize their city and understand the substance of city planning.

Aids for the Voter

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington, reports that it required more than a ton of newsprint to publish the 45,000 copies of its sixteen-page report on candidates for the September primary. About 6,200 copies went to members, the others to business, civic and service groups and to individuals.

The Municipal League of Spokane also made a report on candidates for the September primary. The candidate investigating committee was made up of some 50 league members, carefully picked for their ability to form an unbiased opinion.

The candidates committee of the Cleveland Citizens League interviewed 72 candidates for county office and the state legislature. Its directory of candidates, which also describes some 26 issues and charter amendments on the November 4 ballot, gets wide distribution throughout the city and county.

The 1952 *Voters Directory* of the Citizens Union of New York describes 500 candidates and includes maps showing the new congressional districts as well as state senatorial and state assembly districts. "New Yorkers are busily discussing whom they are going to vote for in the national elections," said Milton Bergerman, chairman of the union, "How are they to select intelligently among the 430 candidates who will be running in New York City for legislative, judicial and congressional offices?"

The *Voters Directory* of the Civic Club of Allegheny County for the November 4 election reports on candidates for federal, state and local offices, but makes no recommendations.

An explanation of the constitutional amendment for workmen's compensation insurance for cities in Texas, on the November 4 ballot, is made by the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Texas, in an eleven-page pamphlet.

The Commonwealth Club of California has issued a 100-page pamphlet giving the pros and cons on 24 ballot proposals voted on in November.

Citizenship Day and Conference

September 17 marked the celebration of "Citizenship Day," formerly held in May. The seventh National Conference on Citizenship, arranged by the National Education Association and the U. S. Department of Justice met in Washington September 17-19 in conjunction with the day's celebration. Delegates from all sections of the country, representing hundreds of public and private organizations, were in attendance. Theme of the conference was "The Constitution and the Citizen."

Sessions were addressed by President Truman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Hon. Justin Miller, chairman of the board and general counsel of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, and many other prominent persons. Numerous panel discussions were held. Objectives of the conference were to reexamine the functions and duties of United States citizenship in the world, to assist in developing more dynamic procedure for making citizenship more effective and to devise ways in which organization may contribute concretely to the development of a more enlightened, conscientious and progressive citizenry.

An account of the sixth National Conference on Citizenship, held in Washington in May 1951, will be found in *USA Citizenship—Know It, Cherish It, Live It,* published by the Department of Justice. A fuller report on the 1951 conference will be available shortly from the National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

Citizenship Training Abroad

In some parts of Switzerland, reports *The Listening Post,* published by the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, young voters are welcomed into the community of voters at a special ceremony organized by the city. Local authorities in the Netherlands have organized similar meetings each year, during which a booklet explaining the rights and duties of citizens is given the new voter.

The Union of German Towns has been seeking information on the civic education of young voters to combat the growing indifference of large numbers of them to participation in elections and civic matters.

NACS 'Shop Talk'

The National Association of Civic Secretaries has distributed No. 2 of its informal sheet, *Shop Talk*. Featured are short news items about the work of civic secretaries throughout the country.

NACS is arranging to hold its annual "hair-down, shirt-tail-out, cards-on-the-table" bull sessions at the time of the National Conference on Government at San Antonio, November 17-19. It will hold an exhibit of civic house organs and bulletins entered in a "Communications Contest," with an award for the most noteworthy entry.

'Out of the Mouths of Babes'

Taking a leaf from the flood of pictorial books featuring animals and babies as sophisticated grown-ups, the Yonkers Citizens Union has turned out a delightful little brochure describing its work by means of baby pictures. "I bathe daily in Yonkers' majestic waters," says one cute miss from her tub, "but I hear disturbing stories. They are muddied because enough people don't care." "Everybody out for everybody, makes sense to me," says a wise young man of some nine or ten months. The brochure went to all members of YCU as well as to some thousands of signers to a petition to amend the city charter and return Yonkers to city-wide, nonpartisan elections.

'Look Applauds'

Look Magazine tells the story of the Sound Government Committee of Johnson and Johnson, manufacturers of surgical dressings and baby products. Starting last year with nine white collar employees, the committee now numbers 1,200. It has "pledged itself to a program of political self-education that will lead to constructive action." "The committee is strictly nonpartisan," reports *Look,* "the members believing they can succeed only if they recognize that their group represents many shades of political belief." Its tentative platform includes "fair and just taxation, a sound dollar, integrity in government, support of fundamental constitutional rights, a two-party political system and a respected foreign policy."

Neighborhood Meetings

The second "Know Your City" meeting held in Phoenix, Arizona, has been termed a success by the city's *City Manager News Bulletin.* As in Portland, Maine, and Kansas City, Missouri, these neighborhood meetings are arranged by the city. Citizens discuss their complaints and problems with department heads and members of the city council.

Town Meeting in Erie

A "town meeting," first of a series sponsored by the Erie, Pennsylvania, Junior Chamber of Commerce, heard Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League, discuss the council-manager plan and whether it would be good for Erie.

Potpourri

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington, made its annual dinner on October 16 a curtain raiser for the final and critical stage of the campaign for adoption of a manager plan charter for King County on November 4. League President Ben Ehrlichman reported on other current projects of the organization.

F. M. Hubbard, in a *Preliminary Report to the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Reapportionment* (Legislative Document No. 31, 1950), points out that one state senator can more easily represent 290,000 constituents in a New York City county than the senator in rural, upstate district No. 40 can represent 130,000 citizens, "living in three cities and 56 towns, requiring the services of 77 post offices with their many star and rural delivery routes, and scattered in villages, hamlets and farms over a mountainous territory of 5,000 square miles." The fact remains, however, that the factor of population receives far too little emphasis in actual practice today. This is still one of the most disappointing governmental characteristics of a nation that purports to be among the most democratic in the world.

That reapportioning and redistricting are problems primarily in practical politics and only secondarily in political theory has been recognized by a few other publications evoked by the 1950 census. These publications include the Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau *Bulletins* for May 10 and May 21, 1952; "Problems of Legislative Apportionment in Illinois," by Mrs. Ronald Christie, published by the League of Women Voters of Illinois; "Our Plundered Cities," written by Lawrence Lader for *This Week,* August 28, 1949; *Legislative Apportionment in Louisiana,* by Emmett Asseff of the Bureau of Government Research of Louisiana State University, 1950; and *Reapportionment of the Michigan Legislature,* Citizens' Research Council of Michigan, 1952.

The Michigan study is an especially complete one, providing background information about constitutional amendments proposed for this fall in that state, which has experienced so much controversy on the subject in previous years. The council distributed a resumé of the study in its *Council Comments* for June 8, 1952.

In those states where apportionment for the state legislature is primarily on the basis of population, there is still room for a great deal of discretion to be exercised by the apportioning authorities. New Jersey is not one of those states, but its legislature is responsible for apportioning some of the seats in the General Assembly according to population. From the five possible mathematical methods of apportionment, the Rutgers University Bureau of Government Research, in its *Legislative Apportionment in New Jersey,* studies the methods of equal proportions, major fractions and harmonic mean. The study points out that the choice of one of the methods must hinge upon the objectives the New Jersey legislators wish to promote, but remarks that, "The problem of apportioning the New Jersey General Assembly is identical, except on a smaller scale, with that of apportioning the House of Representatives." Congress, of course, in 1941 chose the method of equal proportions as the permanent formula for the House.

Robert Kramer, in his introduction to the issue of *Law and Contemporary Problems* cited above, notes that, "Mathematics . . . can devise several equally sound methods, but the ultimate choice of one of these methods must be based upon other considerations—for example, political, social, economic or geographic — depending on which formula one believes gives the most desirable form of representation." Can there be any doubt, however, that a principal aim of such a choice must be to give every voter as nearly as possible an equal voice in the state legislature? Necessarily, then, the factor of population must receive far more emphasis than it has in the past.

GUTHRIE BIRKHEAD

Grants Aid Research

Community Research Associates, Inc., New York, have received a grant of $550,000, their second from the Grant Foundation, to continue basic scientific research "to aid the community control of health and welfare problems." These funds will be used to set in motion a five-year plan to work out scientific patterns "to prevent and control the health and welfare problems which disable so many American citizens."

With a grant from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, Los Angeles, is investigating the role, functions and procedures of city councils in the Los Angeles area. It is tentatively planned that studies of voting behavior, local newspaper coverage of municipal government and decision-making in 45 city councils will be published.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Assessment

Equalization. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* September 1952. 6 pp.

Proceedings—Institute for Municipal Assessors. Papers Presented at the 1951 Institute. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1952. 64 pp.

Budgets

Budget Reform Necessary in Woonsocket. Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Taxpayers Association, *Your Business,* August 1952. 3 pp.

Processing City's Budget. Top Officials Had Important Task of Helping Mayor Reach Decisions on 1953 Budget. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 29, 1952. 4 pp.

Child Welfare

Public Services to Children in Michigan: A Study of Basic Structure. By Maxine Boord Virtue. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, 1952. 64 pp.

Constitutions

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. With an Explanatory Essay. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952. 66 pp.

County Government

An X-Ray Picture of Your County Government. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* September 29, 1952. 3 pp. chart.

Crime

The City's Crime Record. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), September 1952. 2 pp.

Debt

Time Runs Out on the Big Bond Issues. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter,* September 1952. 15 pp.

Education

Class Size and School Costs. Another Look at the Proposal to Increase State Grants to Local School Districts. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, September 1952. 16 pp.

Educating the Handicapped. Philadelphia's Public Schools Train Mentally and Physically Handicapped Children. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 22, 1952. 4 pp.

School Reorganization Gains Support. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* September 22, 1952. 3 pp.

School Television. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* August 25, 1952. 3 pp.

Today's Schools. Philadelphia's Public School Activities Include Some Lesser Known Programs. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 1, 1952. 6 pp.

The University of Minnesota—Its Organization and Finance. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* September 1952. 10 pp.

Grand Jury

A Study of the Functions of the Grand Jury. Cleveland 15, The Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland,* August 12, 1952. 3 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

Intergovernmental Relations in Social Welfare. By Ruth Raup. **Intergovernmental Relations in Employment Security.** By Francis E. Rourke. (Intergovernmental Relations in U. S., Research Monographs Nos. 5 and 6.) Edited by William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1952. 234 and 133 pp. respectively. $3 and $2.50.

Legislation

Boston's Legislative Round-up for 1952. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* September 30, 1952. 6 pp.

Law Making in South Dakota. By T. C. Geary. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1952. 38 pp.

Legislatures

Scheduling Legislative Workloads. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1952. 45 pp.

Local Government

Local Government. By William Miller. (Reprinted from *1951 Annual Survey of American Law.*) New York, New York University, School of Law, 1952. 22 pp.

Mental Health

Mental Health Facilities in Iowa. By Donald Bixler Johnson. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1952. 88 pp. $1.

Mosquito Abatement

Proposed Mosquito Abatement District (a new layer of government) for South Cook County Area North to 87th Street in Chicago. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* September 1952. 3 pp.

Parking

City Subway Parking to Relieve Traffic Congestion. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, August 1952. 4 pp.

Police

Buffalo's Police Precincts. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* October 2, 1952. 3 pp.

Police Pension Fund. Separate System Provides Retirement Benefits for Members of Philadelphia's Police Force. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 8, 1952. 4 pp.

Public Welfare

The Public Assistance Study Report of Columbus and Franklin County. Part I: The Committee's Conclusions and Recommendations; Part II: The Fact-finding Report of Citizens' Research, Inc. Columbus, Ohio, Council of Social Agencies, 1952. 139 pp.

Publication Requirements

Publication Requirements for Local Governments. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1952. 59 pp.

Research Bureaus

MTAS Reports for 1951-1952. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town and City,* September 1952. 4 pp.

Salaries

Government Salaries in Hawaii. By Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1952. 60 pp.

Streets and Highways

Highway Relationships in Maryland. Fourth Report of the Commission on Administrative Organization of the State. Baltimore 1, the Commission, September 1952. 51 pp. chart.

Taxation and Finance

The $47,000,000 of New Loans Proposed by the City: Part 1, General Background Considerations; Part 2, The Commission's Position on the Proposals. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* October 1952. 3 and 4 pp. respectively.

Income Tax Shared. State Sharing of Income Tax Now Plays Significant Role in Local Financing. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* October 1952. 7 pp.

Is Your Tax Levy Higher Than It Should Be? Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, *Pocas Palabras,* September 1952. 2 pp.

Local Government Real Property Levies in New York 1948 and 1952. Albany, Empire State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental Affairs, 1952. 22 pp.

New Mexico State Government Finances, 1950-51. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* August 1952. 15 pp.

State-Local Fiscal Relations. Report of the Massachusetts Special Commission on Taxation (Part VI). Boston, the Commission, 1952. 169 pp.

Utah's State Individual Income Tax —1931-1952. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* September 1952. 4 pp.

Tort Liability

Municipal Tort Liability in Tennessee. By Cliff Greenwood. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Technical Bulletin,* September 1952. 13 pp.

Zoning

County Zoning in Illinois. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, April 1952. 29 pp.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 510)

trative programs and organizational leadership. Nine population group sessions were held in the afternoon of the first day, and at the same time the county managers had a session of their own. That evening was devoted to ten concurrent special-interest group sessions on such subjects as relations with the council, the public and employee unions.

The second day started with short talks by specialists on trends in finance, personnel and planning, followed by discussion groups on problems in these fields.

On the third day was the annual business meeting at which Clarence E. Ridley, executive director of ICMA, made his annual report and new officers were elected. This was followed by a panel discussion on "Leadership —Getting Things Done."

At the annual banquet on October 1 the attendance cup was awarded to California, seven managers received 25-year service certificates, and new officers were installed, including Clarence H. Elliott of Kalamazoo, Michigan, as president, and five regional vice-presidents: Northeast, W. S. Brackett, Concord, New Hampshire; East, C. C. Massey, Fairfax County, Virginia; Midwest, A. D. Telfer, Beloit, Wisconsin; South, H. A. Thomason, Bryan, Texas; West, W. D. Toyne, Grand Junction, Colorado.

Books in Review

Barbarians in Our Midst. By Virgil W. Peterson. Foreword by Estes Kefauver. Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1952. xi, 395 pp. $4.50.

Here from the pen of the best equipped witness comes a history of interlaced crime and politics in Chicago under its succession of sordid overlords of prostitution, gambling and lawlessness for a hundred years. And the end is not yet! The final chapter, written in the present tense, is disappointing to this reviewer in its vagueness as to the current situation, current efforts to shake off the Capone successors and the methodology and successes of the Chicago Crime Commission.

The author notes that the Chicago and Cook County system of government is a jungle with too many elective offices including the elective judges, a scatteration of authority and a corresponding tangle of obscure petty polities too profound and dark for effective and sustained examination at the polls even when the public is aroused. The narrative is swift and colorful—and appalling!

R.S.C.

Higher Education in the Forty-eight States: A Report to the Governors' Conference. Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1952. xiv, 317 pp. $5.

Utilizing its unique facilities for getting facts from state governments, as in its biennial *Book of the States,* the Council of State Governments now issues this title. Covering its subject with its usual statistical completeness, the volume brings up an array of comparative information never hitherto assembled, in 125 tables and charts and numerous analytical discussions. Cited briefly is the historical development of higher education in this country from colonial times to the present. Outlined are the types of programs and activities maintained by public and private colleges and universities today.

Information covers enrollments, types of institutions, numbers and kinds of degrees granted, accreditation; income and expenditure; composition, powers and responsibilities of college and university boards; relationships of the boards with state governors, legislatures and state administrative officials; machinery for determining educational programs, budgets, appropriations, fiscal management, personnel management; means for coordinating higher educational programs within a state; inter-institutional cooperation; and regional cooperation through interstate compacts.

Administrative Problems in a Metropolitan Area: The National Capital Region. By Geddes W. Rutherford. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 61 pp. $2.50.

The national capital's "urban sprawl" now engulfs 85 taxing units in Virginia and Maryland outside the District of Columbia, producing problems and practices of coordination comprehensively reviewed in this competent study.

The Law—It's on Your Side. By Frank Denman. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1952. 74 pp. $2.

This book is ostensibly aimed at young people, presumably between the ages of twelve and sixteen, but the average citizen and even the serious student of government will find it enlightening, informative and exciting.

In the most simple and straightforward language, the fifteen all too short chapters show why there are laws and how they are made, interpreted and enforced.

It is unlikely that any author has ever painted such a clear and effective word picture of the beginnings and basis of law, the operations of Congress and our state legislatures, the judicial processes, law enforcement and the conduct of penal institutions as interestingly in so few pages.

A.W.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Administration

Administrative Action—The Techniques of Organization and Management. By William H. Newman. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. xi, 483 pp. $6.35.

Debt

Anual Report of the Louisville Sinking Fund (for year ending December 31, 1952) combined with the Bonded Indebtedness of the City of Louisville. Louisville, Kentucky, the Commission, 1952. 83 pp.

State and Municipal Bonds Legal for Savings Banks in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer,* 1952. 28 pp.

Defense

New Resources Bring New Opportunities. Seventh Quarterly Report to the President by the Director of Defense Mobilization. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, October 1952. 44 pp. 30 cents.

Windowless Structures—A Study in Blast-Resistant Design. By Federal Civil Defense Administration. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 164 pp. $1.

Elections and Voting

The Case for Permanent Personal Registration. The Case for Repeal of the Travia Act (adding technical requirements to the authentication of designating petitions for public and party office). New York 5, Election Reform Committee, 1952. 23 and 12 pp. respectively. (Apply 14 Wall Street, Room 2200.)

Housing

Administration of Housing and Building Regulations in Philadelphia. By Spencer D. Parratt and R. John Tresolini. Philadelphia, Housing Association, 1952. 66 pp.

Reorganizing Chicago's Redevelopment and Housing. A Summary of a Report of the Committee on Housing to the City Council. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. 11 pp.

What You Can Find in the Census. The 1950 Census of Housing and Related Censuses. By Wayne F. Daugherty. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* September 1952. 5 pp.

Land Use

A Guide to Community Growth. General Land Use Plans, Johnson City, Tennessee. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 30 pp. charts. $1.

Liquor Control

Trade Barriers Affecting Interstate Commerce in Alcoholic Beverages. By Joint Committee of the States to Study Alcoholic Beverage Laws. Cleveland, the Committee, 1952. 42 pp. (Apply the Committee, 755 Union Commerce Building, Cleveland 14.)

Local Government

Local Government in Great Britain. By R. D. Stuckey. Sydney, Australia, Association of Local Government Clerks of New South Wales, 1952. 67 pp.

Manpower

America's Manpower Crisis. The Report of the Institute on Manpower Utilization and Government Personnel, Stanford University, August 22, 23 and 24, 1951. Edited by Robert A. Walker. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. 191 pp. $3.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for December: **Holiday Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Taxation and Finance

Taxes Levied under Act 481—Types, Rates, Receipts. Taxes Levied under Act 481—New Taxes and Rate Changes (Supplement). By Marielle Hobart. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, April and September 1952. 49 and 15 pp. respectively.

Wages and Salaries

1952 Michigan Municipal Wages and Salaries (September Supplement). By William F. Danielson. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1952. 4 pp.

Water Pollution

Source Materials on Water Pollution Control. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, Division of Water Pollution Control, 1952. 23 pp.

ECONOMY BEGINS AT HOME

(Continued from page 503)

has pointed out that larger county units make for better public service and more responsible administration.

Oregon is not the only state, by any means, where counties should be consolidated on a wholesale basis. The state of Washington, smaller in area, has three more counties than Oregon. And, if Oregon's 36 counties seem an unbearable load, ponder on the 254 counties in Texas and the 101 counties in North Carolina!

Visitors From the Pacific

A three-man government delegation from the Ryukyu Islands off Japan visited the offices of the National Municipal League on October 15 to confer with League officials on forms of municipal government and citizen interest and participation. Pictured here during the discussion are, from the right, Guthrie S. Birkhead, Alfred Willoughby, John E. Bebout and Richard S. Childs of the League staff with the Ryukyuan delegation, which included Masayoshi Harakuni, director of the Maritime Affairs Department; Gempo Hirayama, member of the legislature; Masaru Miyasato, director of the Finance Department.

Following many years of domination by Japan during which the Ryukyuans had no experience in self-government, municipal elections were held under U. S. Occupation in 1948. A provisional central government was established in 1951, and last spring general elections were held for members of the central legislature.

This is the sixth Ryukyuan government delegation to come to the U. S. under the sponsorship of the Institute of International Education.

League Conference

(Continued from page 487)

ion, and another speaker will appear, will be co-sponsored by the Optimist Club, Manufacturers Association, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Business and Professional Women's Club, Council of Catholic Women, Daughters of the Republic of Texas, and others. The annual dinner Tuesday night, at which Henry Bruère, League president, and Charles Edison, chairman of the League's Council, will speak, will be co-sponsored by the League of Women Voters.

The Conference will cover many aspects of local, county and state government. This year's program is heavier than ever because of the growing recognition of the importance of local civic problems. Scheduled are 30 sessions on such subjects as Suburbanitis, Finding Good Councilmen, Streamlining State Justice, Schools and City Government, Women in Public Affairs, Modernizing County Government, Elections and Political Morality, and The City's Money Problem. Many of the nation's top political scientists from leading colleges and universities will take part in the discussions, as will business leaders, public officials and leaders of local citizens' committees.

Two Men Added to League Staff

Two additions to the League's staff, Guthrie S. Birkhead and H. Mason Gould, have been made in recent weeks.

Guthrie S. Birkhead

Mr. Birkhead is on a one-year leave from his position as assistant professor of political science in the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He previously taught at Princeton University and at the University of Missouri. He has participated in studies of federal departments and agencies and has also served as a consultant on city charter revisions and other municipal government problems. He is a graduate of the University of Missouri and holds an M.A. degree from the same institution. He also holds a Ph.D. degree from Princeton.

H. Mason Gould

Mr. Gould, formerly assistant manager of corporate press relations for General Foods Corporation, will assume responsibility for developing a public information program to further acquaint the groups directly served by the League, as well as the general public, with the work being carried on to encourage good government in cities, counties and states. A former daily newspaper city editor, he is a graduate of the University of Michigan.

Model Constitution in Japanese

The *Model State Constitution*, originally published by the National Municipal League in 1921 and revised four times since then, has been translated into Japanese, according to word received from Shiro Sumikura, Director of the Research and Legislative Reference Department, National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.

Ralph Maltby Dies

Ralph B. Maltby, who has served as a member of the League's Council and as an honorary vice president, died October 10 at his home in Bronxville, New York, at the age of 75. Mr. Maltby, who was vice president and director of the St. Regis Paper Company, had also been mayor of Bronxville since 1942.

Ralph B. Maltby

Here's a scene from the ten-act "International Revue," under the direction of Eduardo Martinez, which will entertain visitors to the National Conference on Government. The revue will be presented Sunday evening preceding the Conference at historic La Villita, the little Spanish community in the heart of San Antonio.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

ECEMBER 1952 VOLUME XLI, NO.

NEWS for League Members 533
'Democracy' at Work .... *Editorial*
Action on Home Rule Urged .... *Charles Edison*
Businessmen and Government .... *Thomas R. Reid*
Vigilance — Price of Success .... *Thomas H. Reed*
Voters Handle Flood of Proposals 561
Three States Study County Government 571
Washington State Pioneers in Reporting 575
P. R. Referenda in Massachusetts Cities 578
Colorado Springs Citizens Organize 581
New Industries Pose City Problems 586

KANSAS CITY, MO.
PUBLIC LIBRARY
DEC 23 1952

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor
ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation

ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Townshi
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, *Maryland*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
PAUL DOLAN, *Delaware*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
FOREST FRANK, *Ohio*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT R. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*

PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*
DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
STUART A. MacCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. McKEAN, *Colorado*
EDWIN B. McPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
KIMBROUGH OWEN, *Louisiana*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
VICTORIA SCHUCK, *Massachusetts*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
PAUL D. STEWART, *West Virginia*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruère, *President*

John S. Linen, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Executive Secretary*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., *Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
L. E. Burch, Jr., Memphis
George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Rob Roy Macleod, Buffalo
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.

Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
Albert E. Noelte, Central Falls, R. I.
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Lawson Purdy, New York
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Sharrar, Houston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
Lester Bates, Columbia, S. C.
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
William Collins, New York
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis

Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Cecil Morgan, Baton Rouge
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati
Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio

NEWS for League Members

Conference Attendance Tops 1000

An all-time high in attendance at the League's National Conference on Government was established last month when more than 1,000 persons turned up for the 58th annual Conference, held in San Antonio.

Many of the sessions were filled to overflowing as leaders of civic groups, public officials, political scientists, businessmen and lawyers converged on the historic city of the Alamo.

About 225 experts led the 30 panel sessions during the three-day meeting. The conference had an international flavor, as public officials and governmental experts from Thailand, Finland, Germany, Mexico, Canada and the Philippines participated.

Following are highlights of some of the principal speeches:

Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey and chairman of the League's Council, proposed to President-elect Eisenhower that the latter set up a commission to study ways and means of strengthening our states and cities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government. (Turn to page 540 for full text.)

Thomas H. Reed, noted municipal consultant, called on civic groups to be vigilant in order to preserve the gains they have helped achieve. He particularly urged San Antonians to stand behind their new council-manager government, now being subjected to attack. (See page 554.)

Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs for the Ford Motor Company, urged America's business leaders to get into politics and stay. He noted an encouraging trend toward greater civic consciousness. (See page 546.)

Former Governor Charles Edison

Henry Bruère, president of the League, called for unconditional hostility toward the forces of corruption and inefficiency in our cities.

Lester Velie, political writer for *Reader's Digest* and *Saturday Evening Post*, said that "secret bosses" with more power than the governor are controlling the legislatures in several states.

George H. Gallup, pioneer public opinion pollster, said the challenge of democracy is to find a way to make use of the best brains and energies of the people.

A. Cecil Snyder, acting chief justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, reported on the modern, new commonwealth constitution which provides more self-government, a locally elected governor and a streamlined judicial system.

Scene at the annual dinner of the Conference, held in the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio and attended by 361 people. Note the banner on wall at left, placed there by the delegation from that city.

Twenty-two Cities Vie for All-America Honors

Competition was unusually keen this year for the All-America Cities Awards.

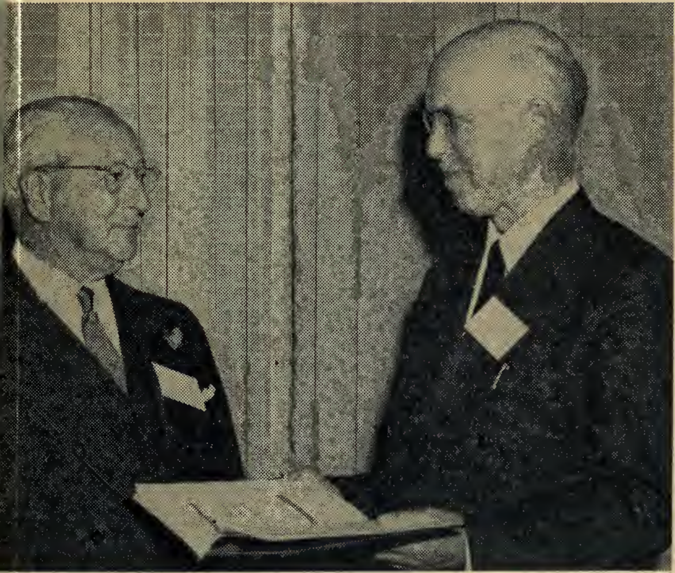
Of the 22 cities invited to present their cases out of the more than 80 applications screened by the League's Eligibility Committee, 20 were represented in person before the jury at the National Conference on Government. The other two cases were submitted in writing.

The winning cities will be announced in the February 10 issue of *Look* magazine, on newsstands about January 27. The magazine is co-sponsoring the awards this year.

Following are the cities whose stories of civic progress were told at San Antonio: Richmond, Virginia; Worcester, Massachusetts; Houston, Texas; Daytona Beach, Florida; Bemidji, Minnesota; Roanoke, Virginia; Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Torrance, California; Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Miami-Dade County, Florida; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Kansas City, Missouri; Owensboro, Kentucky; Newburgh, New York; San Antonio, Texas; Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland; Setauket, New York; Manhattan, Kansas; Compton, California; Brookfield, Illinois; Columbia, South Carolina.

Here's the All-America Cities Award jury in action at San Antonio. Left to right, seated, front row, are Charles Edison, Dr. Minnie L. Maffett, Mrs. Hiram Houghton, Vernon C. Myers, Harold S. Buttenheim, Dayton D. McKean; rear row, left to right, Arthur W. Bromage, Mark S. Matthews, Foreman George H. Gallup, Henry Bruère, Richard S. Childs, Allen D. Manvel. Standing at left, stating the case for Brookfield, Illinois, is City Manager C. Harold Eash.

**. Manfred J. Gerhardt, a
ber of the San Antonio City
ncil, with Henry Bruère,
ident of the League, on the
kers' platform during the
sday luncheon at which Mrs.
hardt presided.**



In recognition of 30 years of faithful service as treasurer of the National Municipal League, Richard S. Childs, right, chairman of the League's Executive Committee, presents a hand-lettered and illuminated testimonial to Carl H. Pforzheimer on behalf of the League as a surprise feature of the party and reception at which Mr. Pforzheimer was host.

**rman visitors to the Confer-
ce were Willy Kressmann,
t, mayor of Kreuzberg, a
rough of Berlin, and Peter W.
nther, right, executive secre-
y, State Association of Citi-
Councils of Baden-Wurttem-
rg. With them is John E.
bout, assistant secretary of
National Municipal League.**

Thomas H. Reed, noted municipal consultant, being greeted by Edward G. Conroy of the host city arrangements committee, and Mrs. Conroy, at the Fandango Party at La Villita.

Former Governor Charles Edison of New Je
and John Venable, executive assistant to Mr.
son at Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Ora
New Jersey, moving along the reception
at the party.

'LaVillita' Charms Visitors

Those who attended the 58th annual National Conference on Government in San Antonio will not soon forget the warm hospitality of the people of that city. One of the most vivid memories will be that of the Fandango Party sponsored by the local Chamber of Commerce.

The party was held at historic La Villita, a restored Spanish community in the heart of the city, the evening prior to the opening of the Conference. Members of the reception committee, the men sporting ten-gallon hats and the women brightly colored costumes, greeted each of the scores of out-of-towners who attended. Then followed a delicious spread of food served from huge tables by members of the supper committee, and a fast-moving ten-act "International Revue" featuring Spanish and Mexican songs and dances.

A highlight of the party was the presentation of ten-gallon hats by the people of San Antonio to Henry Bruère, president of the League, and Charles Edison, chairman of the League Council.

Many of the early arrivals in San Antonio took advantage of the sightseeing tour of the city which was conducted during the afternoon prior to the party.

Texas-style hospitality was never more in evidence than during the party at La Villita sponsored by the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce. Here Conference-goers help themselves to the enormous spread of food placed before them.

Visitors from Thailand and the Philippine Isl
get together over some Texas beer at the
dango Party. Left to right are Gregorio
Ejercito, Philippines; Choke R. Chamtavat, T
land; Kasem Udyanin, Thailand; and Ramo
Portugal, Philippines.

National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 11 **Total Number 427**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for December 1952

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 533

EDITORIAL COMMENT 538

ACTION ON HOME RULE URGED .... *Charles Edison* 540

BUSINESSMEN AND GOVERNMENT .... *Thomas R. Reid* 546

VIGILANCE—PRICE OF SUCCESS .... *Thomas H. Reed* 554

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 561

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 571

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 575

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 578

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 581

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .... *John E. Bebout* 586

BOOKS IN REVIEW 590

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. **Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.**

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

'Democracy' at Work

DETROIT has for years furnished this magazine with some of its best evidence of the vagaries of American "democratics" — that field of political science which is confused by popular participation. The evidence has reflected the perceptiveness of alert and unusually articulate local civic observers dealing with some highly aggravated situations.

Here comes another item, condensed from the *Civic Searchlight* of the Detroit Citizens League.

Detroit elects two constables from each of 22 wards. These humble officers are process servers who do nothing nowadays that is not done also by other more capable agents. As far back as 1936 a judge who knew them testified, "The constable is by common consent an undesirable relic of another age." A charter study committee in 1949 recommended to common council that the office be abolished by charter amendment but no action followed — the constables had political friends no doubt. "What? Take away from the people the right to select their own constables?" Can't you hear them?

So a year ago the people went to the polls as usual and a new lot of 44 constables were voted in for two years. How completely below the horizon of public visibility these petty posts are and have always been was disclosed in a precinct to which the wrong ballots were delivered, containing the names of candidates running for constable in a distant ward. None of the 203 voters in that precinct seemed aware of the difference and the error was not discovered until after the polls closed!

Detroit has changed the terms of its other municipal officers from two years to four, which left the constables with their two-year terms as the sole reason for having any election at all in the middle years. It now became urgent to abolish these obsolete offices to avert the otherwise needless expenditure of $93,000 for such an election in 1953 and thereafter.

So what happened? Instead of abolishing them, the voters passed a referendum this November which extends their terms to four years.

A brighter episode for Detroit occurred the same day; the voters of the state adopted a "balanced legislature" reapportionment amendment which, when implemented by legislation, is expected to trim Detroit's "bed sheet ballot" wherein voters have struggled with the instruction "vote for 21" for the county's delegation to the lower house.

Naturally the imposition of this task on the voters led to some weird results. In 1944 only 75 per cent of those voting voted for a full set of 21 candidates; they followed the party labels with no more than 3 per cent variation from the average.

At the preceding primary of the dominant party, whose label for these offices is equivalent to election in Detroit, Donald S. Hecock, of Wayne University, found that 30 per cent of the eligible party members turned out and faced a very long list of aspirants with no guiding label. So

15.6 per cent marked no choices at all, 9.3 per cent voted for one and only 22.8 per cent marked 21. In a check of 383 of the last group 50 were found who voted as follows: 13 voted for 21 names consecutively or for every other name, seven voted only for Irish names, five only for Polish names and 25 followed Citizen League or CIO-PAC ready-made lists.[1]

By constitutional initiative adopted November 4, Wayne County will get a still larger delegation to the lower house but the members are to be elected from two- or three-member districts and Detroit voters will deal with a ballot of about twenty offices instead of 39.

And Then There Were Nine

ON November 4 three cities in Rhode Island — Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls — voted into oblivion their ancient two-chamber municipal councils. The list of such survivals of obsolete thinking now dwindles to nine and the race for the museum-piece position of last in the procession of progress is now between Augusta and Waterville, Maine; Everett, Malden, Northampton and Springfield, Massachusetts; Danbury, Connecticut; New York and Atlanta.

The idea of having two houses in meaningless imitation of the national government started in Philadelphia in 1796; it existed for varying periods in many cities thereafter, but never in a majority and had nearly disappeared by 1900.

We hope for opportunities to write further obituaries!

Stronger Foundations

IN some ways the most precious feature of the American constitution is the division of responsibility and system of relationships among the several governments — federal, state and local. States' rights versus federal power has been debated throughout our history, but for almost a hundred years there has been no major systematic effort to re-evaluate the functions and responsibilities of the various elements of the system in the light of the vast changes that have occurred in the country and the world.

It is such a re-evaluation that Charles Edison called for in his speech at the annual dinner at the National Conference on Government in San Antonio.[2] The citizen activity at the community level, which has grown steadily in magnitude and intensity since the war, is evidence that there is solid basis for belief that now is the time to strengthen states and municipalities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government. A national commission on the federal system, carefully selected, adequately staffed and armed with a generous mandate, could become a landmark in the history of free government.

---

[1] *Civic Victories*, by Richard S. Childs. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1952.

[2] See page 540, this issue.

Action on Home Rule Urged

Edison calls on President-elect Eisenhower to take lead in national move to strengthen our states and cities.

By CHARLES EDISON*

THE things we have in common as Americans are much more vital than the things that distinguish us as Texans and New Yorkers and Californians. I might have hesitated to say that out loud as I arrived here a couple of days ago, but your hospitality has made me bold. Now I know that the main difference between you Texans and the rest of us is simply that you are more so. Your city and your state remind me of a phrase that was going the rounds a few years ago, "accentuate the positive," a dynamic phrase that is typically American, and even more typically Texan.

By the same token, the things we agree about as citizens are vastly more important than the things we disagree about as political partisans. That is easier to say today than it would have been in the heat of the last days of the campaign just three weeks ago. But none of us really doubted it then, no matter how sharp the verbal brickbats that were flying around. A reading of many speeches on opposite sides in the campaign shows both sides standing firmly for many of the same things, especially the fundamental things.

Woodrow Wilson once remarked that he would not wish to consort with anyone who really wanted to change anything fundamental in our system. It is the fact that the vast majority of our people feel the same way that makes our political campaigns so puzzling to our neighbors overseas. This fact accounts for some of the shrillness that gets into campaign oratory. If you really don't disagree with your opponent violently you are tempted to make it sound as if you did by making excessively loud noises.

One of the fundamentals on which we all agree is the maintenance of the federal system. Although the precedents for federalism go back to the ancient world, our own system is truly an American invention. Never before had a group of states formed a federal government with enough direct authority over and responsibility to the people to survive all stresses and strains, even internal conflict, at the same time that the states themselves retained complete control over matters most intimately affecting the happiness and well-being of their people.

Like many other American inventions that one has proved amazingly good in practice and adaptable to changing needs and conditions. The time has come, however, for a comprehensive review of federalism in action and a hard-headed examination of what ought to be done to insure its continued serviceability in the crucial years ahead of us.

---

*Mr. Edison, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League and chairman of the Board of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., was governor of New Jersey from 1941 to 1944 and assistant secretary of the Navy under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This article is Mr. Edison's address before the National Conference on Government at San Antonio, November 18.

The recent campaign has created an exceptionally favorable climate for such an effort. Both candidates for president have repeatedly stressed the importance of strengthening the state and local elements in our system so as to enable them to bear a larger share of the burdens and responsibilities of modern government.

During the campaign Adlai Stevenson said: "The states are important. ... But that tidal drift toward the Capital will go on and on unless those necessary functions of government which don't have to be performed in Washington are performed, and properly performed, at the state and local level."

General Eisenhower expressed his views in these words: "The Republican party wants to strengthen government on the state and local level —close to the people."

I trust it will not be taken as a partisan statement if I observe that the pattern of voting in the last election is another indication that this is the time to reinspect and to strengthen the foundations of our federal system. The very size of the popular vote, in welcome contrast to the poor showings in past elections, is evidence of renewed popular interest in our public affairs and a wider assumption of citizen responsibility.

If anyone had predicted 50 years ago that Texas and certain other southern states would in 1952 be voting for a Republican candidate for president partly on a states' rights platform, people would have said he was crazy. The fact is that both parties have at last become national parties and both are in a fundamental sense states' rights parties. The nearer we come to having a real national two-party system, with both parties sincerely devoted to the foundations of the Republic, the better able will we be to preserve and where necessary to strengthen and extend those foundations to withstand new stresses and bear new burdens.

Hoover Commission Studies States

Fortunately, a start has recently been made toward laying out a plan for a systematic national effort to strengthen the state and local elements in our system. I had the honor of serving as a member of the task force on federal-state relations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, better known as the Hoover Commission. For reasons that it is not necessary to go into here the recommendations of this task force were not incorporated in the Hoover Committee's final report. One difficulty, I might point out, was the doubt expressed by some members of the Hoover Commission itself that the mission of the task force was properly within the mandate of the Hoover Commission.

Nevertheless, this bi-partisan task force, composed of a number of able and experienced men under the chairmanship of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, did some spade work on a problem even more important than that of reorganizing the federal administration itself. We were assisted in our work by two very able studies: one prepared under the direction of Frank Bane, executive director of the Council of State Governments; the other, on legal aspects of the problem, prepared by Stanford Schewell of the law firm of John W. Davis.

In our report we stated that in any study of the balance of power between the national government and the state and local governments "two major questions are cast in bold relief:

"(1) How can the United States maintain and strengthen the American type of democracy—a democracy based upon individual liberty, extensive participation in government and control of the government by the people?

"(2) And, at the same time, how can government, the servant of the people, provide and finance the necessary services that the people increasingly demand and which tend to better the American standard of living?"

Government vs. Liberty

You will notice that in asking the second question we accepted the inevitability of active government, government engaged in providing an increasing number of services and acting in a variety of ways to meet popular demands and maintain or elevate the "American standard of living." The real question then is: How can active government be kept under control, mindful of the paramount importance of individual liberty and responsive to participating citizens?

We agreed 100 per cent with the statement in Frank Bane's report that "federalism is the most hopeful means of achieving responsive government" because "it is in the towns, counties, cities and states that the best hope lies for bringing the people to a sensitive understanding of their authority and responsibility in a modern democracy."

One of the things that most impressed me in the work done by and for this task force was the way in which it stuck to the advice to "accentuate the positive." We didn't waste much time in vain regrets over so-called federal encroachments on the states. We recognized that, as Jefferson once remarked, power is inherently of an encroaching nature. It seemed evident to us that today just as in Jefferson's day "it is important to strengthen the state governments." It seemed equally evident that the best barrier against federal encroachments on areas that might better be handled by state and local authorities is, in Jefferson's words, "a wise government" on the part of the states, for "a weak one will lose ground in every contest."

I personally arrived at this conclusion long ago when I was a member of the Washington bureaucracy.

That was why I went back home and ran for governor of New Jersey. That was why, as governor, I started a job of political slum clearance to raise the moral level of government in the state, as well as a campaign to modernize our ancient century-old state constitution. That constitution had long been recognized by all competent observers as a serious, almost insurmountable barrier to efficient, economical and responsible government. In short, we tried to achieve the kind of government that could hold its own in a contest with Washington for popular respect and the power to govern. I think you all know that ultimately we got a new and much improved constitution.

I am glad to acknowledge that this achievement was a bi-partisan one. If my two Republican successors as governor and thousands of citizens from all walks of life had not joined up and made it a crusade for all the people of the state, a new constitution would not have been achieved.

I was delighted, therefore, when the Council of State Governments, in the report to the task force on federal-state relations, quoted the governor of another state as follows: "It is one thing to talk about states' rights, but the way to have them is for the states to get in and do their own jobs."

A Plan for States

Remember, the Council of State Governments is an official, voluntarily supported, research and staff agency representing the state governments themselves. It is a very good sign when such an agency is able to recommend a program not for petitioning Washington for more power, more money or a redress of grievances but rather for correcting deficiencies in the organization and conduct of the states themselves. The report continues, "If our system of federalism is to be maintained, states must equip themselves and order their facilities to accept and exercise their responsibilities as well as to proclaim their rights.

"State governments increasingly must be capable and efficient or the national government increasingly will accept the responsibility of providing more and more services for the American people."

What this means was then outlined briefly in the following seven point platform:

"1. The states should revise and modernize their constitutions.

"2. The states should extend home rule powers to their political subdivisions.

"3. The states should revise and reorganize their tax systems to reduce inequitable and overlapping taxes and to improve tax administration.

"4. The states should revise and modernize their legislative processes and procedures.

"5. The states should continue to improve the quality of public administration by reorganizing their administrative branches.

"6. The states should maintain and adequately support planning and resources agencies through which scientific and technical skill can be mobilized and used for the best interests of the people.

"7. The states should make increasing use of interstate compacts and agreements for the solution of common problems."

To a member of the National Municipal League those planks strike a very responsive chord because through our *Model State Constitution* and in other studies and reports the League began advocating just this kind of program long before the Council of State Governments came into being.

In the light of my own experience and the program of the National Municipal League I would like to add three other planks to this platform, all of which I am sure would be perfectly acceptable to the Council of State Governments as to all forward-looking citizens:

1. The states should modernize their court systems because there is nothing so destructive of democratic morale as halting, expensive, uncertain administration of justice that was suffered by the good people of New Jersey for many years prior to the inauguration of our new integrated court system in 1948.

2. The states should review their election laws and procedures so as to eliminate barriers to effective citizen participation in the control of political parties, the making of nominations and the election of public officials.

3. The states should not only extend home rule power to municipalities and counties but also review the existing largely accidental patchwork of local areas so that local governments generally may be truly capable of exercising the home rule powers that may be granted.

Here is a platform for state action which is comprehensive and challenging. It does not represent all that is involved in making federalism work to the best advantage in the middle of the twentieth century. There are things that need to be done at the national level, such as (1) reviewing and simplifying the grant-in-aid system, (2) showing more respect in dealings with the states for their respective institutions, traditions and customs, (3) turning back to the states revenue sources that are well adapted to state and local use. I cannot emphasize this third point too strongly. If the federal government preempts more and more sources of tax revenue, our states and our cities will be made less and less able to perform their functions of government.

There is also need for an objective reexamination of the reasons for the present allocation of responsibility for various functions between the federal and state governments and between the states and their subdivisions. The extension of federal activities has been largely a haphazard response to citizen needs and pressures. Some of this extension is directly attributable to obvious failure on the part of the states themselves to respond promptly and effectively to new needs. A review of the expansion of federal programs would throw light on weaknesses at the state line and furnish a further incentive for remedial action on the part of the states themselves.

Alternative to Centralization

Providing an alternative to more centralization in Washington is not the only reason for strengthening state and local governments and making them more responsible. As the National Municipal League has repeatedly pointed out, state and local government is big business. It accounts for more than two-thirds of all public expenditure not occasioned by wars, foreign policy and national defense. Nearly two-thirds of all civilian public employees are engaged in state and local government.

Of the more than half a million elected officials in the United States, only 533 are in the federal government. The clamor and the glamor of national elections to the contrary notwithstanding, politics in this country is mostly state and local politics, regulated by state laws and traditions, motivated by state and local interests and objectives.

The revelations of the Kefauver Committee and of other investigating bodies have shown that standards of governmental and political ethics are set primarily in the home town and precinct. The aspiring politician climbs up the political ladder, not down. If we have unsavory characters in Washington it is because we train them at home and send them there.

Consequently anyone who wants to conserve tax dollars or raise the quality of public services or improve the ethical climate in Washington, must begin with his local and state governments and his local political organizations. The welfare and security of the nation and its position in the world depend absolutely upon the health of the local elements in the system. That is at once the strength and the price of federalism, especially in this age when, more and more, federal policies and programs depend on state and local cooperation to carry them out. That also is one of the things that distinguish our system from Russian communism, for the essence of communism is not cooperation but coercion.

Federal Inquiry Suggested

While a major objective of the program of improvement here proposed is to encourage each state to put its own house in the best possible order, the program is of the utmost concern to the nation as a whole. Its success is dependent on simultaneous action in Washington and in all the states. Such concerted action by so many can hardly be achieved without the stimulus and guidance of a certain amount of organized cooperation on a national scale.

I therefore have a proposal to make which I direct with great respect to the next president of the United States.

I propose that President-elect Eisenhower institute a major national inquiry into ways and means of strengthening the states and municipalities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government.

I propose that he appoint a commission on the federal system similar in prestige and resources to the recent Hoover Commission. The work of the commission might well include a White House conference on a variety of subjects going back to the early part of the century.

It would, in a sense, be a mid-century equivalent to the famous Annapolis convention which preceded and led to the calling of the constitutional convention of 1787. I hasten to add that this effort would not involve another national constitutional convention. It would, I trust, lead to a number of state constitutional conventions and to numerous other acts on the part of federal, state and local governments and of citizens organized and unorganized to demonstrate that we today have as much talent for governing ourselves and for shaping our destiny as had our forefathers who founded the Republic.

Businessmen and Government

Industry, increasingly aware of its stake in good government, is encouraging participation, progress.

By **THOMAS R. REID***

ON November 4 we Americans wound up a glorious political binge that began in earnest way back in July. It was fun while it lasted. It was interesting and exciting, and it gave a real lift to our national spirit.

But now that the tumult and the shouting have died away, we're in the midst of the inevitable hangover. If we can go by past experience, a great many of our fellow citizens have already made up their minds to stay away from the stuff—at least for the next four years. It's a reaction that develops after every national election—and it's one of the truly unfortunate aspects of American government.

At least that's been the pattern in the past. Will it continue that way? Are we forever to be a nation of sometime citizens who need banners and speeches and giant campaigns to work up an interest in good government?

Personally, I think there's a change in the making—nothing so obvious that it can be measured precisely, but a very definite shift in the thinking and attitude of a great many people toward their government. It seems to me that more people are learning to take politics as it should be taken—in big doses once in a while but at a steady, moderate, unremitting pace all the rest of the time.

More and more of us have come to realize that good government is not achieved on election day, but through constant, day-to-day effort on our part and on the part of our neighbors. We are increasingly aware that our vote, important as it is, is not really effective unless it is backed up by an active, continuing interest in what happens as a result of that vote.

To me, this apparent shift in attitude, however small it might seem right now, is one of the most encouraging signs of our times. To the National Municipal League and similar organizations, which have worked so diligently to promote greater civic interest, it must also be a rewarding trend. It indicates that people do not remain indifferent or apathetic toward government when they begin to understand their own direct, personal stake in its day-to-day operation at all levels.

Our job, as I see it, is to increase this understanding and to mark out still more clearly the need and the many opportunities for greater private participation in the affairs of government.

---

*Mr. Reid, formerly a vice president and member of the board of directors of McCormick & Company of Baltimore, and a member of the Baltimore city council, is director of the Office of Civic Affairs of Ford Motor Company. He has been executive vice president of the National Society for Advancement of Management and executive vice president of the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce. This article is Mr. Reid's address before the National Conference on Government at San Antonio, November 17.

Although my theme is the businessman's stake in good government, I start from the premise that government—or politics—is *everybody's* business. It's no secret to any of us, unfortunately, that the terms "politics" and "political activity" are still in disrepute. There is still a widespread tendency to shrug or to think immediately of something sordid and somehow shameful when those words are mentioned. It is not yet understood generally that political activity is, in fact, considerably broader in its true meaning than the usual connotation attached to campaign hoop-la and smoke-filled rooms.

Hold Our Freedom

The best way I know to put the subject in its proper light and to give it a proper definition is to say that "politics is the present tense of history."

My thinking goes something like this: The most precious heritage we have is freedom under the American democracy. If we lose it, all at once or bit by bit, we lose everything. Our inventive genius, our gigantic productive capacity, our tremendous technical advances, our products of farm and factory which all the world looks upon as miracles of American achievement — all these would wither away if we so completely occupied ourselves with their accomplishment that we neglected to preserve our inherent liberties. Certainly, then, we should work at the care and feeding of freedom—through alert, intelligent political activity—as assiduously as we have worked at the care and feeding of our abundant American economy.

What is required of us, actually, is good, active citizenship. And in that word "active" is the key to what we're seeking. It is passive citizenship just to live and to stay out of jail. And it is only one step removed to vote just once in a while —to cast an occasional ballot and let it go at that.

Many will recall a study of the political activity of American citizens by Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper, who reported their findings in the December 1950 *American Political Science Review.* They discovered that voting and "other" political interest and citizenship activities had a close correlation. They found in their tabulations that about 40 per cent of American citizens must be called "very inactive." About 40 per cent of us not only did not vote regularly but also failed to discuss public issues with others, belong to organizations which took stands on public issues or write or talk to congressmen and other public officials to give them our own opinions on public matters. Non-voting is thus a part of a citizen's total attitude toward government and political affairs. Those who did not vote did not do the other things which help to make government better by citizen interest, either.

Perhaps, after the recent elections, that figure of 40 per cent is no longer accurate. Perhaps political inactivity in this country will never again reach those proportions. But it gives us a clear picture, I think, of our citizenship failings up to now.

The practice of active, as compared to passive, citizenship can open a whole new world to us as individuals and organizations and, eventually, because of our aggregate efforts, a much improved world in which to live. We will find that the institutions dependent upon citizenship will be much better and stronger than they have ever been.

Businessmen Interested

One area in which there is an increasing awareness of the need for more active citizenship is among the men of business and industry. Certainly no group or segment of our society has a greater stake in good government. And certainly no group has a greater opportunity to exert an influence for good at all levels of government.

This awakening of interest in civic affairs is expressing itself in many ways, even to the point where businessmen are running for and gaining public office. In fact, I might as well confess that the only justification I can think of for my being on this side of the speakers' table today is that I happen to have been both a businessman and a governmental official. Mine is just one isolated example, but I think it might help to demonstrate what can be and is being done by businessmen in many different communities.

About six years ago, a group of young men in Baltimore, Maryland, decided to do something about the way the city government was being run. As young businessmen we had voted regularly, we had joined the usual brace of civic organizations and we had signed our names to ringing resolutions calling for changes of one sort or another in things that we thought could be improved. But that didn't seem to be enough. We discovered we just weren't very effective in governmental affairs.

It was then that a little group of young men formed what came to be known as the "ECO"—the Effective Citizens Organization. Baltimore government at that time was dominated by two strong and well bossed political machines, but we decided to fight them all the way. Six of us among the young businessmen who had founded the new group announced as candidates for the Baltimore city council. We went to our employers and asked permission to make the run as a civic activity in the same sense that we might join a good government group or something of the sort.

The community was interested but not particularly impressed. The general view was that the political machines had gained too strong a foothold throughout the city to be broken by a group of political amateurs.

Well, we were amateurs all right, but we adopted some new and very effective techniques, some of which we had borrowed from our business experience. And we directed our appeal at those independent voters who wanted to make their citizenship effective through voluntarily organized effort.

To make a long story short, three of the six young candidates were elected, somewhat to our own surprise. We hadn't hoped to do so well the first time out. When a vacancy occurred a few months later, we were able to get one of the unsuccessful candidates named by the council to fill the spot. That gave us a team of four in a 21-man council with four-year terms.

The same people who had said none of us could be elected in the first place now quickly pointed out that the four of us could hardly hope to be effective in a 21-man council. We lacked a voting majority. However, the practical effect was that the four independents became a balance of power between the almost equally divided representatives of the two principal machine factions. Each boss found that he had to have our votes with him on every issue to defeat his opposition, since we voted on merits without allegiance to either faction on any issue. The factional system soon began to break down, and there was more and more voting on the merits of each issue by the entire council.

Looking back now, there were some amusing sidelights to the experience along with the more serious aspects. I recall a speech by one of our opponents in the campaign in which he said—and I'm quoting now in full and verbatim: "Fellow citizens, I am a square and honest man. I never stole a dollar in my life. All I want is a chance. Thank you."

I might also say that I can remember only one instance when I was in any way exposed to graft and corruption as a public officeholder. In the mail one day I received a card which I still carry as a souvenir. It was signed "Public Bath Commission of Baltimore" and it read: "This card entitles the bearer to use the facilities of the free public baths of Baltimore."

As I say, my experience in municipal government and in various appointive positions with the federal government is by no means unique. I offer it simply as a first-hand illustration of the growing awareness among businessmen that good government is not a matter of wishful thinking but of active, continuing participation in the decisions of government. The old bugaboos against political activity are gradually breaking down.

It wasn't so long ago that, when the average man in industrial management heard the word "politics," he acted as though it were something that shouldn't be mentioned in polite conversation. And if anyone suggested that he should *participate* in politics, he would hold up his hands in horror and say "I've got to be nonpartisan." The trouble, of course, was that he confused nonpartisan with non-participation.

Employees Urged to Vote

In the recent elections, businessmen not only voted themselves but many top management people throughout the country sincerely and earnestly encouraged their employees and all other citizens to register and vote. Many companies used not only their own employee publications and other internal communications but large public advertisements, to help get out the vote. And in no case did I see any attempts to influence the voter's choice. It was nonpartisan political participation of the best kind.

Plain lack of interest and a general antipathy between business and government are other factors which have limited business participation in politics. Some businessmen have mistakenly assumed that the aims of business and those of government are inherently incompatible. They have tended to damn government as though it were a separate entity instead of an integral part of our society elected to administer our affairs for the common good. But even these barriers are slowly disappearing into the limbo of political mythology.

Business today is coming to recognize at least two good reasons why it should take an active, continuing interest in the affairs of government. One is moral or ethical in its implications. It is a growing feeling that no company, large or small, can afford to ignore a responsibility to the whole of society—a responsibility beyond the duty to make a better product at lower cost and to serve the commercial and industrial needs of our country.

The organizations we call companies or corporations cannot retain the rights of a corporate citizen to protection under the law unless they accept the civic and social obligations that go with the legal rights. There can't be two kinds of citizens.

Under the leadership of many farsighted business managers — including Henry Ford II, who has been extremely active in the work of the Ford Foundation—industry has been moving more and more in the direction of supporting the basic institutions of our economy and our democracy. For example, larger and larger contributions are being made by many companies to such vital causes of our time as education.

This consciousness of citizenship responsibilities is probably most apparent at the community level. Any company which sincerely wants the good will and respect of the community in which it operates or has offices must earn that good will by being a good citizen and a good neighbor in that community. It must demonstrate a genuine concern for the welfare of the community.

Community Relations Committees

Ford Motor Company considers this activity so important that in nineteen of our plant cities we have community relations committees made up of the top company managers in each of those locations. In time, we will have such committees in all of our plant cities. The job of these men is to see to it that Ford Motor Company plays its part, financial and otherwise, in maintaining and improving the welfare of the entire community. Wherever a special community project seems to merit the attention of our central office, we are guided by the recommendations of the local committee.

Our people are encouraged to become active in civic affairs, to join worthwhile organizations and to provide leadership, if it is wanted, for various community projects. Although the company itself does not attempt to take sides in local issues, there are no restrictions on employees who want to become active politically as individuals.

Similar efforts are being made, on a larger or smaller scale, by a great many other companies. In a business and industrial economy, business has increasing obligations to the community and to the nation on many fronts.

A second and more compelling

reason why business should take a greater interest in politics is simply that good government is good business. That might sound like a truism to some, but it apparently is not altogether understood by a great many businessmen, even today.

There was a time when government had little or no effect on business, in so far as its health and well-being were concerned. There were laws and regulations, of course, but most of them were designed to correct or curb abuses. The company which made a good product at a fair price could pretty well count on getting along without help or hindrance from the government.

Business and Government

Today government reaches into just about every facet of our business as well as our personal life. Politics plays a large part in determining what shall be produced and who shall produce it; what shall be consumed and who shall consume it; what we shall eat and what we shall wear. Every business today has a powerful and not-so-silent partner—the government.

The businessman who fails to concern himself with all the activities of the community and the nation—with good government at all levels—in effect gives away a large measure of control over his business. Whether or not he takes part in government decisions, he cannot escape the effect of those decisions.

As an automobile man, I'm especially interested in public highway and parking facilities. How government handles these problems has a very obvious effect on my business. At the same time, my company has a very direct stake in adequate police and fire protection, in building and safety regulations, in water supply, refuse disposal and hundreds of other government services. Unless we help to determine the scope and quality of those services, we have little right to protest if they are not satisfactory.

Or take taxes. To the average businessman, taxes are a heavy and annoying addition to the cost of doing business. And yet the efficient manager who spares no effort to pare his own manufacturing costs down to the very minimum shows little interest in applying the same ingenuity to government costs which, in turn, determine taxes. Business is only beginning to learn that it must reinvest part of its earnings in another type of research and development—that which leads to better government, with greater efficiency and more economy.

Take the human relations viewpoint. The modern, progressive company knows that the average employee's needs and wants go far beyond good pay, good working conditions and all the ordinary considerations that go into any job. It knows that his life doesn't begin at eight and end at five every day. In other words, it knows that the employee's attitude and general work performance are influenced to a large extent by factors outside the company itself.

A good, well run community with adequate schools, hospitals and other community services is a highly important factor in employee morale and productivity. Surely it is not too difficult for any company to recognize its responsibility and its own best interests in helping to develop and maintain that kind of community—from a business point of view alone.

Business thrives under good government, with good services. But it cannot expect others to carry the burden of providing good government. If business is to prosper and grow along with other segments of our society, if it is to make a maximum contribution to our total welfare, it must get into politics and stay.

Citizenship Responsibility

How a company carries out this citizenship responsibility is pretty much a matter of choice and of circumstances, I would say. At Ford Motor Company, it's a separate and distinct central office activity, with a small, full-time staff. It happens, in fact, to be my particular job at Ford.

For a year or so we experimented with a broad variety of activities under the title of the Office of Information on Governmental Affairs. However, because of the company's participation in the defense effort after the Korean outbreak, it became necesary for us to establish a separate and more specialized activity in Washington to maintain direct liaison with federal agencies. At that time, we realigned the functions of the original office and redesignated it as the Office of Civic Affairs, our present title. Very briefly, our present functions are:

1. To keep directors and officers of the company informed regarding trends and affairs in state and municipal governments and their possible effect on company policies and operations.

2. To represent the company in policy matters and general affairs which concern relationships with state and municipal governments and civic groups.

3. To serve as a member of special governmental or civic committees and boards in which the company participates.

Now what that means, simply, is that we at Ford have recognized our own direct stake in good government and are participating, in an organized way, in those activities which make for good government. As far as we know, our office is one of the first of its kind in the country. Its main advantage, as we see it, is that it centers responsibility for this activity and enables us to maintain a continuing, long-range grasp of political issues in which we have a special interest.

This is not, as some might say, an activity that only larger companies can afford. It's not the size of the office that counts, or even the fact that there is a separate, full-time office. It's the approach to the problem that matters—the willingness, first, to carry out the company's citizenship responsibilities to the maximum extent and, second, to make someone responsible for seeing that the job is done. Even a small company can afford to designate some one person, even on a part-time basis, to serve as its civic affairs representative.

Many of you undoubtedly have other examples of what can and should be done to increase business participation in politics. I hope that all of them will find their way to the attention of business leaders and will help stimulate this newly awakened interest in politics throughout the business community. In an industrial society, good government is very obviously a responsibility of business and industrial leaders.

What we have said here today about businessmen applies equally well, of course, to farmers, labor and all other citizen groups. To go back to my original premise, politics is *everybody's* business.

This period of American history we're entering now, following a change in national administration after twenty years, finds our civic consciousness at a new all-time high. We have seen a new record turnout of nearly sixty million voters in one of the fiercest, most thought-provoking political struggles of our time. Never have so many ordinary citizens applied their minds and hearts to important political issues. Never have so many of our people taken up the challenge of democracy to think and then vote.

A Year-round Job

We who have been working for good government must not miss any opportunity to sustain that high interest and participation. The old pattern of ebb and flow in political interest is weakening, and there is a chance now that we may be able to make good government an all-year job every year for more and more people. There is no more important or more rewarding task to be found.

Unlike many other peoples, we in America are to a very large extent masters of our own destiny. Within limits, we have the power to shape and direct the conditions under which we shall live our lives. And, to a degree unknown anywhere else, we have the priceless freedom to choose. One of our great dangers is that we may lose these privileges not from abuse but from misuse. Thomas Jefferson said it well, and his statement still stands:

> I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.

We've just had one of the finest possible lessons in American democracy. Let's make sure that what we've learned won't be lost.

Vigilance - Price of Success

Pride of achievement not enough; citizen can retain good government only by maintaining constant watch.

By THOMAS H. REED*

IT MAY seem incongruous to you that a Connecticut Yankee should be brought to Texas to talk about pride. For, if our educators are right, that we learn best by seeing and doing, Texans should be among the world's greatest experts on pride. We did not need Edna Ferber to tell us how proud Texans are of the vast size of their state, its prodigious natural resources, its fantastically growing cities or even its formidable football teams and its beautiful women. Texans have been telling about these things in voices which have carried even to far off New England. Not only the big men with the cream colored Stetsons and the highly decorated shirts but many less unusually attired citizens have assured us that Texas is the most favored "spot" on God's green earth. And, as to the fact, we are in substantial agreement with them. I only want to challenge the propriety of overweening pride in such advantages and the material prosperity that has sprung from them.

I think I have a right to discuss the subject because we in Connecticut are experts in this kind of pride too. We can't take pride in our great size so we are proud of our small size. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that, with our good roads, no place in the state is more than two hours' ride from the Capitol in Hartford, so that our legislators run home every night during the session, where they can be scolded to their faces by their constituents. We look at our many highly diversified industries and "calculate"—the Yankee term for "think"—that if we had as many acres as Texas we would have a population of a hundred million.

When boosters from other states boast of their enormous wealth we smile complacently in the knowledge of how much of that wealth is owned by or mortgaged to our great Hartford insurance companies. We have no broad prairies or mountain ranges to be proud of but we do have beautiful homey scenery of hills and dales dotted with sparkling lakes and bordered by surf-pounded beaches, where even Texans love to enjoy our summer breezes. We don't talk about these things with the ebullient enthusiasm of Texans but we think of them hard in our dour Yankee way.

Then there is another source of

---

*Dr. Reed, municipal consultant, for the past two years has been making a nation-wide survey of what universities and colleges are doing in citizenship training. Acting as consultant to the Citizenship Training Clearing House of New York University's School of Law, he is co-author, with Mrs. Reed, of two reports on the subject issued by the Clearing House. Dr. Reed has made numerous studies of local governments including Cincinnati, Atlanta and Fulton County (Georgia) and Essex County (New Jersey). He drafted the council-manager charters of Hartford, Richmond (Virginia) and Augusta (Georgia), as well as the charter consolidating the city of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana. This article is Dr. Reed's address before the National Conference on Government at San Antonio, November 19, 1952.

pride—pride in the achievements of the past. San Antonians are very proud of the Alamo though not one San Antonian in a thousand can claim the slightest blood relationship to the heroes of the Alamo or any San Antonians of their time. We have no Alamo in Connecticut but some of our early citizens had a lot to do with establishing the foundations of constitutional self-government in the United States. Everyone in Connecticut is very proud of those accomplishments though not 5 per cent can trace their descent from those old worthies.

My own little town of Wethersfield is, economically speaking, a mere suburb of Hartford, absorbed in the Hartford metropolitan area. It was founded, however, a year ahead of Hartford, in 1634, and along with a few other settlements of that time governed itself for several years as an independent sovereign political unit subject to no other authority on earth. It is a singular thing that the young family moving in today from Wisconsin or Louisiana and making a down payment on a five-room home is as proud of this history as any Wolcott or Griswold, and just as determined to defy any form of union with the other communities of the Hartford area.

I want to make it clear to you that, in my opinion at least, the blood of heroes of the Alamo cannot be depended on to wash out the civic sins of San Antonians today, any more than a respectful glance at Hartford's old State House —designed by Bullfinch though it was—can compensate on judgment day for failure to vote at even one city election.

I can think, and so can you, of many "proud cities." There is Madrid which the Spanish kings laid out in the very center of their kingdom and adorned with the spoils of the Indies. A few months ago I wandered through a few of the 1,900 rooms of the royal palace filled with sumptuous furniture and tapestries, where Franco holds his state receptions. Then I went out on the streets to have my coat-tail pulled at every street corner by a ragged beggar and to view the thousands of ill-clad people promenading ceaselessly up and down, past shops full of things they are too poor to buy, reluctant to return to the crowded warrens where they live. I wondered what right Madrid had to be proud.

Good or Bad Pride

There is Rome, for centuries the mistress of its world, whose people fed on the plunder of her far flung provinces. I have climbed about the ruins of her imperial greatness. Pride went before a fall—and such a fall. Rome shrank to not much more than a village by the Tiber, whose rude nobles quarried the stone for their petty fortresses from the remains of former grandeur. Oh yes, Rome came back. As the capital of the Catholic world it developed a new magnificence, and as the capital of a United Italy a substantial civic importance. Then Mussolini raised again the banner of pride. Some of you may have seen him swelling with self-importance on his balcony overlooking the Piazza

Venetia. And again pride went before a fall.

In itself pride is neither good nor bad. It derives its quality from the objects which inspire it. There is false pride in purely natural advantages or in mere material success. Too much pride, even in worthy objects, often leads to self-complacency, blindness and disaster. It is the man with his nose in the air—no matter what the cause—who trips over the crack in the sidewalk. Let us see how all this applies to San Antonio.

San Antonio is, of course, a proud city, proud—like most other American cities—of its phenomenal growth, its vast volume of business, the wealth of its inhabitants, the size and beauty of its buildings, public and private, and its historic past. Until very recently, however, its people have had little occasion to take pride in their city government. Good city government is something in which pride may be taken much more properly than in many other things of which San Antonians are proud. Good city government in a democracy means that the people themselves have by their joint action provided for many of the basic conditions of human happiness.

What are the qualities of a good city government? In the first place, it must be representative. This means much more than that the people have a right to participate in the choice of its governing authorities. It means that they must participate effectively in the unbossed choice of those authorities. Good city government must be honest and efficient, that the people may get a hundred cents of return for every tax dollar. I have coupled honesty with efficiency because there is no more thoroughly exposed fraud than the notion that a dishonest government can be efficient except in lining the pockets of its bosses. I have not said "economical" because that term is often abused to mean parsimonious, and city governments exist to render service, not to save money but to spend it wisely in the public interest. No government, moreover, can be called efficient which is extravagant or wastes the people's money on unworthy objects.

A good city government preserves peace and order and protects the public from the encroachments of vice. It enforces law without fear or favor, and does not, by partial enforcement of wise regulations intended to curb the criminal and the vicious, enhance the opportunities of racketeers and gangsters.

What Good Government Does

A good city government provides effective fire protection, collects refuse frequently and disposes of it with a minimum of nuisance, provides adequate facilities for the collection and disposal of sewage and requires all habitations to be connected with these facilities. It provides or ensures the provision of a sufficient supply of water safe to drink and suitable to use for all domestic and most industrial purposes. It provides itself or regulates satisfactorily the supply of gas, electricity and transportation facilities.

A good city government makes provision for an up-to-date public school system for all its children, library facilities for all classes of its population and a recreational system to foster the health and fill the leisure time of all ages.

A good city government protects the public health by the use of every resource of modern science, controlling contagion, protecting the purity of food and drink, furnishing health education and conducting special campaigns against the ravages of tuberculosis, infantile paralysis, cancer, heart disease and other scourges. At the same time it provides hospitals to the full extent needed to supplement what is done by private beneficence, and sees to it that the poorest of its inhabitants has, when they are needed, the best medical and hospital service.

A good city government cares for the poor and needy, encourages private charity but lays an iron hand on those who in the name of charity seek to defraud the public, and in its own charitable enterprises makes use of the most enlightened methods of social service and regeneration.

Good city government makes long-range plans for the growth and development of the city, buttressed by sound zoning regulations, so that it may not strangle to death on its own traffic, and that every portion of its site shall be used most advantageously and that their due portion of light and air may be assured to all its people.

This catalogue could be extended into many other fields of activity but I have said enough to establish the fact that a good city government is of almost incalculable value to its citizens. You are better judges than I of the degree to which some of these qualities of good government have been achieved in San Antonio prior to 1951. I think it is clear on the record, however, that down to that time the terms "representative, honest and efficient" could be applied only with many qualifications to the government of San Antonio, and that its accomplishments in the various fields of service were vitiated largely by defects in its organization and administrative methods and, it is regrettable to say, lack of public interest in its affairs.

San Antonio Government

The governmental history of San Antonio as read by an outsider differs only in details and a decided time lag from that of many other American cities. From its incorporation by the Republic of Texas in 1837 to 1914 it went through various phases of mayor and council government, in which executive authority was divided between numerous elective officers, and the center of gravity, if one existed, was to be found in the council. This is an experience which San Antonio shared with most other American cities and which led to Bryce's famous dictum that municipal government was our "one conspicuous failure."

The movement, however, for concentration of power and responsibility which began to be felt in the 1880s in other parts of the country seems to have passed lightly over San Antonio until 1914, at which time, under the authority of the recently adopted home rule provisions of the Texas constitution, it took up the so-called commission form of government. This was thirteen years after its origin in Galveston and

Des Moines. The council-manager plan had been operating already for a year in Dayton, Ohio. By 1917 the number of cities with the commission form of government had reached its peak and after 1920 steadily declined.

San Antonio's experience with commission government corresponds almost exactly with that of other cities. Its concentration of power in a board of five elected officials was undoubtedly an advance from the highly diffused and decentralized form of government which had preceded it. The defects of the plan, which ignores the traditional division of labor between the functions of representation and administration, soon became evident. Municipal administration already by 1914 had ceased to be a simple matter to be handled by any amateur. It has since become more and more highly technical. The mayor and four commissioners, acting as councilmen on the one hand and heads of departments on the other, only by accident possessed the qualifications for the latter. The public in San Antonio as elsewhere was ill prepared to weigh professional attainments. The salaries paid, while high for the purely legislative side of the work, proved insufficient to attract first-class executives who seldom can afford anyway to gamble their professional future on the chances of a popular election. Moreover, the amount of work required of the commissioners as heads of departments practically excluded from candidacy the successful business and professional men whose service would have been invaluable in determining questions of policy. Then, as has been the common experience, the commission as a whole could not in practice exercise the control over the individual commissioners which in theory it was supposed to do, with the result that there came to be five little governments instead of one and complete failure of responsibility to the people.

To this form of government, already somewhat outmoded when it was adopted, San Antonio remained faithful for 37 years. No one could be proud of such a government nor in the public apathy which made it possible. Although there had been interest in the council-manager plan for twenty years, it was defeated at the polls in 1940. Finally came the reaction—delayed but devastating. Beginning with the establishment of a bureau of municipal research in 1948 events moved swiftly to a climax. A powerful citizens' movement, as in other cities, swelled into action, swept the old guard out of office, framed and adopted a council-manager charter and elected a council pledged to carry through the reforms so begun. The victory was complete and overwhelming, and was climaxed by the selection as manager of one of the best qualified men in the country for the job, and the selection by him of a competent team of officials. For the first time in its history San Antonio had an up-to-date streamlined government, and justifiable pride swelled in the hearts of San Antonians. "Now," said they, "we've done it," and the National Municipal League just a year ago, even before the new government had gone into effect, gave San Antonio a citation for its successful citizen movement for better city government.

Manager Plan Assailed

Then something happened, which often has happened elsewhere, though seldom so quickly. Before the new administration had been in office six months it was violently assailed by a well organized group demanding the recall of a majority of the council. It is certainly not the function of any outsider to assay before San Antonians the merits of the controversy thus engendered. There is no surer way for a simple Yankee to become a damned Yankee than to take sides in a local political fray in Texas. The majority you gave General Eisenhower is not to be construed as an invitation to a northern Republican to interfere in matters which are exclusively your business. I can with propriety, however, testify on the basis of the common experience of American cities what will happen to good government in San Antonio if its friends do not defend it.

The council-manager plan of government is intended to bring into the service of the city a group of expert administrators headed by an expert city manager. This is exactly what has happened in San Antonio. These experts know how to run a police department, clean streets, collect garbage and do the thousand and one technical things that are necessary in the daily operation of a well governed city. The very nature of the training and experience which has made them competent administrators has disqualified them for the business of politics.

That is why under the manager plan you elect a council to select the manager who in turn selects his colleagues and assistants. The manager reports to the council and the council reports to the people. But no council by itself can guarantee to give the experts the support they need for a fair opportunity to show what they can do. Behind the council there must be an organization of citizens capable of winning elections. If the present council were recalled the manager and his heads of departments would be at the mercy of the victors and there is nothing these administrators can do to stave off the recall. For if they were the most talented of politicians the conditions of their employment forbid the use of those talents in the local political arena.

The possession of a council sympathetic with the council-manager plan is essential to that plan's success. The continuous possession of such councils depends on the existence of a vigorous permanent citizen organization prepared to fight not in one but in every succeeding election. I am not saying which side of the recall issue any San Antonian should take but I am saying if you want good council-manager government and the administration of city business by non-political experts—and I hope you do—you must be prepared to organize and fight to have city councils sympathetic with that idea.

Naturally, if the present city council is that kind of a council and capable of wisely guiding the policies of the city, you should fight to defend it. If under such circumstances seven years after its adoption in the people of San Antonio won't take the trouble to do so I would not give a plugged nickel for San Antonio's right to the title of "proud city."

This, of course, is not the first time that experts have had rough going in San Antonio. There was Davy Crockett, a man expert in the ways of staying alive on the frontier as well as the possessor of other civic virtues. So expert with his rifle—Old Betsy—was he that tradition says that coons at sight of him came down from the trees begging him not to shoot. But he was caught in the Alamo, with other brave men, by an overwhelming enemy, and died there because relief did not come in time. Monuments have been built to these men since and their story is one of San Antonio's proudest traditions, but on that fatal day in 1836 they were just irrevocably dead.

Citizens Must Act

Suppose that you have in your city hall today an expert manager who knows how to make the coons of waste and inefficiency come down from the tall trees in which they have been sheltering lo these many years. Suppose him and his colleagues attacked by a band of disgruntled ex-office-holders, greedy politicians and owners of property newly annexed who resent having to contribute to the cost of city government. Suppose that the good people of the city sit back and let these evil forces riot unhindered. On the basis of these suppositions I can state it to be an irrefutable conclusion that your experts will, politically speaking, soon be as dead as the heroes of the Alamo, and the good government some of you fought so hard to achieve as dead as they. It would be a terrible blow to your civic reputation if under circumstances like these the council-manager form of government in San Antonio came to such an untimely end. It would be doubly so if such a debacle came to pass because of dissension among those who should be united for good government.

The price of continued good city government is continued organization and effort on the part of those who want it. The history of the manager plan in Cleveland and Houston which lost it, as well as in Cincinnati which has retained it triumphantly for a generation, and Kansas City which redeemed it gloriously after years of misuse, teaches the same lesson of organization — permanent, ever renewed, vigorous organization.

The realization that good government as well as liberty can be had only at the price of eternal vigilance is very disconcerting to some people. But you cannot build even a motor car or a factory and then neglect it, much less a structure made of human beings like a government. We just have to face the fact that while sound forms of government work better than unsound ones you cannot in the long run get out of any form of government more than you put into it.

When girding for the fray in San Antonio you can at least take comfort that the friends of good government everywhere are having to do the same and that their hopes and

(Continued on page 585)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Voters Handle Flood of Propositions

Constitution Amendments Vie with Minor Issues

AT THE general election on November 4 voters in the 48 states were faced with some 225 ballot propositions in addition to their responsibilities for electing officials. Four states accounted for more than half the total: Georgia with 46 propositions (all constitutional amendments), ten statewide, the rest local though on the state ballot;[1] Louisiana with 34; California with 24; and Oregon with 18.

Election Requirements

California: An initiative measure to prohibit the frequent California practice of cross-filing in partisan primary elections, by requiring a candidate to have been a registered member of the party from which he seeks nomination at least three months prior to filing nomination papers, was narrowly defeated; but a proposal, originating in the Assembly, to require each candidate for a partisan office to indicate his party affiliation, carried by a wide margin. The voters also overwhelmingly approved a constitutional amendment specifying that members of the armed forces reserves can hold public office without thereby coming under the ban against double office-holding. Constitutional restrictions against the Chinese, some of them already declared in conflict with federal law, were repealed.

Georgia: The proposed constitutional amendment requiring that candidates for statewide offices be nominated in a primary held on the county unit basis—thus stifling independent nominations as well as giving the rural counties overwhelming control—was defeated.

An adopted amendment provides that any proposed amendment that applies only to one area of the state must be voted on only in the area to which it applies, instead of requiring the affirmative vote of both the area and the entire state.

Another successful amendment states that local laws adding members to local governing bodies must provide for their election "by the qualified voters" of the area affected—instead of by a majority of all qualified voters of the area, as at present.

Iowa: Two amendments dealing with a possible vacancy in the governorship were overwhelmingly adopted. One provides that if the governor-elect dies before inauguration the newly elected lieutenant-governor shall assume the office. The other specifies that if there are vacancies in the offices of both, the succession shall pass to the president pro tem of the senate, then to the speaker of the house and, if there are vacancies in these two offices, the Iowa Supreme Court shall convene the legislature to elect a governor and lieutenant-governor.

Oregon: A proposed amendment to make the superintendent of public instruction appointive by the state board of education, instead of elective, was defeated.

Mississippi: The voters by practically ignoring it caused failure of a proposed "literacy" amendment requiring voters to give a "reasonable interpretation of any section of the state or federal constitutions."

---

[1] See page 574, this issue.

Reapportionment

Michigan: Two plans of reapportionment for the legislature, both submitted by initiative petitions, were voted on. The successful one, called the "balanced legislature" plan, carried by a rather narrow margin. It freezes into the constitution a predominantly area basis for the senate, permanently establishing 34 districts (an increase of two). The house membership is increased from 100 to 110, elected from districts created by the legislature according to population formula in the amendment. Wayne County (containing Detroit) is expected to have more house members, but the rural counties, because of minimum requirements, will continue to have relatively greater representation per unit of population.

The legislature is called upon to reapportion the house after each decennial federal census; otherwise the state board of canvassers must do so. By permanently fixing senate districts the future composition of a constitutional convention is also determined, inasmuch as such a body must be made up of three delegates from each senate district. Senate and house terms are two years.

A rival plan, sponsored by the CIO and backed by labor, liberal and urban groups, would have made population the basis for both houses, with 33 senate districts, each containing three house districts. Apportionment would have been by the secretary of state after each census and would have been enforceable by mandamus. The favorable vote in Wayne County for this plan was insufficient to offset the "upstate" opposition.

Oregon: A constitutional amendment requiring the legislature to reapportion itself on a population basis after each census was approved by the voters. The Oregon legislature has disregarded the existing requirement for reapportionment since 1911. The new amendment calls upon the secretary of state to reapportion if the legislature fails to act, with the State Supreme Court having the power to enforce compliance. The population of the state is to be divided by the numbers of senators and representatives, respectively. If the result, when applied to a given county or district, produces a fraction of more than one-half, such county or district is entitled to a member; otherwise the county is to be attached to an adjoining county or counties. The first reapportionment is to be operative for 1954 elections.

Wisconsin: The voters were asked to advise the legislature as to whether the constitution, which now specifies the population basis for both houses, should be amended to provide for the establishment of either senate or assembly districts on an area as well as population basis. The vote was adverse approximately 700,000 to 630,000. Whether the legislature will now proceed to apportion on a population basis remains to be seen.

Courts

California: A constitutional amendment originating in the senate and adopted at the election provides that if a vacancy in the elective Superior Court occurs after the beginning of a year in which a general election is to be held and before the beginning of the next term of office, a successor judge shall be elected at that general election, to take the place of the judge who has been appointed (by the governor) to fill the vacancy. Formerly if a vacancy occurred after January 1 preceding a general election, the successor judge would not be elected until the general election two years later.

Another amendment originating in the assembly, but defeated, would have changed the present provision that no person is permitted to serve on a grand jury in two consecutive years; it would have had three to nine members of a grand jury held over to the following year but not to the third year.

Washington: An amendment originating in the house, providing for compulsory retirement of judges at 75, was overwhelmingly approved.

Other Proposals

A host of other amendments and propositions on a wide variety of topics were voted on. Several in Arizona are dealt with elsewhere in this department. Some other statewide issues of interest follow.

Alabama: Three amendments were approved, two of them dealing with specific counties. One, restricting gasoline and motor vehicle taxes to highway purposes, carried two to one. A fourth, to extend sheriff's terms, was defeated.

California: An amendment permitting a city charter to provide for the establishment of a borough system of government for the whole or any part of the city or city and county governed thereby, was adopted by a heavy majority vote. The constitution heretofore has merely permitted the division of the entire municipal area into boroughs or districts.

Another adopted amendment authorizes the legislature to permit any local government that undertakes a community redevelopment project to set aside the taxes upon the increased value of the property to pay the costs of redevelopment.

A proposal (No. 10—see the November REVIEW, page 507) to amend the constitution to prohibit appropriation of public money to the League of California Cities, County Supervisors' Association, any chamber of commerce or any other private organization which attempts to influence legislation, was defeated by a wide margin. It was proposed by initiative petition sponsored by old-age pension advocates and would have retaliated against organizations that aided in the repeal in 1949 of the drastic old-age pension act.

An initiative statute, sponsored by the same group, which would have transferred old-age security administration and support from the counties to the state and would have added several fringe benefits to old-age assistance, was also defeated by a large margin.

Two "loyalty" amendments, originating in the assembly, were adopted by ratios of more than two-to-one. The first directs the legislature to prohibit any person who advocates the overthrow of the national or state government by force or other unlawful means to hold any state or local office or employment; and to withhold any tax exemption under state law from any such individual or organization. The second requires all public employees as well as public officers to take a loyalty oath.

Georgia: An adopted amendment creates a State Medical Education Board, authorized to make loans to persons to help defray the cost of education at any accredited medical school in the nation.

Another provides that the governor shall have 30 days after the legislature adjourns to approve or veto legislation, instead of five days as at present. A bill not acted on within 30 days is automatically vetoed.

Another authorizes the extension to state employees of the provisions of federal old age and survivors insurance.

Illinois: Two amendments adopted remove the ceiling on pay of county officers and eliminate double liability of stockholders of state banks.

Louisiana: An amendment to restore

the merit system for the state civil service was approved. Of 33 other amendments adopted, an outstanding one authorized the legislature to make uniform provisions for local adoption of municipal home rule charters.

Minnesota: Five proposed amendments failed of adoption. Four of them received large majorities of the votes cast thereon but failed to obtain the required constitutional majority of all votes cast at the election. The first would have changed the restriction as to investment of state funds in local bonds; the second would have required a popular vote on all proposed constitutional amendments, with a three-fifths majority of the vote thereon required for adoption, instead of a majority of all votes at the election; the third (which had a 345,000 majority) would have removed certain voting restrictions applying to Indians; and the fourth would have permitted the legislature to prescribe qualifications and extend the jurisdiction of probate judges. A proposal for local sharing of motor vehicle taxes for highway purposes was defeated by majority vote.

Missouri: An adopted amendment limits the biennial sessions of the legislature to five months and special sessions to 60 days. Legislators are to receive $10 for expenses for each day they answer the roll call.

Nebraska: One adopted amendment permits the legislature to determine the composition and method of election of a constitutional convention; another provides for publication of notice of submission of constitutional amendments in three instead of four consecutive weeks.

Another establishes a State Department of Education and an elective Board of Education, with an appointive commissioner of education, and transfers constitutional and statutory provisions relating to the present superintendent of public instruction to the new department, board or commissioner, as applicable.

A proposed amendment to increase the salary of legislators from $872 to $1,250 per annum was defeated.

North Carolina: An adopted amendment authorizes the governor, in the event of a legislative vacancy by death or resignation, to fill the vacancy upon the recommendation of the party executive committee (of the county, for a member of the lower house or of the senatorial district for a senator).

Another adopted amendment makes a minor change in the method of filling vacancies in the Supreme and Superior Courts and among Superior Court solicitors. Formerly the governor appointed successors to serve only until the next regular legislative election (occurring in the even-numbered years). The amendment provides that if such election comes less than 30 days after the vacancy occurs, the appointment is until the following election, that is, for slightly more than two years.

North Dakota: A proposed amendment to permit municipalities to own and operate liquor stores was defeated.

Ohio: A proposal for a constitutional convention was defeated (see separate item).

Oklahoma: A proposal to reduce the voting age to eighteen was rejected.

Oregon: Among thirteen statewide proposals approved were a referred amendment authorizing the legislature to establish a continuing joint committee to exercise budgetary control over state officers and agencies, with power in case of emergency to allocate emergency funds to state agencies and provide for new activities between sessions; a referred amendment providing that legislators' terms shall begin on the first Monday in January following election, instead of on the date of election; an initiated amendment authorizing the sale of liquor by the glass, under local option; and an initiated proposition requiring the use of standard time.

Six statewide proposals defeated included a referendum by petition on an act setting up the procedure for reorganizing the state's school districts into larger units; an initiative measure authorizing the governor to appoint a milk control administrator; and an initiative constitutional amendment prohibiting lotteries, bookmaking or pari-mutuel betting on races.

South Carolina: An amendment permitting the legislature to decide upon arrangements for schools—public or private—in case the U. S. Supreme Court outlaws public school segregation of Negro from white children was approved in a ratio of more than two to one.

South Dakota: A proposed amendment to require a recommendation of the Board of Pardons before the governor can pardon persons serving sentences heavier than two years was defeated.

Texas: Two amendments were adopted, both of them originating in the house. One directs the legislature to set up a Medical Education Board and a medical education fund to be used by the board for grants, loans or scholarships to students desiring to study medicine and agreeing to practice in the rural areas of Texas. The other gives the legislature power to enable municipalities to provide workmen's compensation insurance for their employees, including the right to provide their own insurance.

Utah: An initiative proposal to repeal the lien law which places liens on homes owned by recipients of old-age assistance and enables the state to recover a portion of such assistance upon the death of the recipient, was defeated approximately three to two.

Virginia: An amendment permitting the state to contribute money to the regional educational programs conducted under the auspices of the Southern Regional Education Board was approved.

Washington: An adopted amendment, originating in the senate, permits amendment or repeal of an initiative measure within two years after its adoption, by a vote of two-thirds of all members of the legislature or by a direct vote of the people thereon at any general or special election.

An initiative proposal to increase welfare benefits for the old, the blind, the unemployables and dependents, and to supersede existing social security legislation was defeated.

Ohio Turns Down Constitutional Reform

Ohio voters, in the throes of reaction, voted overwhelmingly on November 4 against the calling of a convention to consider revision of the state's 101-year-old constitution. The final vote was 1,960,209 to 1,018,020.

On the ballot by reason of a provision in the present constitution requiring a vote on revision every twenty years, the issue from the start became the target of a double-barreled campaign of opposition and misrepresentation by state and local chambers of commerce and farm organizations. Its principal champions were the League of Women Voters, state labor groups, local good government organizations and Charles P. Taft, Republican candidate for governor. Mr. Taft, knifed by many in his own party for his long record of political liberalism, was chairman of the Ohio Bar Association committee which endorsed the issue. His Democratic opponent, Frank J. Lausche, one of the few survivors of Ohio's Republican landslide, opposed the convention. Lausche supporters exploited Taft's views particularly in rural areas where the convention was opposed on the ground that it would endanger their domination of the state legislature.

Typical of newspaper attitudes was that of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* which after years of editorial deprecation of Ohio's constitutional handicaps, reversed itself a week before election. In its leading editorial on October 28, the *Enquirer* declared: "The needed changes are extensive enough: a greater measure of home rule for Ohio's cities, a longer term for state officers, a shorter ballot, provision for removing the judiciary from politics and a fairer and more realistic apportionment of legislative representation—just to name some of the more obvious ones."

Against these grounds for support, the *Enquirer* listed (1) the cost of the convention, (2) fear that a convention would result in "trading of interests and log-rolling," and (3) "unpredictable diversions of good intentions."

The real basis for opposition from public and agricultural interests, as well as from a large majority of the old-line Republican and Democratic politicians, was fear that the convention would result in "giving the 'rabble' a greater voice in the government." This fear reduced financial support for advocates of the convention to a disastrous minimum. Although members of local and state bar associations voted decisively in favor of the convention, only a relatively small number were outspoken.

The effect of inadequate funds for education and promotion was aggravated by the demands of the national campaign which drowned out efforts of enthusiastic volunteers to secure a hearing. In the end, it is probable that the issue was defeated as much by ignorance and lack of information as by the effectiveness of the campaign of its opponents. Nearly 700,000, or 20 per cent of the state's voters, failed to signify their choices one way or the other on the issue.

Forest Frank
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Arizona Repeals Retirement Act; Aids Reorganization

In a "yes" mood the voters of Arizona gave their decisive approval to all ballot propositions, six in number, at the recent general election. The only constitutional amendment on the ballot, a so-called "better roads" amendment, limits the expenditure of revenues derived from road users to highway purposes only. The state legislature initiated the amendment. As road funds were not being diverted to other uses, the amendment in effect deprives the legislature of the power to alter the existing situation.

A referendum measure submitted by the legislature to the voters repealed the public employees' retirement act, an initiated measure, which the voters adopted in 1948 and which the legislature persistently refused to activate. In the course of an intensive newspaper and radio campaign for a "yes" vote on the referendum, its supporters stated, contrary to evidence presented to the legislature by an actuarial firm which that body had engaged, that activation of the public employees' retirement act would involve an immediate outlay of more than $8,000,000 and would occasion an immediate and substantial increase in the state tax rate. The legislature has promised to bring state employees under the old-age and survivors' insurance system of the federal government, and various legislative leaders have pledged themselves to work for a supplemental state pension plan. When opponents of the retirement repealer challenged the power of the legislature to resubmit to the voters a law adopted by the initiative process, the Supreme Court last summer upheld the legislature's action.[1]

In approving three other referendum measures, the voters indicated in broad fashion that they favored a limited amount of state administrative reorganization consisting of the establishment of three new departments—law, finance and public health and welfare. The measures were not highly detailed reorganization laws; instead, they merely declared that the legislature "shall enact legislation" for the purpose of creating the new departments. In 1951 the legislature, as part of a slightly broader reorganization program, enacted laws to set up the new departments, but the laws never went into effect. Opponents through referendum proceedings provided for a delay until the voters had a chance to pass upon the question at the November 1952 election. In the meantime the legislature, in 1952, repealed the reorganization laws and provided instead to submit the three referendum measures to the voters.

The only legislative initiative on the ballot, a so-called "fair labor practices" act, outlaws secondary boycotts by labor organizations. The prohibition includes picketing in the absence of a bona fide dispute regarding wages or working conditions between an employer and a majority of his employees. The act supplements an anti-closed shop law approved by the voters in 1948 on referendum. It was designed to implement an anti-closed shop amendment adopted in 1946.

Two proposed initiative measures of a highly controversial nature, one to provide for a severance tax and the other for an appropriation to activate the public employees' retirement act, were barred from the November election by a court injunction when opponents of the proposals showed that an exhaustive search of the more than 20,000 signatures upon the petitions for each disclosed an insufficient number of valid signatures.

Paul Kelso

University of Arizona

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Tacoma, Washington, (1950 population 143,673) at the general election on November 4 voted to adopt a council-manager charter. A council of nine will supersede the present city commission of five members on June 1, 1953. The present commission is required to set a date for a special primary election in February for nomination of councilmen to be followed by an election in March. It is expected that the councilmen-elect will meet informally prior to June 1 to discuss city matters generally and the selection of a city manager in particular, so as to avoid delay when they assume office. The Tacoma charter differs from the usual manager type by placing the city-owned electric, water, belt railway and garbage utilities under a board appointed by the mayor. The present provision for an elected civil service board is to be replaced by one for an appointed board.

The city of **Evanston, Illinois,** (73,641) voted on November 4 to adopt a council-manager charter by a vote of 23,107 to 12,658. A separate proposal to reduce the number of aldermen from eighteen to four was overwhelmingly defeated.

The village of **Oak Park, Illinois,** (63,529) also approved a council-manager charter, 25,190 to 7,886. The new charters in both Evanston and Oak Park go into effect next April. Both municipalities are suburbs of Chicago.

Riverside, California, (46,764)

---

[1] See the Review, September 1952, page 401.

adopted a mayor-council-manager charter on September 17. **Santa Ana** (45,533), in the same state, did so on November 4 by a vote of 11,329 to 7,071.

The town of **Arlington, Massachusetts,** (44,353) voted for a town manager charter at the November election, 11,756 to 10,891. It goes into effect immediately after the annual town election on the first Monday of March 1953.

Newport, Rhode Island, (37,564) adopted a council-manager charter on November 4 by a vote of 7,149 to 1,869. The council will consist of seven members, all elected at large, but four of them being residents of designated wards.

North Sacramento, California, (6,029) approved the council-manager plan, 1,129 to 798. The council had previously passed an ordinance providing the system.

Westchester, Illinois, (4,308) has recently adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

The towns of **Bristol** and **Jamestown, Rhode Island,** appear to have rejected town manager, home rule charters at the November election, by narrow margins—unless absentee ballots change the results.

Although the proponents of a modern council-manager charter for **New Haven, Connecticut,** succeeded by ruling of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors in obtaining a vote thereon at the November 4 election, the charter was defeated, 14,116 to 23,987. The board of aldermen had previously set September 16, when victory would have been practically impossible because of a statutory provision that the proposition fails if less than 51 per cent of the registered electors vote on the issue. The charter would have replaced the present board of 33 aldermen elected from wards by a council of nine, elected at large, which would have chosen a city manager.

A proposed council-manager charter for the town of **Wethersfield, Connecticut,** is expected to be submitted to the 1953 legislature for approval.

The manager plan was discussed at a public meeting in the borough of **Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania,** this fall, called by the local Chamber of Commerce.

In **Orlando, Florida,** a charter committee has proposed a strong-mayor form of government, but the Orlando *Star,* the League of Women Voters and others are advocating the council-manager plan. State legislators from the area have expressed themselves in favor of placing both forms before the voters.

In **South Miami, Florida,** Mayor James H. McConnell has expressed himself as in favor of the council-manager plan for his city. A group of members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce is preparing a report on charter revision.

A citizens' committee has been formed in **Gulfport, Florida,** to study the pros and cons of council-manager government for that city.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, on November 4 defeated a revised and improved home rule charter, which would have meant more integration of departmental structure under the responsibility of the city manager. The ward system of electing the council was not altered, for fear that such a change would endanger adoption of the charter. The latter represented sixteen months of work by a charter commission. The vote against it was in the ratio of three to two, with about 55 per cent of the voters participating.

Voters of **Circleville, Ohio,** turned down a proposal to adopt the manager plan at the November 4 election.

Ashland, Wisconsin, at a referendum on November 4, voted 2,389 to 2,358 to continue the council-manager plan, installed in 1948.

In **Alton, Illinois,** a committee advocating the council-manager plan has organized under the name of Alton Citizens for City Management and has circulated petitions for an election on the question of adoption.

Moline, Illinois, declined on November 4 to follow the example of its neighbors, East Moline and Rock Island, which recently adopted the manager plan. The vote against the plan was 9,936 to 6,780. The Moline *Dispatch* actively urged its adoption, and a committee which circulated the original petition made a belated campaign. The opposition was spearheaded by Mayor Johnson and a group calling itself the Citizens Committee for Representative Government.

Oak Lawn and **Homewood, Illinois,** are reported to be considering the manager plan.

In **San Antonio, Texas,** petitions filed for the recall of five of the city's nine councilmen, elected under the council-manager plan, have been declared insufficient. Recall has been fought by the Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Government.

A charter election to be held in **El Paso, Texas,** some time in 1953, is expected to bring a decision by the voters on approval of the council-manager plan or retention of the mayor-council plan.

In **Holton, Kansas,** where the manager plan was adopted in 1948 by a vote of 386 to 384, it was retained by a vote of 939 to 496 on November 4.

Topeka, Kansas, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on November 4 by a vote of 21,051 to 14,424. The manager plan was bitterly opposed by the Topeka *Capitol,* but supported by the Topeka *State Journal.*

The **Grants, New Mexico,** *Beacon* urges the council-manager plan for that municipality.

Idaho Falls, Idaho, defeated a council-manager proposal on October 14 by a vote of 3,325 to 1,800. The plan was urged by the Citizens Committee for the Council-manager Plan; it was opposed by the mayor, the *Post-Register* and a so-called Citizens Loyalty Committee.

The Dalles, Oregon, voted on November 4 to retain the council-manager plan.

San Bernardino, California, defeated a proposed manager charter.

The council-manager charter of **Santa Clara, California,** was amended by a vote of approximately three to two to make the chief of police and the city clerk elective instead of appointive.

Many Local Issues Passed Upon by Voters

Numerous charter amendments or local laws were voted on in the municipalities of the nation on November 4.

In two Ohio cities, Cincinnati and Toledo, opponents of public housing proposed charter amendments calling for popular votes on future housing projects. In each city they were defeated by a margin of approximately three to two.

In Cincinnati supporters of housing, led by the Citizens Committee for Low-Rent Housing and Slum Clearance, the Citizens Development Committee and the City Charter Committee, charged that the amendment through carelessness or design in drafting, imperiled private housing as well as public, when developed in connection with projects set up under the recently enacted Ohio Urban Redevelopment Act.

In Toledo labor, religious, civic, welfare, fraternal and veterans organizations marshalled opposition to the amendments through the Committee for the Redevelopment of Toledo.

In two Oregon cities, Portland and Salem, some fourteen measures were voted upon. Portland approved annexation of the Home Water district to the city and permitted the city council to raise its own salaries. It rejected a measure to create a transit and parking commission and a pay increase for 3,000 city employees. Salem approved an increase in firemen's pensions but defeated a measure calling for collective bargaining and compulsory arbitration for police and firemen and also defeated a 40-hour week proposal for policemen.

Denver, Colorado, defeated a proposed charter amendment that would have made changes in police departmental organization with increased salaries.

Detroit, Michigan, approved a four-year term for constables, who had remained with a two-year term after other officials' terms were made four years.[1]

Buffalo, New York, rejected a proposed charter amendment that would have permitted the chief elective officials to succeed themselves. The vote was 130,855 to 36,696.

In Massachusetts, Cambridge voted to retain proportional representation but Quincy, Revere, and Medford voted to repeal it. Newton abolished a form of preferential voting. (See Proportional Representation department of this issue.)

San Francisco, California, adopted a charter amendment limiting the mayor to two successive terms.

Albany, California, defeated a proposed amendment to make the chief of police and the city attorney appointive.

New London, Connecticut, approved nonpartisan city elections with nominations by petition, 4,241 to 786.

New Orleans Adopts Home Rule Charter

By a vote of 43,332 to 29,366 on November 4, New Orleans, Louisiana, approved a proposed home rule charter,[1] which makes the mayor the executive head of the city government instead of sharing administrative authority with the seven members ot the comission-council, elected from seven unequal districts. Two councilmen, as well as the mayor, will now be elected at large, the others from five new districts.

Hoboken Changes from Commission to Mayor-Council

In Hoboken, New Jersey, a bitter controversy over a proposed new charter establishing a mayor-council form of city government was climaxed November 4 by adoption of the charter by so narrow a vote as to call for a recount, which confirmed the charter victory. The new charter replaces the old commission form. It is reported that supporters of the present mayor may attempt a contest of the so-called Faulkner Act under which the governmental change is authorized and regulated.

Three Rhode Island Cities Drop Bicameral Councils

The cities of Pawtucket, Woonsocket and Central Falls, Rhode Island, which are among the few still equipped with legislative bodies of two chambers, voted on November 4 to adopt new charters providing for single councils. All three charters provide the strong-mayor type, supplanting weak mayor forms. Elections will be on a nonpartisan basis.

In Pawtucket the council will consist of six members elected by wards

(Continued on page 589)

---

[1] See also page 538, this issue.

[1] See the Review, May 1952, page 250.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Three States Study County Government

West Virginia, New Jersey and Florida Issue Reports

MONOGRAPHS have been issued recently concerning county government in three states, West Virginia, New Jersey and Florida.[1] While each of the three pamphlets takes a different approach to the subject, all are informative studies and they present some interesting contrasts in government at the county level in these states.

The report on *County Government and Administration in West Virginia* makes no attempt to detail the functions performed by West Virginia counties but rather, in its own words, seeks to give the reader "a general evaluation of the present structure, organization and mechanics" of county government. The report, in its preface, mentions the well known phrase, "the dark continent of American politics," so often used to describe county government. As the author proceeds with his description of the organization and financial procedures of West Virginia counties, it is apparent he believes that this evaluation is entirely applicable to counties in his state.

The report describes the nine elective officials as well as the numerous semi-independent boards that splinter the administration of county affairs and that resemble "'little governments' functioning apart from each other, yet loosely connected within a common area of operation to form what is generally called county government."

A portion of the monograph is devoted to discussing the various roles of the sheriff as law enforcement officer, agent of the court, tax collector, county treasurer and several other minor and unrelated responsibilities. A large section of the report discusses county budgeting, assessment and other fiscal procedures. There is an interesting section devoted to West Virginia's constitutional provision which virtually prohibits state grants-in-aid to the counties.[2]

The report concludes that there is considerable danger of a continued decline in the importance of county government in the state unless something can be done to correct the lack of legislative powers, the inadequate sources of revenues and, most important in the author's eyes, "the absence of clear lines of responsibility within the county."

New Jersey Report

The organization and functions of New Jersey's 21 counties are described in considerable detail in a pamphlet issued by the Bureau of Government Research at Rutgers University. The report deals with the organization of county government generally and in addition contains a lengthy chapter on judicial organization and administration. It discusses each function performed by counties including consideration of health, welfare, highway, education and recreation activities. The section on finance presents an especially interesting picture of state control of county finance.

---

[1] *County Government and Administration in West Virginia,* by Harold J. Shamberger. Bureau for Government Research, West Virginia University, Morgantown, 1952. 82 pp. *County Government in New Jersey,* by James M. Collier. Bureau of Government Research, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1952. 64 pp. *Florida's County Government,* by J. E. Dovell. Civic Information Series, No. 13, Public Administration Clearing Services, University of Florida, Gainesville, 1952. 16 pp.

[2] See "Court Outlaws State Aid," by James E. Larson, the REVIEW, April 1950, page 182.

Comparison reveals a considerable contrast between New Jersey, with its system of grants-in-aid, and West Virginia, where such grants are prohibited by the constitution. Further, New Jersey, through its Division of Local Government, exercises considerable control over county financial activities, while in West Virginia there seems to be a minimum of such control.

This report presents only a minimum of evaluation of the existing system, generally confining itself to descriptive material. In this feature it is quite different from the report on West Virginia's counties.

The third report under review is a brief pamphlet on county government in Florida issued by the Public Administration Clearing Services of the University of Florida. This study confines itself to a brief, over-all discussion of problems such as the election of many county officers, the outmoded organization of counties and the fee system of compensation which apparently is still widely prevalent in Florida's county governments.

The report suggests the need for reorganization of county government if it is adequately to perform local governmental functions for its residents. There is a description of the principles of county manager government as well as an account of the success the manager form has experienced in counties outside Florida.

The report, in closing, reprints and discusses the proposed county home rule amendment, rejected by the voters on November 4, 232,741 to 175,117.

County Issues Defeated in Maryland Counties

County issues in both Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, Maryland, met with defeat in the November elections. Montgomery presented two questions to the voters. Removal of the $12,000 salary limit on the manager's salary was defeated by a vote of 17,141 for to 22,030 against. The proposal to increase councilmanic salaries from $1,800 to $3,000 was defeated by a vote of 18,607 to 19,302.

In Prince George's County, the question of electing a home rule charter board was answered in the negative by a vote of 14,896 for to 22,853 against. Among the candidates for the charter board, most votes were garnered by those nominated by the county board, namely, those opposed to the home rule proposals.

Arlington County Votes to Strengthen Manager Plan

The voters of Arlington County, Virginia, approved two referendum measures at the November election that appreciably strengthen the operation of the manager plan. By a vote of 19,024 to 11,069, they approved a change that will permit the manager to be appointed for an indefinite term rather than for one year with automatic renewal. By a vote of 18,597 to 11,162, they approved giving the manager power to appoint department heads. At present, all department heads except police are appointed by the county board.

The voters rejected a proposal to incorporate as a city by a vote of 3,540 in favor to 27,523 against.

The results on all three issues coincided with the recommendations of the Arlington County Citizens Study Commission. On the incorporation question, the commission had utilized three reports. *The Effect of Incorporation on Arlington's Finances* was prepared by the county manager's office and *Report of the Effects of the Incorporation of Arlington County, Virginia, as a City of the First Class* was prepared by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration. Based on the factual information contained in them, the commission made its recommendations in a report entitled *Report on the Incorporation of Arlington under the 1946 Charter.*

Allegheny County Metropolitan Study Attacked

An officer of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, has addressed an open letter to the residents of the county's 129 municipalities warning them that a metropolitan plan might deprive small municipalities of "the right of self-government and home rule." He stated, "Such a program, if carried out, will concentrate all authority in a centralized government with unlimited powers and regiment and regulate the citizens in their daily lives. Our forefathers feared this kind of government because they knew it would destroy the freedom of the individual.

"Having twice been defeated by a vote of the people, those supporters of the metropolitan plan are active again to apply legislative powers through politicians instead of by the vote of the people in their respective municipalities."

The letter constituted a direct attack on the fourteen-member Metropolitan Study Commission recently appointed by Governor Fine, which was asserted to be the latest attempt by supporters of the Metropolitan Plan to secure adoption of their program.[1]

West Virginia County Approves Voting Machines

At the November 4 election, McDowell County, West Virginia, gave popular approval to the use of voting machines. This raises to four the number of counties approving the machines.

County Prohibits Weather Control

Jackson County, Oregon, has passed a measure to prohibit weather control and cloud modification except by state or federal authorities.

Kansas Counties Pass on Local Questions

In Kansas, three counties submitted local issues to their voters in the recent general election. Trego County rejected the county road unit system by a vote of 1,205 to 973, thus leaving the number of counties operating under such a system at 52. Johnson County approved establishment of a county library, thus raising the number of counties with such systems to ten. Topeka and the school district embracing the city jointly voted to establish a system of public recreation.

King County Manager Proposal Meets Defeat

The proposed new charter for King County, Washington, providing the council-manager plan, was defeated at the November election by a two-to-one vote, 158,915 to 82,946. The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, a sponsor of the charter, however, has vowed to continue its efforts. The president of the league, Ben B. Ehrlichman, states:

---

[1] See REVIEW, October 1952, page 462; July 1952, page 359.

"The charter fight brought before the people the good and weak features of King County government. This is constructive. The Municipal League will continue its efforts for a sound home rule charter." The League of Women Voters also supported the charter, but it was opposed by incumbent court house officials, both political party organizations and the several labor groups.

Georgia Voters Approve County Amendments

The voters of Georgia approved a long list of state constitutional amendments[1] in the recent general elections. The questions having specific applicability to counties are these:

No. 14 authorizes the General Assembly to provide by law for the method of selecting a tax commissioner for Fulton County as well as a chief deputy who would succeed in case of a vacancy in the commissioner's office.

No. 18 authorizes the General Assembly to set up machinery for consolidation of the tax receiving and collecting function of the city of Atlanta and Fulton County, enabling citizens to make their city and county tax returns and payments at one place.

No. 20 provides for a joint county and and city board of assessors in counties containing a city of 300,000 population or more. The assessment of property for tax purposes would be conducted by one board instead of two and an agency would be created to review and revise the assessments.

No. 39 requires the city of Atlanta to assume its share of the bonded indebtedness of Fulton County schools which were annexed under the so-called "Plan of Improvement."

No. 40 was designed to authorize the General Assembly to regulate functions and services of Fulton County by general, special or local laws—changes that formerly required a constitutional amendment with ratification by the electorate. The amendment specifically mentions services such as health and sanitation, police protection, fire protection and prevention, parks, garbage, sewerage, drainage and water.

No. 26 authorizes a joint health board for the city of Augusta and Richmond County.

No. 36 authorizes Augusta and Richmond County to enter into contracts with each other and with individuals, private firms, corporations and the Augusta-Richmond County Building Authority for use of buildings and related facilities.

No. 30 authorizes the General Assembly to pass a special act or acts to merge the school system of Cochran with the Bleckley County school district into a single school district. It also provides for a seven-member board of education to be elected by the grand jury and for the appointment of a county school superintendent by the board.

No. 32 provides for a merger of the school system of Griffin with that of Spalding County into one system and for election of a Griffin-Spalding County Board of Education. The first board, however, would be appointed by the city council and county commissioners.

No. 45 creates the Savannah District Authority, a state corporation embracing Savannah and Chatham County, for the purpose of developing industrial growth and expansion in the area.

Other constitutional amendments provide for the division of certain counties into specific numbers of school districts.

---

[1] See also page 561, this issue.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Washington State Pioneers in Reporting

Its 'Budget in Brief' Sets a High Standard

THE reporting by states of their over-all activities has been perhaps the least successful in the field of state-local public reporting, despite some highly intelligent efforts to prepare reports which would be brief, readable and informative. Over the last several years, there have been some excellent pamphlet or folder reports, but they have shared one basic defect—in direct proportion as they aroused the reader's interest they failed to amplify his information. Brevity, in other words, presented obstacles as formidable as those inherent in massive statistical tables or dull, unperceptive text.

The state of Washington, faced with mounting demands from its citizens for both facts and figures about the state's rising expenditures and explanations of the cause, boldly determined to issue a popular report long enough to do the job it was intended to do. The result, half a year in preparation, is an attractively printed, well illustrated report of some 96 pages which combines the best current practice in graphic presentation with a well written narrative which not only explains what has happened to the state's finances but also why it happened.[1]

Conceived as a "budget in brief" to supplement the two-volume biennial budget enacted by the legislature, the report was prepared by State Budget Director E. D. Brabrook at the direction of Governor Arthur B. Langlie. Governor Langlie, in January 1952, directed preparation of a report "on the whole taxing and spending problem of [our] state. That report should outline what services the state renders its citizens, how much they cost and how the money is obtained for them. It also should demonstrate how much the citizens of other states spend for the same services. . . . The report should assist our citizens to judge whether they are getting a fair return on their money; to decide whether they want some services expanded, curtailed or eliminated."

The Washington report comprises three main sections. The first, some sixteen pages, provides a historical summary of state expenditures for 1940-52, inclusive, with comparisons with five other western states—Oregon, California, Idaho, Montana and Colorado—and the United States. The device chosen for both interyear and interstate comparisons has been to express both revenues and expenditures as a percentage of personal income. The index data are supplemented where appropriate with other measures, including a summary in dollars of state income, expenditures and year-end general fund balances from 1940 and summary statements of major revenues and expenditures in fiscal 1952 (the year ended June 30).

The accompanying explanatory text avoids the pitfalls of oversimplification and provides a readable, clear and concise summary of the way the state's rapid growth, war and postwar problems, inflation and other factors have influenced the trend. A one-page summary describing the principal state taxes is included.

---

[1] *Your Dollar's Worth of State Government.* Office of the Director of Budget, State of Washington. Olympia, 1952.

The second section, extending from page 17 through page 80 of the report, describes in summary form the activities and services which the state provides. This section not only hits the high spots of departmental, bureau or agency work but also provides the necessary historical perspective to show how the present work load evolved and, where pertinent, indicates how the state program is tied in with the functions of local governmental units.

In fact, the entire report is imbued with an awareness of state-local relationships and, where appropriate, the implication of a problem at each level of government affected is discussed, notably in the case of education and welfare functions.

The report concludes with fourteen pages of statistical tables, covering both the economic and financial trends of the last twelve years, with some of the data running back to 1930. Index numbers are generously used to simplify analysis by the reader, as are other ratios. Many readers may skip the final presentation, but it is there for those citizens—believed by this writer to be more numerous than the "popularizers" would have us think—who are not afraid of figures, especially when the figures are put to apt use.

The report is not intended to take the place of the usual departmental reports issued annually or biennially, nor to supplant the state budget document or the annual financial reports. It is "popular" only in the sense that it is nontechnical. It assumes that Washington citizens have progressed through the Washington school system, or its equivalent, know how to read and understand plain English, can assimilate figures of more than three digits, and have retained at least the basic facts communicated to them in high school civics classes. It is the first "popular" report that has come to the attention of this column which did not give the impression it was written either as a "throw away" for enclosure with a tax bill or for an audience of ten-year-olds.

Washington's governor and budget director were not the first state officials to feel the need for constructive popular reporting of state finances and activities, nor the first to tackle that admittedly formidable job, but they are the first to produce something which recognizably provides a standard for others to emulate. If the reader is dubious, he may see for himself by requesting a copy from the Office of the Director of Budget, Legislative Building, Olympia, Washington.

When Is a Budget Not a Budget?

From the foregoing note the reader will have gathered that this corner is not entirely sympathetic with everything that comes off the production line from the factory of those who would "simplify" or "popularize" local governmental reporting. An excellent example of the pitfalls awaiting those who unjudiciously "popularize" public financial documents comes to hand from a small New England community. Described by its authors as a budget departing "from the traditional form" it could be more accurately described as a regression to the early attempts at budgeting, thinly disguised with "performance budget" veneer.

Briefly, this document consists of a series of captions identifying each town department, office or activity, with a lump sum appropriation in dollars set opposite and underneath a sentence of two to half a dozen lines describing the purpose for which the money is to be spent. Accompanying this is a similar recapitulation of revenue, consisting in all of five items and the total, and a shorter but similarly set up presentation for the water and sewer department.

As a summary, this is interesting and, to a point, informative but it is not a budget in the accepted meaning of that term in standard municipal practice in the United States today.

Moreover, it obviously is not the actual budget which the town administrators prepared when they drew up the fiscal plan for the year, and it probably is not the budget which the legislative body considered and discussed prior to adoption of the budget document above described. For the textual comment shows clearly that the *plan* was made in detail. Why, therefore, are not the citizens to be as fully informed as to what those details are, and the administrators bound in the execution of the budget to adhere to their detailed plans unless expressly authorized to depart from such plans?

In this so-called budget the citizen will seek in vain for information on how much his government plans to spend on personal services in the coming year, how much on materials and supplies, how much for office overhead and how much for contractual services. Neither can he find out how much was appropriated last year nor how much expended in the last completed prior fiscal period. True, he doesn't have to trouble himself trying to understand a lot of figures, but short of a trip to the town hall he won't be able either to tell whether this appropriation is higher, lower or the same as last year's, whether salaries have been raised or lowered, whether his town is employing more or fewer workers, etc., etc.

The National Municipal League's *Model Budget Law* did not provide for appropriations and revenues to be set forth in reasonable detail merely in order to provide more work for the printers, nor recommend columnar comparisons of prior year expenditures merely to confound the citizen with more statistics. All experience has shown that the public purse strings are let loose when the plan for spending the public money is vague or indefinite.

If "performance" budgeting is to mean vague, indefinite, lump-sum appropriations, the sooner its proponents say so the better, for in most communities citizens will wish to think twice before they relinquish their control over local expenditures by oversimplifying budgets to the extent that they are merely writing a blank check for the governing body to spend pretty much as it pleases.

Jersey Voters Approve Large Interest Savings

Voters of New Jersey went to the polls November 4 and took the advice of fiscal experts to save themselves an estimated $80,000,000 by pledging their credit to a bond issue they had previously approved without that pledge. Briefly, they made the $285,000,000 Garden State Parkway bond issue, previously authorized as revenue bonds payable solely from road tolls, into a general obligation bond issue. As such, it will carry a materially lower interest rate than could be secured by revenue bonds, while the toll highway will lose none of its self-supporting features. The net result is an $80,000,000 savings in costs as estimated by the state's fiscal advisors and consulting engineers.

Other Election Results

Reversing a trend evident since the war, Oklahoma voters disapproved that state's $125,000,000 soldiers' bonus bond issue. Altogether, it appears that about $1,300,000,000 of the $1,-

(Continued on page 580)

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Referenda in Massachusetts Cities

Cambridge Keeps P. R. Three Cities Lose It

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts, voted to retain proportional representation by 25,068 votes to 23,330; three other Massachusetts cities, Quincy, Medford and Revere, voted to repeal the P. R. feature of their council-manager charters at the general election on November 4. Repeal won in Quincy by 29,921 to 10,310 votes; in Medford by 16,706 to 11,728, and in Revere by 10,353 to 4,947. At the same time the party under whose rule legislation facilitating repeal of P. R. and forbidding further adoption of P. R. was enacted lost the governorship and control of the legislature.

Governor-elect Christian A. Herter, a member of the outgoing 82nd Congress, was speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives when the enabling legislation under which Massachusetts cities adopted charters providing P. R. was passed and personally sponsored the first permissive P. R. law.

Success in Cambridge

In face of the competition of national and state elections for the attention of the electorate, a vigorous campaign was waged for the retention of P. R. in Cambridge. Among the prominent citizens who announced their support of P. R. and opposed the repeal proposal were Mayor Joseph A. DeGuglielmo, who had opposed P. R. when it was adopted in 1940, but who has supported it for many years; ex-Mayor Edward A. Crane; Councillors Chester A. Higley, Hyman Pill and W. Donnison Swan; school committee members Professor Thomas H. D. Mahoney and Mrs. Pearl K. Wise and former city solicitor Richard C. Evarts (another former opponent of P. R.). The Cambridge Committee for Plan E, the Cambridge Civic Association and the League of Women Voters of Cambridge joined in urging support of P. R.

There were 8,224 blank ballots in the Cambridge referendum, perhaps reflecting the confusion arising from the form of the question which was such that a "no" vote was necessary to support P. R. and a "yes" vote was in favor of repeal. Furthermore, some advertisements in favor of repeal were headed by the caption "Keep Plan E" and prominently featured the admonition "Vote Yes."

During the campaign Paul F. Hillery, president of the Cambridge Committee for Plan E, called attention to the effect which repeal would have upon the filling of the vacancy caused by the death of Councillor and former Mayor Francis L. Sennott. Under the present charter the vacancy will be filled by a recount of the ballots cast for Mr. Sennott, whereas repeal would have required two city-wide special elections, a preliminary election and a run-off election, which would have cost the city approximately $15,000 and would have delayed the election of a new councillor. Such special elections would also cost the candidates considerable time and money. Mr. Hillery also pointed out that under the law applicable in case of repeal of P. R. vacancies occurring within six months of the end of the term would not be filled, leaving the city council subject to the possibilities of tie votes.

In a pre-election statement Mayor DeGuglielmo said:

"The charter as it now stands has worked well for all Cambridge. A change would operate only to disturb the balance of efficiency now admittedly evident in our city.

"The charter guarantees to all citizens effective representation on the council. A change would only operate to endanger the quality of service you obtain from your representative.

"The operation of the charter avoids the necessity of costly campaigns —compare Cambridge with Somerville in municipal elections.

"The charter avoids machine politics."

Defeat in Quincy

Quincy, Medford and Revere had shorter experience with P. R. than Cambridge, dating from 1949. In Quincy P. R. was defended by the Quincy League of Women Voters and by the president of the Quincy Civic Association, but the repeal action was actively urged by Mayor David S. McIntosh.

In September a report on P. R., which had been prepared by a committee of the Quincy Chamber of Commerce, with some consultation of other Quincy civic groups, was released by the chamber. The report was promptly branded as incomplete and misleading by Erwin A. Childerhose, president of the Quincy Civic Association. Before publication the report had been approved by the Quincy Chamber of Commerce but had not been submitted to any of the other groups whose representatives had collaborated in the project.

Mr. Childerhose said in his statement: "The Chamber of Commerce committee which studied the proportional representation form of voting submitted a purportedly factual report. Much pertinent data and information was omitted. Some of the comparative data published is not a true comparison and is grossly unfair to P. R."

Medford Campaign

In Medford, the long dormant civic association was revived to defend P. R. The League of Women Voters worked for its retention. P. R. was vigorously supported by the Medford *Mercury* which, on October 31, carried a first-page editorial urging the voters to support the system. It declared:

"The saving of P. R. is vital and important to the people of Medford. We have to practice and protect democracy at home, in the community, in the neighborhood, if we hope to do it on the higher levels. That can best be done in the specific test confronting us Tuesday—by voting "no" on Question Two.

"No element in our city—wherever it lives, regardless of church, color, national origin or political persuasion —can duck the job of saving P. R. because P. R. serves every element and spells the full flowering of democratic representation."

No campaign for the retention of P. R. was conducted in Revere.

The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester assisted the Cambridge Civic Association and pro-P. R. groups in other cities with suggestions for campaigning, making available its film strip on the subject of P. R.

Majority Vote Causes "Landslide" in Greece

In the election on November 16, following the abolition of the remnants of P. R. in Greece,[1] the Greek Rally party, led by Field Marshal Alexander Papagos, obtained 80.3 per

---

[1] See the REVIEW, November 1952, page 514.

GREEK ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER 16, 1952

Party	*Percentage of Votes*	*Gain or Loss*	*Percentage of Seats*	*Gain or Loss*
Greek Rally	51.7	+15.1	80.3	+36.1
Center and Liberal	36.3	− 6.2	19.3	−31.4
Democratic Left	12.0	+ 1.5	0.3	− 3.6
Others[a]	—	−10.3	—	− 1.2

[a] The Populist party, which cast 6.7 per cent of the votes and obtained two seats in 1951, was a remnant of an earlier large conservative party whose following appears to have been absorbed by the Greek Rally. Two smaller parties also contested the 1951 election; one obtained a single seat while the other obtained none.

cent of the parliamentary seats, although it cast but 51.7 per cent of the popular vote. The outgoing coalition of the Center and Liberal parties, led by General Nicholas Plastiras, polled 36.3 per cent of the total vote but obtained just under 20 per cent of the seats. One of the 300 seats went to the Communist-endorsed "Union of the Democratic Left," which polled 12 per cent of the nation-wide total of votes.

Possibly the proportion of the popular vote would have been different if the opponents of the Greek Rally, who framed the recent electoral law, had not denied the franchise to members of the armed forces and to women. The total vote was only 1,200,000, some 500,000 less than in September 1951.

The results in terms of percentages, based on a report by the Associated Press covering 3,867 of the 3,937 precincts, are given in the accompanying table, showing gains or losses compared with the 1951 election. The percentages of seats for each party may be converted into approximately the number of seats they secured by tripling the percentage, since there are now 300 members of parliament in all. There were formerly 258.

Puerto Rico Provides Minority Representation

The somewhat complicated provisions for minority representation provided in the Puerto Rican constitution[1] provided 26 of the 96 seats in the Puerto Rican legislature for the opposition party when Governor Louis Muñoz Marín and the Popular party scored a sweeping victory November 4. Governor Muñoz obtained 65 per cent of the 658,700 votes cast and led the poll in every town of the island commonwealth.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 577)

400,000,000 state and local bond issues submitted were approved, but returns this year on state and local propositions have been slow, the reporting agencies evidently having exhausted themselves with their efforts to report on the national presidential candidates.

The principle of weight-distance taxes on heavy trucks was upheld in Oregon, where voters turned down a proposed prohibition of such taxes sponsored by the trucking industry and instead approved a referendum confirming a 1952 legislative act increasing such taxes. Also approved was a limitation of 6 per cent on state property taxes. A proposed cigarette tax wes defeated.

Oklahoma defeated a proposed sales tax, while Arkansas voters disapproved a proposal to levy a property tax of 1 per cent to promote new industry.

---

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1952, page 209.

Citizen Action . . . . . . Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Colorado Springs Citizens Organize

New Group Will Support Candidates for Council

ONE reason for the continuance of good government in Colorado Springs, where the council-manager plan has been in effect since 1921, is the interest the citizens have taken in local government. With the growth of the city, however, and with many new residents unfamiliar with the city's form of government, the need for a civic organization, patterned after such successful groups as the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, Richmond Civic Association, Worcester Plan "E" Association and others, has been apparent.

The Colorado Springs Charter Association, with its objective "to maintain an informed, alert and participating citizenry, pledged to support of the council-manager form of local government and to election and support of councilmen best qualified to perform the duties of their important public trust," was founded this fall. It has already enrolled over 500 members and has set a goal of at least 1,500 for the near future. Dues are one dollar a year.

The first public meeting of the group was held September 25 with over two hundred in attendance. Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League, addressed the meeting on "Good Government Begins at the Local Level."

The organization will function under the guidance of a biennially elected executive board of fifteen members. Prior to city elections a candidates committee of seven will select candidates which the association will support for local office and a campaign committee will work for their election.

Planning Councils Continue Activities

"The Greater Dallas Planning Council, a citizens' organization to promote the welfare of every Dallas citizen, is dedicated to a program of providing aid in the building of a better Dallas," says the preface to President Paul Carrington's report for 1951. This report, comprising some twenty pages, lists the names of officers and members as well as committee members. It discusses the council's activities on the master plan for Dallas and Dallas County, the city and county budget, indebtedness, describes its studies in the field of governmental research and cooperation with other organizations.

The *Regional Reporter* of the Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission is encouraging the establishment of development area councils "to help local communities face their growth and readjustment problems in company with others instead of alone." "These councils," says the commission, "are proving of real value to villages, townships and cities."

In working toward a solution of the planning problems of its city's downtown area, the Central Atlanta Improvement Association is striving for "completion of expressways, new streets, more off-street parking, better transit service at same or lower rate, more downtown office buildings and hotels, adequate city planning with downtown emphasis, breaking slum rings, physical improvement of buildings, sidewalks, show windows," etc. An eight-page report of activities of the association has recently been issued by its new executive director, George Goodwin.

Planning Points, prepared by the Institute of Community Development of the University of Oklahoma, is the name of a series of leaflets "designed for people who are concerned with community development." The series is printed in black with numerous attractive illustrations in a different color for each number. Topics discussed include major thoroughfares, zoning, recreation, capital improvement and related matters. The institute has also published *Oklahoma County No Place for Totem Pole Development* (eight pages and well illustrated).

The Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati heard Arthur B. Van Buskirk, president of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, describe the progress Pittsburgh and Allegheny County have made in smoke abatement—67 per cent of the city's smoke has been eliminated—and in its vast highway, park and building projects. Mr. Van Buskirk also described some of his city's cultural advances. The address is reproduced in the October *Bulletin* of the Cincinnati committee.

Education for Citizenship in the Schools

Boston University announces that it will use its gift of $12,000 from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh, as provided by the purpose of the foundation, "to aid the training of college students for the political responsibilities of American citizenship." Dean Chester M. Alter, of the university's graduate school, said that "grass roots training in personal responsibilities for active participation in government and politics of Boston University students, women as well as men, will be the purpose of the Boston University program."

Students in nearly seven hundred high schools throughout the nation participated in pre-election activities as part of the special laboratory methods of training sponsored experimentally by the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University. The program is under way in some 400 cities and affects 28,000 students and 800 teachers. Students have worked in campaigns to get out the vote and have studied election machinery. Some have attended state political conventions, interviewed candidates for office and set up nonpartisan information services. The project operates under a large grant from the Carnegie Foundation.

The Civic Education Project of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has made available a number of new pamphlets in its "Living for Democracy Series," for classroom use: *They Made a Nation*—"How the Founding Fathers went about their great task . . . and what came out of it for us to have and to hold"; *It Has Been Done*—"When leaders speak with courage and citizens wake up, there's no community in America that can't be made a better place to live in. The fight may sometimes be both long and tough, but it's worth what it takes"; *Bread and Butter Plus*—"Here's the story of what high school students did 'beyond the line of duty' "; *Who Says So?*—"How a group of senior high school students learned about public opinion and used it"; *Why Don't They Think!*—"It may be easier to act on impulse or a hunch, but does it pay off?"; *Capitalism Way of Freedom*—"In our economic life, the way of capitalism is the free way. Take a look at what it has done for us. Take a look at its problems too. Can we make it work still better?"; *These Americans*—"Dad, Mother and the children talk it over: '. . . one nation indivisible,' united and made worthy to be great by many people out of many lands."

The pamphlets are each 48 to 56 pages, with large attractive type and numerous illustrations.

Robert E. Merriam, rising young politician and alderman from Chicago's fifth ward, is author of two interesting pamphlets for young people. One, *Politics for Boys and Girls,* a junior pamphlet, describes government, politics, political parties, candidates, campaigns, elections, etc. The other, *Understanding Politics,* co-authored by John W. Bethea of Public Administration Clearing House, covers similar ground but is addressed to the more mature student. Both have been published by Science Research Associates, 57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, at 40 cents each.

Question Box

A "Citizens Question Box" is being conducted by the Brockton (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association. Published twice a month in *Your Tax Facts* are questions submitted by the voters —identified by initials only—with the answers of the association. Questions run from "How does Brockton compare with other cities on police salaries?" to "Can our city council submit questions to voters at election time?"

Citizens Report

The *Annual Report 1951* of the Civic Advisory Council of Toronto, presented to Mayor Allan A. Lamport and members of the city board of control and city council, describes the 1951 work of the group and its first annual conference on local government. The council held its second conference, on "Your City and You," in March of this year. Discussed were the tax dollar, health and welfare services, civic responsibility, organized labor, adult education and other pertinent matters.

The Citizens' Civic Association, Inc., and Citizens' Council, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, have issued a 21-page *Report of Operations 1951-1952.* The two groups are closely integrated through interlocking boards of directors and a joint operational staff. According to the report, "the association sponsors the council, finances its activities and collaborates with it in fostering a program of citizen education in community affairs. The process of citizen education is carried on by fact-finding committees on which public officials, professional engineers and prominent citizens, qualified by knowledge and interest, serve as members." Affiliated with the council are 25 neighborhood community associations, three township associations, three county-wide organizations and seventeen overlapping citizen groups including the Citizens' Civic Association.

The 49th Annual Progress Report (*1951*) of the Commonwealth Club of California (320 pages) lists all its 7,000-plus members. Organized in 1904 with 60 members, the club has grown steadily, showing losses only during the depression years. During the year, 372 section meetings were held with an attendance of 6,910. The club holds Friday luncheons with speakers covering many subjects. During the year members were polled on numerous occasions on questions of public interest.

"We report progress on the promised 1952 program," says the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois in a twelve-page middle-of-the-year report. The brochure covers the work of the federation's various committees — on state government reorganization, personnel administration, public employee pension problem, municipal problems, finance, schools and other activities.

Members Get Questionnaire

The Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis compiled and mailed to all its members a questionnaire designed to give the organization a picture of their activities and interests. In addition to the usual name, address and telephone number for home and business, members were asked their special training and experience, what organizations they belong to, what committees they would like to serve on, projects of interest.

On the Air

Local radio stations were so impressed with the listener response to "The People Act" series of broadcasts that 175 of them in both the U. S. and Canada are rebroadcasting the 26 programs. These progams dealt with the ways local communities have solved their own problems — juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, crime, old folks, slum clearance, schools and many others.[1] Records and scripts are in demand also for classroom and adult education use. Those interested in learning more about the availability of material should write "The People Act," 601 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

Citizens Study Committee

A Central Contra Costa (California) Citizens' Committee has been established by the board of directors of the Contra Costa County Taxpayers Association to study problems of the governments of the area. Subcommittees of five citizens have been established in each of five areas within the county. Says *The Spotlight,* news letter of the Taxpayers Association, "It is hoped that the establishment of these citizens committees will give the taxpayers of the central part of the county organizations by which they may more easily study and voice their opinion upon local governmental problems."

Stockholders Report

The 1952 "Stockholders Report" of the League of Women Voters of New York City is a "panorama of our services and accomplishments." Four pages long, it sets forth the past year's activities by attractive illustrations and short, pithy statements. No member should complain she "didn't have time to digest" it—it's predigested already.

From Across the Pacific

In Honolulu Hale We Elect (21 pages, 25 cents) and *In Honolulu Hale They Appoint* (46 pages, 40 cents) are two valuable handbooks from the League of Women Voters of Honolulu. As the titles suggest, the first deals with officials elected by the voters and their departments, the other with appointive officials and their departments. Together they present an excellent picture of the city-county government of Honolulu.

Philadelphia Cleans Up

"The Public Conscience of Philadelphia," the Committee of Seventy terms itself in its sixteen-page pamphlet of the same title. The brochure sketches the history of the committee since its founding in 1904, its membership "limited to 70 persons representative of the best interests of the community," structure, work and accomplishments.

A recent issue of the committee's *Civic Affairs* discusses the all-important question, "What Is Political Patronage?" Its answer: "Patronage is a costly abuse of political power contradicting the principles of representative government which advocate equal opportunity for all who are qualified to compete openly for positions in government. Patronage gives the inside track to the political favorites sponsored by party leaders." Citing some of the recent accomplishments of local citizens in securing better city government, the bulletin comments that "Philadelphians have proven they do not need political errand boys."

---

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1952, page 317.

Terre Haute Group Studies Budget

The Citizens Civic Association of Terre Haute, Indiana, via its councilmanic committee, invited interested citizens and city councilmen to attend its discussion of the proposed 1953 city budget. Questions put to the three councilmen who attended the meeting dealt with such matters as street improvements and whether better services would be forthcoming for the increased city taxes proposed. The association compiled a comparison of figures from the 1952 budget and the proposed 1953 budget for the aid of those studying the new proposal.

Home Rule Conference

At its annual meeting in October the Rhode Island Home Rule Association began plans for a second one-day congress on local charter problems, to be held in January. Co-chairmen for the event are Dallas Lore Sharp, Jr., treasurer of the association, and Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket. The organization reports that as a result of a home rule amendment adopted by the voters in June 1951, seven communities voted on new charters at the November 4 election.

Study City-County Relations

Interested in securing more efficient government, the Montgomery County (Alabama) League of Women Voters plans to study the advantages and disadvantages of combining some of the functions of the city and county of Montgomery.

Look Applauds

For having "ignored the local political machine and brought efficiency and honesty to Chicago's formerly scandal-ridden sanitary district," *Look* magazine "applauds" Anthony A. Olis, the sanitary district's head for the past two years, in its issue of October 21. In 1951 Mr. Olis cut his district's budget by $6,954,000 and the 1952 budget by an additional $426,000. The number of politically-appointed employees has been trimmed from 1,091 to 368.

Strictly Personal

Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago, addressed his organization's annual membership meeting this fall, speaking on "Confessions of a Reformer: Twenty-five Years on the Chicago Civic Front."

The board of directors of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis has unanimously elected Leslie C. Park, Minneapolis businessman and first vice-president of the league since its organization a year ago, as its new president.

VIGILANCE—PRICE OF SUCCESS

(Continued from page 560)

prayers go with you as yours should go with them. And lest you get a little stuffy thinking how good you are to be doing your civic best, I suggest you recall that you are not asked to shed your blood but only at worst to lose an occasional night's sleep or allow a small draft on your pocketbook, and that if you do these things you can hold your heads high with pride in your city.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

New Industries Pose City Problems

Expanding Communities Must Plan Growth Carefully

PROBLEMS of plant location perennially concern industry, and there is already an extensive literature on this subject. Less frequently is there a discussion of what a community should look for in new industries. Both facets of this problem have been discussed in several recent publications from the south and west, the regions of the United States experiencing most rapid change today.

According to the May, June and July 1952 *Arizona Business and Economic Review,* published by the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Arizona, most private concerns like to build new installations where the local government is "alert, progressive, understanding, clean and businesslike." In its turn, the city or state should pursue a policy of selective solicitation, wooing especially those businesses having "modern management," "promising to turn the peculiarities of a region to advantage," and on good terms with labor.

No doubt the best long range solution to these problems is through community planning involving all the major interests in the community. In addition, broader statewide planning in the same area is needed, because so many of the economic and other questions involved extend beyond city boundaries. Often, indeed, these are regional or national problems beyond the ability of the state to control.

Mississippi's attempt to cope with problems of attracting new industry is described in "Mississippi's BAWI Program," by W. E. Barksdale, *State Government,* July 1952, and *Industrializing Mississippi,* by Raymond F. Wallace, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Mississippi, 1952. According to Wallace, the BAWI (balance agriculture with industry) program "is a significant improvement over the system of industrial subsidy by local chambers of commerce or similar groups"; but BAWI "probably has not attracted any new plants to the state which were not also attracted by several other factors of equal or greater importance."

A central feature of BAWI is the subsidization of new industry through municipal bonds issued under state authorization but paid off from local tax revenues. This type of financial aid to new industry, along with tax concessions, has frequently been criticized as unwise. Indeed, the weight of informed opinion is strongly opposed to it. For example, the May 1952 *Arizona Business and Economic Review,* reports that "community concessions are rarely the major reason for the selection of a plant location. . . . The over-all economies of the location are far more significant than any concession a community could possibly afford to give."

Nonetheless, many states as well as cities continue to offer these special inducements toward plant location. Albert E. Redman, director of industrial development of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, in an October 1, 1952, *Report of Study on Special Inducements to Influence Plant Location* (mimeographed), has compiled a digest of tax exemptions in the 48 states. What some observers term the "war" between several southern states and the New England states over the intricate questions of plant relocation is discussed in the March 1, 1952, *Tennessee Industrial Planning Newsletter,* of the Tennessee State Planning Commission; *Connecticut Government,* March 1952, Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut; and *Public Management,* February 1952, page 40. The Portland (Oregon) *City Club Bulletin,* May 9, 1952, recommends that the Portland charter be amended to give the city council power to spend money "to promote industrial growth."

Cities and states, in their haste to attract new industries and to benefit from the expansion of the national economy, often fail to see that they may be inviting detrimental as well as beneficial effects. It is true that sound economic development and improved community life benefit both the industry and the state or city. On the other hand, a new industry of any size is bound to have a local impact in terms of utilities, transportation and parking, protective services, education, health and other facilities. A sound community demands a type of balance that cannot always be measured in dollars. An excellent case in point is the small midwestern city which recently succeeded in attracting a new industry whose future employment will be greater than is the present population of the city!

"Communities need make no judgments . . . that the industrialization of a community is a good in itself. A community may discover greater opportunities for development in non-industrial employment or service industries. Indeed, communities may evaluate prospective enterprises, just industrialists may rate communities, rder to determine how suitable a ular enterprise would be for the elopment of the community." *Local overnment Services and Industrial Development in the Southeast*—a joint statement by the seven southern university bureaus of public administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority Division of Regional Studies, University, Alabama, 1952.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Bureau Reports

59th Annual Report. Fiscal Year Ended September 30, 1952. Chicago, Civic Federation, October 1952. 15 pp.

Nineteenth Annual Report. New Haven, Taxpayers Research Council, June 1952. 6 pp.

Annual Report for the Years: 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952. New Orleans, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952. 16 pp.

Strictly Personal

Miss Inez A. Applebee, one of the nation's most experienced students of municipal finance, retired from public service in October. Miss Applebee had worked since 1913 in the Governments Division of the Census Bureau, where she engaged in compiling and analyzing financial statistics of local and state governments. Three years ago she received the meritorious service award of the Department of Commerce in recognition of her "sustained outstanding performance of duties."

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administrative Law

Papers on Florida Administrative Law. Edited by Ernest R. Bartley. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 95 pp. $1.50.

Assessment

Property Assessment. Separation of Assessment Organization from Assessment Appeals Procedure Suggested. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 20, 1952. 4 pp.

Budgeting

The PFB's (Planning Financing, Budgeting) **of Capital Budgeting.** New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, October 1952. 17 pp.

County Government

Florida's County Government.[1] By J. E. Dovell. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1952. 16 pp.

Debt

Philadelphia's Net Bonded Debt 1945 to 1951— Estimated for 1952 to 1958 (Exclusive of School Debt). **Municipal Debt of Eleven Large Cities on a Per Capita Basis, 1950.** Philadelphia 7, Citizens' Budget Committee, October 1952. Charts, 1 p. each.

Postwar Debt in Providence. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), October 1952. 3 pp.

Responsibility for Capital Borrowing. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* October 7, 1952. 6 pp.

Education

Analysis of the Constitutional Amendment for State Medical Education Board and Scholarship Fund. By William E. Davis, Jr. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, October 1952. 27 pp.

50 Trouble Spots. A Research Report on School District Building Problems. Seattle 1, Washington State Taxpayers Association, October 1952. 21 pp.

For Greater Efficiency and Economy in the Business Administration of Baltimore's School System. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, October 1952. 5 pp.

Milwaukee Classroom Teachers Request for 1953 Increased Salaries: Tentative Cost $720,000. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 11, 1952. 3 pp.

The Problem of Financing Higher Education in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* October 1952. 4 pp.

School Building Program. Work Preceding Opening of New Schools Requires Cooperation of Many Officials. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 6, 1952. 6 pp.

Elections and Voting

County Chairmen as Election Forecasters. By William Buchanan and Virginia V. S. Zerega. State College, Mississippi State College, The Social Science Research Center, September 1952. 22 pp.

Industrial Relations

Industrial Relations and Safety in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, 1952. 25 pp.

Legislative Bodies

The Legislative Challenge Remains! By Norman MacDonald. **State's Lawmaking Machine is Rusty.** Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Tax Talk,* September 1952. 1 p. each.

The Presiding Officer and Rules Committee in Legislatures of the United States. By Eugene C. Lee. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, September 1952. 49 pp. $1.00.

Legislative Committees

Legislative Committees in North Carolina. By Henry W. Lewis. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, *Law and Administration,* 1952. $1.50.

Motor Vehicles

Periodic Inspection of Motor Vehicles. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, July 1952. 27 pp.

---

[1] For a review of this publication see page 571, this issue.

Municipal Printing

Printing Shops in the City Government of Philadelphia. Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania Economy League, Philadelphia Committee, July 1952. 32 pp.

Pay-As-You-Go

Pay-As-You-Go. Proposal to Appropriate for Public Works from Current Revenues Is Sound Policy. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, October 27, 1952. 4 pp.

Pensions

Firemen's Pension Fund. Members of City's Fire-Fighting Force Are Protected by Separate Pension System. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, November 3, 1952. 4 pp.

Public Health and Welfare

Public Health and Welfare Administration in Maryland. Baltimore 1, Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, October 1952. 28 pp.

Strike "Pay Dirt" in Essex County Study of Welfare Operations. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer*, October 1952. 2 pp.

Public Opinion Polls

Analysis of a Student Opinion Poll at Mississippi State College, 1952 Presidential Election. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, October 1952. 8 pp.

Salaries

Private Pay Compared with Milwaukee County's Pay Plan. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, October 18, 1952. 3 pp.

Surveys

Organization of Local Government in the DeWitt Community. A Citizens' Handbook for Local Planning and Action. Syracuse, Governmental Research Bureau, October 1952. 33 pp.

County Tax Rates Climb. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest*, October 1952. 7 pp.

How to Improve Your Municipality's Credit Rating. By David M. Wood. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, in cooperation with the Tennessee Municipal League, *Tennessee Town and City*, October 1952. 4 pp.

Local Tax Calendars and Cash Basis Operations. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, August 1952. 36 pp.

Summary Analysis of City of Houston Tax Office Property Tax Assessment and Collection. By William E. Davis, Jr. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, October 1, 1952. 15 pp.

Where the Colorado Tax Dollar Goes. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer*, October 1952. 8 pp.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 570)

and three at large. Woonsocket will have a seven-member council elected at large. Central Falls will elect two councilmen from each of five wards. First elections in Pawtucket and Central Falls will be in November 1953; in Woonsocket they will be in April 1953.

The vote in Pawtucket was 23,244 to 3,137; in Woonsocket 15,505 to 1,229; and in Central Falls 5,310 to 1,709.

In the town of East Providence a strong-mayor charter backed by the Democratic party and opposed by the Republicans was defeated, 11,865 to 7,957. It provided for partisan elections.

Books in Review

Appointed Executive Local Government. The California Experience. By John C. Bollens. Los Angeles, Haynes Foundation, 1952. xi, 233 pp. Clothbound, $3.75; paper, $3.00.

This important source book analyzes with rare completeness the facts of California's city and county experiences with appointive executives, whether called city managers or chief administrative officers (CAO). There are 82 city and three county managers in the state and 37 CAO's in cities and ten in counties. Since the end of 1942, 46 have been added to the manager list and 45 to the CAO list which numbered three (Calistoga, San Francisco and Los Angeles County) in 1942. So the two titles are marching forward together.

The CAO has looked from here as a mild rash on the damask cheek of the virgin classic council-manager movement. It has not been exhibited in the literature until now. The evidence in this valuable volume seems to be that the definition of a CAO as distinguished from a manager is elusive and variable from city to city, identifiable only by a certain irresoluteness in giving the executive the usual authority to select department heads, initiate budget requests and stand off meddling in administration by the council.

The *Year Book* of the International City Managers' Association excludes from its "approved" listings ostensible council-manager cities and counties where the manager, by whatever name, is not given power to manage. Los Angeles County, for instance, is not counted because its CAO does not, by charter power, appoint department heads, although in practice since 1938 the county board has always accepted the CAO's first choice from the civil service eligible list and has supported his authority over the huge payroll of the county. But the association has found that some of the other CAO's are legally strong enough to be listed as "approved," running up the California city and county manager list to 96, although some of them are called CAO's.

The association works without a written definition of city manager and the National Municipal League accepts its count rather than have conflicting lists in circulation. Perhaps, if the title "chief administrative officer" had not come into existence in the city-county of San Francisco in 1931 and Los Angeles County in 1938, we would have simply seen in California, as elsewhere, an added unlisted array of deputy mayors and managers with substandard powers.

This volume provides a complete analytical basis for California, the only state where the CAO title is used, but shows that CAO cannot be defined as a clear and different uniform new concept. It does not denote a rival plan, for my interpretation of this evidence is that a CAO is a manager whose logical authority is insecure, charterwise. But the power of any council to fire may make a given manager's powers, no matter how well defined in the charter, more precarious at times than those of a CAO in the next community who enjoys comfortable relationships.

Other illuminating chapters relate to the vagaries of campaigns for adoption, the rather short average tenures of the California executives, the advance of eleven cities from CAO to manager, the vivid irritated dramas of self-government in some places, and the cases of reversions to older plans in the early years. Wisely omitted are the soon-outdated anecdotes of managerial accomplishments and clean-ups, but, disappointingly, there is no attempt to elaborate on the comment that improvement in the personnel of councils, made feasible by the inherently more attractive conditions of council service, has actually followed installation of appointed executives.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Let's Go into Politics. By Raymond E. Baldwin. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1952. 179 pp. $2.75.

Over several recent years, Governor Baldwin lectured on practical politics at Wesleyan University and now has put the material into a charming narrative which follows his own personal experience up through defeat and victories from small beginnings to the top. The reader is led into the initial strangeness of each new job and to a share in the first impressions of each expanding scene. The author's comments are simple and penetrating and the characters are dealt with vividly, swiftly and tolerantly. A rare but somewhat uncritical picture of Connecticut politics! Governor Baldwin has been a solid citizen rather than a crusader. His tale is a first-class case study.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Annexations

Municipal Annexation and Detachments: April 2, 1950 - April 1, 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 22 pp.

Civil Liberties

The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties (revised edition). How Far Has the Court Protected the Bill of Rights? By Osmond K. Fraenkel. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1952. 90 pp.

Council-Manager Government

The Pros and Cons of the Council-manager Plan. Minneapolis 14, League of Minnesota Municipalities and Municipal Reference Bureau, 1952. 6 pp.

County Government

Arlington County, Virginia, Handbook of County Government Organization. Arlington 1, Office of the County Manager, 1952. Variously paged.

County Government and Administration in West Virginia.[1] By Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, University of West Virginia, Bureau for Government Research, 1952. viii, 82 pp.

County Government in New Jersey.[1] By James M. Collier. New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1952. 64 pp. 85 cents.

The Effect of Incorporation on Arlington's Finances. A Report by the Staff of the County Manager for the Advisory Committee on Fiscal Affairs. Arlington 1, Office of the County Manager, 1952. 148 pp.

Report of the Effects of the Incorporation of Arlington County, Virginia, as a City of the First Class. By Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia. Arlington 1, Office of the County Manager, 1952. 129 pp.

Report on the Incorporation of Arlington under the 1946 Charter. Arlington, Virginia, Arlington County Citizens Study Commission, 1952. 109 pp.

Democracy

Wellsprings of Democracy. Guidance for Local Societies. By John M. Brewer. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. xii, 232 pp. $4.50.

Federal Government

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies. Senate Action on Hoover Commission Re-

---

[1] For a review of these publications see page 571, this issue.

ports. Reports of the Committee on Governmental Operations. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 26 and 96 pages respectively.

Juvenile Delinquency

A Description of the Special Juvenile Delinquency Project of the Children's Bureau. Some Facts About Juvenile Delinquency. Suggested Projects for the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency. Summary of Proceedings Conference on Control of Juvenile Delinquency. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau, 1952. 3, 5, 8 and 31 pp. respectively.

Municipal Government

Charter and Election Data on Minnesota Municipalities. Minneapolis 14, Municipal Reference Bureau and League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1952. 4 pp.

Municipal Officials

Directory Tennessee Municipal Officials. Nashville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1952. 63 pp.

Role of the Municipal Clerk in the United States and Canada. Chicago 37, National Institute of Municipal Clerks, 1952. 15 pp. $3.

Planning

Education in Town Planning. An International Survey. The Hague (Netherlands), International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, 1952. 139 pp. Price Fl. 5.00.

Recreation

Recreation in California—Directory of Public Recreation Agencies Providing Year-round Services: Comparative Data on Finances and Personnel. Sacramento 14, California Recreation Commission, 1952. 33 and 26 pp. respectively.

Smoke Abatement

Allegheny County Bureau of Smoke Control—Third Annual Report of Activities for the Year Ending May 31, 1952. Pittsburgh, the Bureau, 1952. 70 pp.

State Government

Essentials of Missouri Government (second edition). By Robert F. Karsch. Columbia, Missouri, Lucas Brothers, 1952. 156 pp. charts, maps.

Taxation and Finance

Federal-State-Local Relations and Tax Coordination. By Alfred E. Driscoll. Address before the Twentieth Anniversary Annual Conference. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1952. 5 pp.

Federal, State and Local Government Finances for 1951 and Selected Previous Years. Charts prepared for the Governors' Conference, June 1952. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1952. 6 pp.

Large-City Finances in 1951. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 57 pp. 30 cents.

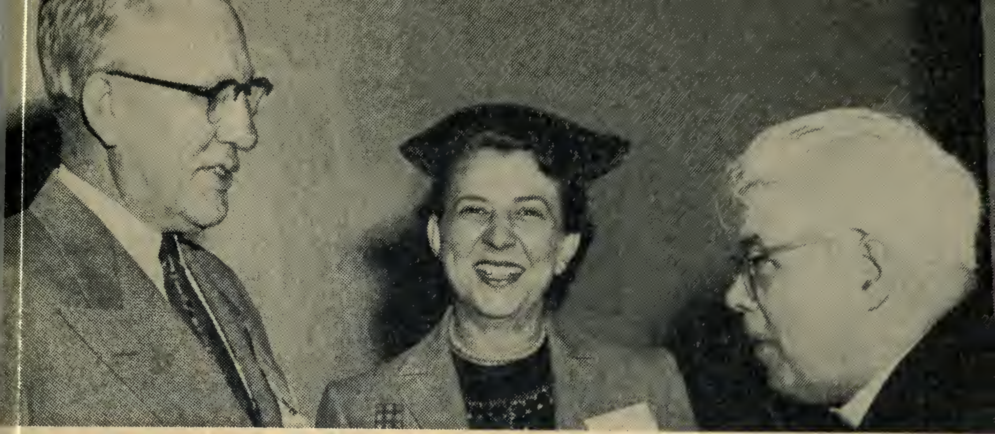
Two Decades of Tax Collections. Variations in State Tax Patterns During Two Decades. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* July-August and September 1952 respectively. 50 and 25 cents.

State Tax Collections in 1952. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952. 10 pp.

Traffic Safety

Here's How Projects Are Used to Further Street and Highway Accident Prevention. From All Over the World Come Traffic Safety Ideas (second edition). Chicago 6, National Association of Automotive Mutual Insurance Companies, 1952. 56 pp. illus.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for January 1953: **Winter Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

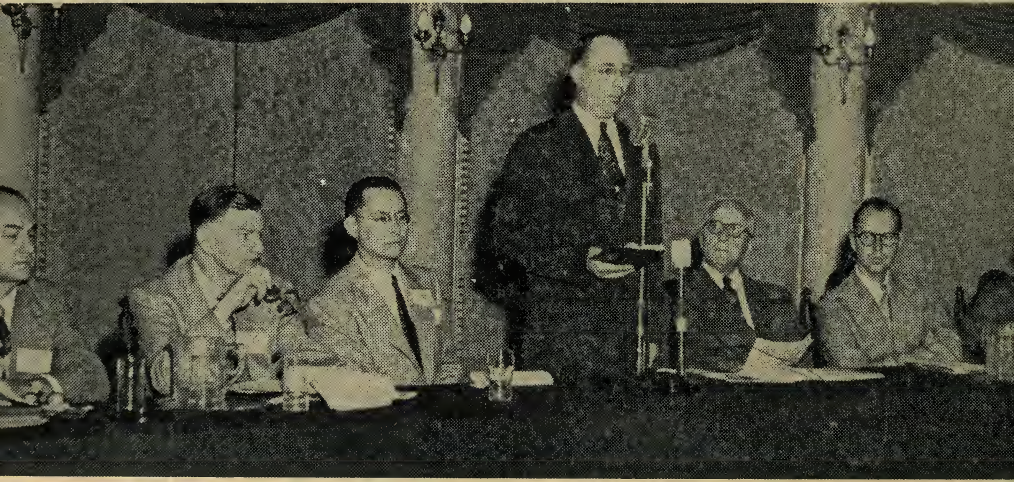


Alex R. Thomas, chairman of the San Antonio Citizens Committee, chats with Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of "The Queen's Work," St. Louis, between sessions. With them is Mrs. Edward G. Conroy, wife of the executive vice president of the San Antonio Research and Planning Council.

Three prominent city managers enjoying the party at La Villita are, left to right, C. A. Harrell of San Antonio, Ray W. Wilson of Phoenix, and L. P. Cookingham of Kansas City. In the rear are, left to right, Jess Gittinger, executive director, Citizens Regional Planning Council, Kansas City, and E. A. Weishaar, civic secretary, civic department, Kansas City Chamber of Commerce.

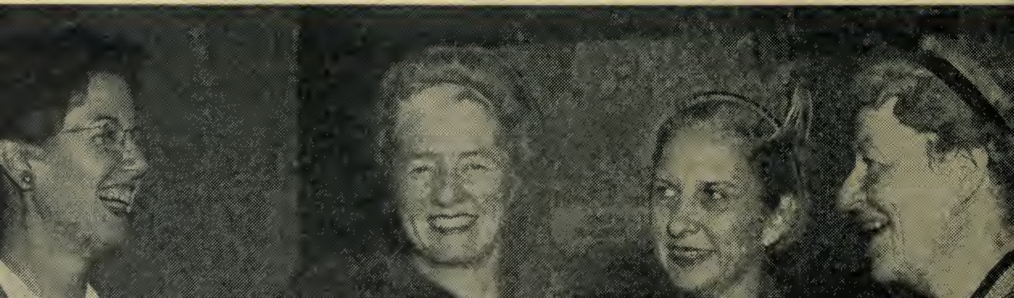
At the speakers' table for the opening luncheon of the National Conference on Government are, left to right, John M. Kernochan, director, Legislative Drafting Research Fund, Columbia University; Thomas R. Reid, director of civic affairs, Ford Motor Company, who gave the principal address entitled "Good Government Is Good Business"; and H. L. Bridgman, president, San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, who presided at the luncheon.

More than 100 people crowded into the Oriental Room at the Gunter Hotel to hear the session on Suburbanitis. At the speakers' table are, left to right, Norman N. Gill, director, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, Milwaukee; R. Gordon Kean, Jr., acting parish attorney, East Baton Rouge Parish-City of Baton Rouge; Allen D. Albert, Jr., chairman, Local Government Commission of Fulton County, Atlanta; Winston W. Crouch, University of California, who presided; Leo C. Riethmayer, University of Colorado; Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president, San Antonio Research and Planning Council; David Knepper, University of Houston; and Daniel R. Grant, Vanderbilt University.



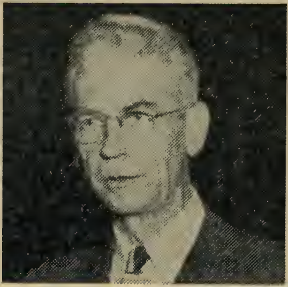
Streamlining State Justice was the subject of one of the most important sessions at the Conference. Speakers were, left to right, A. Cecil Snyder, acting chief justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico; Lynn M. Ewing, president, Missouri Bar Association; William Miller, Princeton Surveys; Glenn R. Winters, secretary, American Judicature Society; Charles I. Francis, chairman, State Bar Committee on Judicial Section of Texas Constitution, who presided; A. J. Thomas, Jr., Southern Methodist University Law School; and Winston Paul, member of 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention.

Particularly interested in the session on Women in Public Affairs were, left to right, Mrs. Jack Allensworth of San Antonio, Mrs. Siegel W. Judd of Grand Rapids, Mrs. B. H. Passmore of San Antonio, and Mrs. L. H. Lunde of Chicago.



dward E. Haddock
HMOND, VA.

Mrs. Siegel W. Judd
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.



R. H. Givens
MIAMI, FLA.

Mayor Hohen Foster
PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Three Cities Want Conference in '53

Where the National Conference on Government will be held in 1953 is anybody's guess at the moment. However, Miami, Florida, Richmond, Virginia, and Grand Rapids, Michigan, each have high hopes that their city will be chosen.

These municipalities filed formal applications to be host city next year at a meeting prior to the annual dinner of the League Council in San Antonio last month. Extolling the virtues of Miami was R. H. Givens, a member of the Miami City Commission. Mayor Edward E. Haddock of Richmond extended an invitation to the League on behalf of his city, while Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, director of the Grand Rapids Citizens' Action and a member of the League Council, urged the League to come to her city. Richmond hoisted a large banner, "Richmond Next Year," over the speakers' platform at the League's annual dinner.

Looking ahead to 1954, Mayor Hohen Foster of Phoenix, Arizona, invited the League to hold its 60th annual Conference there that year.

This year's National Conference was the first ever held in the southwest. The Conference has been held only once in the far west—at Los Angeles in 1912.

Council Votes to Search for League Building

The National Municipal League is looking for a permanent home in a building of its own.

At its meeting in San Antonio, the Council authorized a committee to find a small building for the League's office with a view to making it a national civic center.

The Council also voted to establish a building fund to which tax-deductible contributions could be made. Purpose of the fund is to provide the means outside the League's budget to obtain, recondition, equip and, if possible, maintain the building.

The idea of a permanent home for the League has been entertained for some time. The continued widespread civic activity throughout the country makes demands on the League for increased services which cannot be met with maximum efficiency without more space, better adapted to the League's special needs. For example, the right building would make the League's unique civic library more available to visiting scholars, journalists, researchers and civic leaders, and provide better facilities for committee meetings and civic seminars and workshops.

The annual dinner of the National Municipal League's Council, held during the National Conference on Government at San Antonio. Reading clockwise are Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines; Karl Detzer, Leland, Michigan; John E. Bebout, NML; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Michigan; Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle; John S. Linen, West Orange, New Jersey; Charles Edison, West Orange, New Jersey; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati; Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio; William Collins, Yonkers, New York; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; Alfred Willoughby, NML; Henry Bruère, New York; Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML; Richard S. Childs, New York; Lee M. Sharrar, Houston; George H. Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey; F. E. Schuchman, Coraopolis, Pennsylvania; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut; E. D. Dodd, Toledo; Stanley Gordon, New York; Carl H. Pforzheimer, New York; Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis; Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse, New York; L. E. Marlowe, Richmond, Virginia.

League Elects New Council Members

Henry Bruère was re-elected president and John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick vice presidents of the League at the annual membership meeting November 17 in San Antonio.

Eight new members were elected to the Council. They are Mrs. Albert D. Cash, former member of the Cincinnati City Council; E. D. Dodd, director of public relations, Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo; Ewart W. Goodwin, president, Percy H. Goodwin Company, San Diego, California; Melrose Hohngreen, president, Alamo Iron Works, San Antonio, Texas; Frederick L. Bird, Dun and Bradstreet, New York; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis; Cecil Morgan, vice president, Esso Standard Oil Company, New York. Their terms will expire in 1955.

Colonel E. W. Palmer, president, Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee, was elected a regional vice president. Re-elected to the same office were Lester Bates, Columbia, South Carolina; James L. Beebe, Los Angeles; William Collins, New York; John B. Gage, Kansas City, Missouri; Senator-elect Barry Goldwater, Phoenix; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis; Arthur E. Johnson, Denver; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; John Nuveen, Chicago; Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond, Virginia; Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati; and Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio.

Re-elected honorary vice presidents were: Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; Harry Woodburn Chase, New York; Russell Forbes, Washington, D. C.; Robert C. Hendrickson, Woodbury, New Jersey; C. E. Merriam, Chicago; Frank H. Morse, New York; Anne M. Mumford, Los Angeles; W. B. Munro, Pasadena; William J. Pape, Waterbury, Connecticut; and Henry L. Shattuck, Boston.

TITLES AND SUBJECTS

(Main Articles in Italics)

A

- **Accounting:**
  - Research Studies 221
- **Acworth, Ga.:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 203
- **Administrative Law:**
  - Research Studies 587
- **Adult Education:**
  - Community Councils 162
  - Conferences 217
  - Off to a Good Start 55
- **Advisory Referenda:**
  - *Voice of the People* 136
  - Wis. Redistricting Referendum 149
- **Aeronautics:**
  - Research Studies 268
- **Air Pollution:** (See Smoke Abatement)
- **Airports:**
  - City-county Cooperation in Ga., Ky. 461
  - Research Studies 372
- **Akron, Ohio:**
  - Adopt Income Taxes 361
- **Alabama:**
  - Merit System Now Required .. 200
  - Provides for Interns 43
  - Voters Handle Propositions 561
- **Alameda, Cal.:**
  - Potpourri 521
- **Alameda Co., Cal.:**
  - Bureau Reports 268
  - Seeks to Void Coroner System . 44
- **Alamosa City and Co., Colo.:**
  - City-county Consolidation 360
- **Alaska:**
  - Cities Collect Sales Tax 213
  - Getting Out the Vote 367
- **Albany, Cal.:**
  - Local Issues Passed Upon 569
- **Alberta, Canada:**
  - Use Alternative Vote 468
- **Albuquerque, N. M.:**
  - Counties to Be Studied 512
- **Alice, Tex.:**
  - Intergovernmental Cooperation . 102
- **All-American Cities:**
  - All-American Communities 2
  - Another First for Mount Vernon 227
  - Boston Honored for Progress .. 327
  - Cities Vie for All-America 534
  - Dayton Praised for Self-reliance 178
  - Home Town Battle Ground (Edit.) 128
  - Honors Atlanta, Columbia 228
  - Kalamazoo Citizen Action 125
  - *Look* Aids All-America Contest 381
  - Mt. Vernon All-American 126
  - Pawtucket All-American City .. 176
  - Picks All-American Cities 1
  - *Rooms for the Baby Crop* 238
  - School Restoration Wins Award 230
  - Sees Revolt Against Labels 175
  - They'll Pick the Team 485
- **Allegheny Co., Pa.:**
  - Aids for the Voter 519
  - Commission Begins Work 512
  - Corn Flakes and Voting 472
  - Gets Metropolitan Commission . 359
  - Governor Appoints Commission 462
  - Literature for Citizen 366
  - Metropolitan Study Attacked .. 573
- **Alton, Ill.:**
  - Manager Plan Developments 405, 569
- AMA to Meet in Los Angeles ... 460
- **Amesbury, Mass.:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 202
- **Anacortes, Wash.:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 354
- **Andrew, Tex.:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 39
- **Animal Shelter:**
  - New Turn in City-county Relations 255
- **Anne Arundel Co., Md.:**
  - Counties Engage in Planning ... 46
- **Annexation:**
  - Ariz. Invokes Referenda 305
  - Cal. Cities Study County Relations 207
  - *Cities Urged to Reach Out* 187
  - Five Cities Seek to Annex 251
  - Potpourri 370
  - Recommendations for Nashville-Davidson Co. 409
- **Appointment vs. Election:**
  - Local Issues Passed Upon 569
  - School Board Status Debated in N. Y. 93
- **Aransas Pass, Tex.:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 94
- **Arizona:**
  - Initiative, Referendum Weakened 401
  - League Holds Convention 96
  - Legislature Invokes Referenda .. 305
  - New Industries Pose Problems 586
  - Repeals Retirement Act; Aids Reorganization 566
- **Arkansas:**
  - Community Councils 162
  - Other Election Results 577
  - State Medical Examiner 304
- **Arlington Co., Va.:**
  - County Considers City Status .. 462
  - *Ethics in Local Government* 438
  - Six-year Program 256

Strengthens Manager Plan 572
To Vote on Manager's Tenure 206
Arlington, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments 249, 568
Asheville, N. C.:
All-American Communities 2
Rooms for the Baby Crop 238
School Restoration Award 230
Ashland, N. H.:
Manager Plan Developments 249
Ashland, Wis.:
Manager Plan Developments 568
Ashtabula, Ohio:
Manager Plan Developments 95
Assessments:
Assessors Decry Prewar Base for Property Values 262
Assessor Uses Photo Review 314
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
Improved Standards Urged 513
Md. Map Survey to Pilot 1954 Reassessment 261
Norfolk Issues Manual 313
Research Studies 268, 423, 476, 525, 587
Roanoke Voters Veto Reform 212
Tax Rates of American Cities 18
Training for Public Officers 115
Twilight of the Township 390
Atlanta, Ga.:
All-American Communities 2
City-county Cooperation 512
Gallup Honors Atlanta 228
Pioneers in Merger 182
Planning Council Activities 581
Auditing:
Pass Reorganization Measures 402
Research Studies 477
Auditoriums:
Research Studies 423
Australia:
To Investigate P. R. Abroad 363
Authorities:
Bond Field Developments 314
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
Governmental Units Decrease 253
Housing In-lieu Payments 51
Mich. Cities Cooperate in Refuse Disposal 40
Offer Housing Authority Bonds 213
Research Studies 268, 322, 477
Turnpike Authorities Expand 504

B

Baltimore, Md.:
Sales Tax Reenacted 52
Barnesboro, Pa.:
Manager Plan Developments 353
Battle Creek, Mich.:
Manager Plan Developments 249
Bay Co., Mich.:
State Needs Real Executive 57
Too Many Elective Officials? 449
Voter Needs a Break (Edit.) 72
Beaconsfield, Quebec:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Beautification:
City Beautiful Movement Revives 303
Proposed New Orleans Charter 250
Beckley, W. Va.:
Manager Plan Developments 301
Beeville, Tex.:
Adopts Manager Plan 39
Bellingham, Wash.:
Personal Earnings Taxes Void 313
Bemidji, Minn.:
Adopts Manager Plan 506
Bernalillo Co., N. M.:
Counties Studied 512
Bethany, Okla.:
Manager Plan Developments 458
Bexar Co., Tex.:
Bureau Notes 422
Bibb Co., Ga.:
City-county Cooperation 461
Bibliographies:
Research Studies 168
Big Stone Gap, Va.:
Citizens, Schools for Better Communities 215
Youth Has Its Day 517
Biloxi, Miss.:
Manager Plan Developments 152, 405
Birmingham, Ala.:
Bars Municipal Strikes 508
Manager Plan Developments 302
Blacksburg, Va.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Bloomington, Ill.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Boards and Commissions:
Americanization in Japan 443
Boards, Commissions Compete with Government 320
Manager Suggested for Prince George's Co. 100
Reformer's Task Never Done 339
Research Studies 59, 423
States Try Reorganization 334
Bonds: (See Finance — Bonds and Debt)
Bonwood, Tenn.:
Adopts Manager Plan 202

Books in Review (Dept.) 61, 120, 172, 224, 272, 324, 375, 427, 480, 528, 590

Boonton, N. J.:
Manager Plan Developments 405
Manager Plan News 473
Boston, Mass.:
All-American Communities 2
Honored for Civic Progress 327

Potpourri 370
Tomorrow's Citizens 8
Boulder City, Nev.:
Local Ownership for Government Towns 505
Boulder, Colo.:
City-county Consolidation 360
Briarcliff Manor, N. Y.:
New, Old in Organizations 159
Bridgewater Township, N. J.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 404
Bristol, R. I.:
Manager Plan Developments 151, 568
British Columbia:
Use Alternative Vote 468
Brockton, Mass.:
Question Box 583
Brookfield, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments 354, 457
Bruère Gets Medal for Service .. 123
Budgets: (See Finance—Budgets)
Buena Park, Cal.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 406
Buffalo, N. Y.:
Housing In-lieu Payments 51
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Building Codes:
Research Studies 59
Buncombe Co., N. C.:
All-American Communities 2
Rooms for the Baby Crop 238
School Restoration Award 230
Burbank, Cal.:
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Bushnell, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments 249, 302
Business and Industry:
Boom Finds Citizens on Job .. 112
Businessmen and Government .. 546
Corn Flakes and Voting 472
Look Applauds 521
New Industries Pose Problems . 586
Research Studies 60, 478

C

Cabell Co., W. Va.:
Voting Machines Approved ... 360
California:
Aids for the Voter 519
Annual Report 322
Cities Study County Relations .. 207
Citizens Report 583
City-county Studies 411
Committees Study State 246
Effort to Stifle League of Cities 507
Joint Efforts for Filling Jobs .. 356
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Private Groups Use P. R. 363
Schools for Councilmen 252
Seeks Solution to City-county Problems 46
State Revenues Up, Costs Steady 312
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
West Coast League Conferences 41
Youth Has Its Day 517
Calistoga, Cal.:
Intergovernmental Cooperation . 102
Calumet City, Ill.:
Manager Plan Activities 368
Manager Plan Developments ... 354
Cambridge, Mass.:
Cities to Vote on P. R. 467
Legislators Snipe at P. R. 210
New Voters Encouraged 55
P. R. Referenda 578
Sixth P. R. Election 48
Campbell, Ohio:
City Income Taxes Invalid 51
Canada:
Address Civic Groups 278
Bureau Mission to Promote Economy 219
Organize for Citizenship 113
Candidates:
Aids for the Voter 519
How Group Selects Candidates 471
Plank for Candidates (Edit.) .. 437
Scares Parties into Nominating Good Candidates 317
Canton, Ohio:
Adopt Income Taxes 361
Cape Girardeau, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 152
Carlsbad, N. M.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 203
Cash, Civic Leader, Drowns 432
Cattaraugus Co., N. Y.:
Government Analyzed 360
Central Falls, R. I.:
Drop Bicameral Councils 570
Then There Were Nine (Edit.) 539
Centralization:
Look to Local Government 496
Charlotte, N. C.:
Turn in City-county Relations . 255
Charters: (See also Council-manager Government and County Manager and Executive Plans)
Charter Campaign Climax 512
Charter for New Orleans Submitted 250
County Issues Defeated in Md. 572
King Co. Charter Commission Defeats Opposition 155
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
New Orleans Adopts Charter .. 570
Philadelphia's Charter 167
Recent Publications 475
Research Studies 118, 168, 424
R. I. Cities Seek New Charters 302
Chattahoochee, Fla.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 151

Cheyenne, Wyo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 406, 458, 507
Chicago, Ill.:
Annual Reports 58
Bureau Reports 587
Civic Assembly 369
Get Out the Vote 419
Group Has Ambitious Program 418
Literature for the Citizen 366
Look Applauds 585
Manager Plan News 473
Merger of Housing Agencies .. 459
Tackle Cigarette Bootlegging .. 52
Those Hoover Commissions 160
Childress, Tex.:
Adopts Manager Plan 39

Childs' Book Tells of Civic Struggles 434

Child Welfare:
Research Studies 221, 268, 525
Chisholm, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302
Cincinnati, Ohio:
Basis for Collective Bargaining 250
Cash, Civic Leader, Drowns 432
How Conference Goes to Work . 65
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Planning Council Activities ... 581
President of P. R. League Dies 415
P. R. League Meeting 106
P. R. Tried and Tested 107
Tomorrow's Citizens 8
Training for Officers Grows ... 115
Volunteers Increase 474
Why They Liked Cincinnati (Edit.) 6
Circleville, Ohio:
Manager Plan Developments 405, 568
Cisco, Tex.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 40
Citizen Action and Organization:
(See also All-American Cities, Citizenship Day, Civic Awards, Community Councils, Democracy and Education for Citizenship)
Action on Home Rule Urged ... 540
Activity in Spokane 56
Aids for the Voter 519
Americanization in Japan 443
Annual Meetings 369
Apathy Scored 420
Appraising the Legislature 421
Be Aggressive 114
Boom Finds Citizens on Job ... 112
Businessmen and Government .. 546
Canadians Organize for Citizenship 113
Chicago Group Has Program .. 418
Childs' Book Tells of Civic Struggles 434
Childs, Seed Address Groups .. 278
Citizen Action (Dept.) 53, 112, 159, 214, 263, 316, 365, 417, 471, 516, 581
Citizen Groups Get Results .. 417
Citizenship in Colo. 421
Citizens Report 583
Citizens, Schools for Better Communities 215
Citizens Study Committee 584
Citizens Take Over Party ... 316
Civic Assembly 369
Civic Exchange Organized 318
Civic Group Wants Manager .. 206
Coffee and Tea 217
Colorado Springs Citizens Organize 581
Columbia Kills Manager Repealer 263
Committee Seeks Urban Highways 365
Conferences 217
Constitutional Conventions 474
Cook Co. Government Studied .. 208
Corn Flakes and Voting 472
Crime Fighters 369
Crusaders Crash Through 130
Democracy by Air 54
Edison Plea Stirs Big Response 275
Ethics in Local Government 438
Facts Forum 319
From Across the Pacific 584
Get Out the Vote 419
Get Out the Vote Western Style 266
Getting Out the Vote 367
Gold Feathers Bring Out Seattle Voters 265
Grand Rapids Elects Anti-machine Ticket 264
Group Scares Parties into Nominating Good Candidates 317
Heritage Foundation Vote Campaign 266
Home Rule Conference 585
Hoover Committee Suspends .. 408
How Group Selects Candidates 471
How to Conduct Campaign 214
Independents Win in Worcester 104
Let's Face Facts 54
Literature for Citizen 366
Look Applauds 521, 585
Look to Local Government 496
Manager Plan Activities 368
Manager Plan News 473
Members Get Questionnaire ... 584
Memphis Seeks Large Registration 316
Minneapolis Citizens Organized 159
NACS Holds Annual Session .. 53
NACS Plans History 163
NACS Shop Talk 521
Neighborhood Meetings 521
New, Old in Organizations 159
New Organizations 56

New Publications 319
News on Manager Front 162
New Voters Encouraged 55
N. Y. to Study Manager Plan .. 406
No P. R. Referendum in Worcester 467
Off to a Good Start 368
Ohio Turns Down Constitution Reform 565
On the Air 584
On the Job Day and Night ... 163
Out of the Mouths of Babes ... 521
People Act 164
Philadelphia Cleans Up 584
Philadelphia Consolidation Suggestions 359
Place to Start (Edit.) 232
Plank for Candidates (Edit.) .. 437
Planning Council Activities ... 581
Potpourri 370, 521
Press Supports Streamlining .. 254
Price of New Constitution 14
Private Groups Use P. R. 363
Program for Va. County 256
P. R. Election in Cambridge ... 48
P. R. Referenda in Mass. Cities 578
Putting Voter in Saddle 483
Question Box 583
Radio Describes Civic Endeavor 317
Recent Publications 475
Recent Reports 218
Reformer's Task Never Done .. 339
Seed Aids Group in Miami 123
State Needs Real Executive ... 57
States Try Reorganization 334
Statewide Manager Conference . 56
Stockholders Report 584
Strive for Merit System 161
Stronger Foundations (Edit.) .. 539
Study City-county Relations ... 585
Taft Cited for Leadership 380
Taking Curse Off Politics (Edit.) 332
Terre Haute Civic Group 417
Those Hoover Commissions 160
Time of Your Life 419
Tomorrow's Citizens 8
Too Many Elective Officials? ... 449
Town Meeting—City Style 490
Town Meeting in Erie 521
Tracing Its Ancestry 164
Turn About Fair Play 420
United Modesto? 367
Vigilance—Price of Success ... 554
Voice of the People 136
Volunteers Increase 474
Wanted: More and Better Politicians (Edit.) 385
Watchdog 55
Weapon to End Smoke-filled Room 516
What Cure For Voter Apathy? . 346
What Goes with the Voters 160
Why People Don't Vote (Edit.) 180
Why They Liked Cincinnati (Edit.) 6

Citizenship Day:
Citizenship Day 217, 369
Citizenship Day and Conference 520
Good Step Backward (Edit.) .. 181

City Clerks:
Research Studies 424

City Councils: (See also Legislative Bodies and Proportional Representation)
Charge of Interference Fails ... 354
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Research Studies 477
R. I. Cities Drop Bicameral ... 570
R. I. Cities Seek New Charters . 302
Roanoke Voters Veto Assessment Reform 212
Schools for Councilmen 252
Then There Were Nine (Edit.) 539

City-County Consolidation and Cooperation: (See also Consolidation of Functions and Metropolitan Areas)
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger ... 182
Cal. Cities Study County Relations 207
Cal. Seeks Solution to Problems 46
Cal. Studies Continue 411
Colo. Counties, Cities Cooperation Pledge 156
Consolidation of Functions in Colo. 360
Consolidation Proposed in Colo. 461
Cooperation Between County and City 102
Cooperation in Ga. and Ky. 461
Counties Studied in Ga., N. M. .. 512
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
N. C. Health Consolidations ... 411
Pa. Governor Stymies City-county Legislation 101
Philadelphia Consolidation 255
Philadelphia Consolidation Suggestions 359
Philadelphia Home Rule Opposition 45
Recommendations for Nashville-Davidson Co. 409
Seek Cooperative Bases 307
Study City-county Relations 585
Tenn. Counties, Cities Join on Road Program 103
Turn in City-county Relations .. 255

City Managers: (See also Council-manager Plan)
Citizen Groups Get Results 417
Edy, Noted Manager, Dies 328
Houston Failed John N. Edy .. 379
ICMA Code of Ethics 458

ICMA Conference 510
Kan. University Produces Managers 408
Me. University Produces Managers 152
Training Programs 115
Civic Awards: (See also All-American Cities)
Bruère Gets Medal for Service . 123
Kansas City, Philadelphia Receive La Guardia Award 97
Lane Bryant Awards Made 113
Louisville Medals Awarded ... 465
Murray Seasongood—Good Citizen 70
Newspaper Gets Award 217
Pa. Municipal Reports Awards 408
Researchers Gather 476
Civil Defense: (See Defense)
Civil Service:
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger 182
Civil Service Assembly Meetings 204
Civil Service Revision Deferred in N. Y. 248
Governments for Better Personnel 38
Joint Efforts for Filling Jobs .. 356
Las Vegas Speaking Bureau .. 251
Merit System Gains in La. 248
Merit System in Constitutions .. 200
Merit System Research Studies 222
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
Philadelphia Surety Bond on Employees 414
Political Postmasterships Win .. 356
Reformer's Task Never Done .. 339
Research Studies 59, 425, 478
Seek Students for Employees .. 306
Spoils System Research Study 271
Strive for Merit System 161
Va. under Social Security 201
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Clackamas Co., Ore.:
Defeat Manager Plan 311
To Vote on Manager Plan 254
Clarksdale, Miss.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 457
Cleveland, Ohio:
Aids for Voter 519
Bureau Notes 268
Potpourri 370
Clinton, Me.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 457
Code of Ethics: (See Ethics in Government)
Cohasset, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 457
Colby, Kan.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 507
Collective Bargaining:
Cincinnati Basis for Collective Bargaining 250
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Colorado:
Citizenship 421
Counties, Cities Cooperation ... 156
Court Reforms Proposed 248
Model Traffic Ordinance 303
Colorado Springs, Colo.:
Citizens Organize 581
Manager Plan Activities 368
Columbia Co., N. Y.:
Intergovernmental Cooperation .. 102
Columbia, Mo.:
Be Aggressive 114
Columbia, S. C.:
All-American Communities 2
Bates Chosen Vice President .. 275
Gallup Honors Columbia 228
Manager Plan Developments ... 203
Voters Kill Manager Repealer . 263
Commission Government:
Edison on Council-Manager Plan 489
Governor Driscoll Vetoes Commission Plan Revision 407
Hoboken Group Condemns Commission Plan 407
Jersey City Retains Commission 40
Reorganization for D. C. 300
Revised Commission Plan Defeated in Duluth 508
Vigilance—Price of Success ... 554
Community Councils:
Community Councils 162
Community Mobilization Conference 56
New Voters Encouraged 55
Recent Publications 475
Town Meetings—City Style 490
Complaint Bureau:
Pittsburgh Establishes Complaint Bureau 303
Compulsory Voting:
What Cure for Voter Apathy? . 346
Congress: (See Legislative Bodies)
Connecticut:
Bureaus State Programs 422
Commission Studies Air Pollution 248
Manager Plan Activities 368
Plan Water Pollution Control .. 456
Publications on Democracy 519
Reformer's Task Never Done .. 339
State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Strive for Merit System 161
Consolidation of Functions: (See also City-county Consolidation and Cooperation, Consolidation of Local Governments, Intergovernmental Cooperation and Relations, and Metropolitan Areas)
Cooperate for Sewage Disposal 204
Cooperate in Refuse Disposal .. 40

Merger of Housing Agencies .. 459
Milwaukee Co. Welfare Reorganized 156
Rooms for the Baby Crop 238
Twilight of the Township 390

Consolidation of Local Governments:
Fla. City Doubles Area 204
School Consolidation 102
Two N. J. Communities Merge 203
Va. Counties Turn Cities 387
Va. County, City, Town Consolidate 358

Constables:
Democracy at Work (Edit.) .. 538
Longer Term for Detroit Constables Decried 355

Constitutions:
Bureaus State Programs 422
Conference Stirs Citizens 68
Constitutional Conventions 474
Fla. to Vote on Amendments .. 400
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
Ill. to Vote on Amendments 352
Ind. Vote on County Officers Terms 462
Initiative Held in Reserve 142
Jersey Justice Streamlined 283
Ky. Study Urges Changes 146
Ky. to Vote on Short Ballot ... 455
Md. Commission Urges Home Rule 351
Model Constitution in Japanese .. 532
Model Constitution in Puerto Rico 276
Neb. to Vote on Amendments .. 456
Ohio Turns Down Constitution Reform 565
Okla. Changes Process of Amending 401
Price of a New Constitution .. 14
Puerto Rico Constitution Approved 199
Puerto Rico Convention Approves Constitution 150
Research Studies .. 118, 221, 424, 525
Support Constitution Revision .. 420
Tenn. to Have Convention 400
Tenn. Votes on Convention 352
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561

Contra Costa Co., Cal.:
Citizens Study Committee 584
Seek Cooperative Bases 307

Cook Co., Ill.:
Government Is Studied 208
Recent Publications 475

Coon Rapids, Ia.:
Adopts Manager Plan 301

Corinth, Me.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249

Coroner:
Alameda Co. Seeks to Void Coroner 44
Ark. State Medical Examiner .. 304
Coroner Improvements Sought . 429
County Coroners on Way Out 462
Utah Seeks to Eliminate Coroners 511
Vt. Takes Steps to Secure Medical Examiner 511
Wayne Co. to Abolish Useless Agencies 103

Corruption: (See also Political Parties and Politics)
Citizen Groups Get Results 417
Grand Rapids Elects Anti-machine Ticket 264
Look to Local Government 496
NACS Holds Session 53
Place to Start (Edit.) 232
Plank for All Candidates (Edit.) 437
Spoils System Research Study . 271
Tackle Cigarette Bootlegging .. 52
Taking Curse Off Politics (Edit.) 332
Tomorrow's Citizens 8
Who Will Watch The Watchman? (Edit.) 280

Corrupt Practices:
Taking Curse Off Politics (Edit.) 332

Council-Manager Government: (See also City Manager and County Manager and Executive Plans)
Americanization in Japan 443
Be Aggressive 114
Boards, Commissions Compete with Government 320
Charge of Councilmanic Interference Fails 354
Childs Tours Ill. Cities 69
City Manager for N. Y.? (Edit.) 436
Colorado Springs Citizens Organize 581
Columbia Kills Manager Repealer 263
Council-Manager Plan Developments .. 39, 94, 150, 202, 249, 301
353, 403, 457, 506, 567
Crusaders Crash Through 130
Dayton Praised for Self-reliance 178
Edison on Manager Plan 489
Honors Atlanta, Columbia 228
How to Conduct Campaign 214
Manager Plan Activities 368
Manager Plan News 473
Mich. Cities Cooperate 40
Mt. Vernon All-American 126
New Issue of The Story 70
News on Manager Front 162
N. Y. to Study Manager Plan .. 406
Ownership for Two Government Towns 505
Potpourri 521
Reorganization Proposed for D. C. 300
Research Studies 221

R. I. Cities Seek New Charters 302
Statewide Manager Conference 56
Town Meetings—City Style 490
Vigilance—Price of Success 554
Va. Counties Turn Cities 387
Va. County, City, Town Consolidate 358

County Consolidation and Cooperation:
Consolidation Urged by Senator 255
Cooperate on Library Service 307
Economy Begins at Home 501
Nev. Discusses Consolidation 154
Tri-county Health Unit to Dissolve 308
Urges County Consolidation 207

County Government—General: (See also City-county Consolidation and Cooperation, County Consolidation, County Manager and Executive Plans, Federal-state-local Relations, Local Government, State-local Relations and names of individual counties)
Centralization of Purchasing 410
County and Township (Dept.) 44, 100, 154, 205, 254, 307, 358, 409, 461, 511, 571
Fla. Studies County 410
Fla. to Vote on Amendments 400
Fla. to Vote on County Home Rule 461
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
Home Rule Changes for N. Y. Counties 309
National County Association 311
Nebraskans Urged to Rethink County Problems 256
New County Plans Offered 288
Officers Organize in Fairfield Co. 311
Prohibition of Local Legislation 358
Recommends Abolition of County 155
Research Studies 59, 221, 477, 525, 588
Tex. County Officers Revive Course 103
Tex. to Study Counties 156
Three States Study County 571
Va. Counties Turn Cities 387
Wis. Counties Develop Forests 410
Wis. Court Upholds County Zoning 308

County Manager and Executive Plans:
Arlington Co. to Vote on Tenure 206
Arlington Co. Votes to Strengthen Manager 572
Consolidation Urged by Senator 255
Counties Consider Manager 101
Cuyahoga Co. Gets Administrative Officer 205
Fairfax Co. Studies Change 101
Grange Against Executive Plan 410
King Co. Manager Proposal Meets Defeat 573
King Co. Vote on Manager Charter 409
Manager Suggested for Prince George's Co. 100
Maricopa Co. Wants Manager 206
Mo. Newspaper Proposes Manager 512
New County Plans Offered 288
Ore. Counties Defeat Manager 311
Ore. Counties Vote on Manager 254
Potpourri 521
Prince George's Co. Recommendations 308
Princess Anne Defeats County Executive 255
Recommends Business Methods 154
Va. County Adopts Manager 206

Courts:
Fla. to Vote on Amendments 400
Jersey Justice Streamlined 283
Pass Reorganization Measures 402
Price of a New Constitution 14
Puerto Rico Constitution Approved 199
Reforms Proposed in Colo. 248
Research Studies 269
Twilight of the Township 390
Voters Handle Propositions 561

Crime:
Crime Fighters 369
Place to Start (Edit.) 232
Research Studies 525
State Council Program 99

Crookston, Minn.:
Manager Plan Developments 354

Cuyahoga Co., Ohio:
Gets Administrative Officer 205

Cynthiana, Ky.:
City-county Cooperation 461

D

Dade Co., Fla.:
How to Stretch Research Dollar 371

Dalhart, Tex.:
Manager Plan Developments 203

Dallas Co., Tex.:
Auditor Explains Local Finance 515
Turn in City-county Relations 255

Dallas, Tex.:
Planning Council Activities 581
Training for Officers Grows 115
Turn in City-county Relations 255

Davenport, Ia.:
Manager Plan Developments 405

Davidson Co., Tenn.:
Recommendations Made 409

Dayton, Ohio:
All-American Communities 2
Praised for Self-reliance 178

Dearborn, Mich.:
City Beautiful Movement Revives 303
Debt: (See Finance—Bonds and Debt)
Decatur, Ga.:
City-county Cooperation 512
Dedham, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 202
Potpourri 370
Defense: (See also Disaster Preparedness)
Defense Training Program 253
For Defense or Disaster 294
Ore. and Wash. Defense Compact 201
Research Studies 59, 477
Southwestern Defense Compact . 149
State Government Council Legislative Program 99
Wash. Cities in Defense Pact .. 153
DeKalb Co., Ga.:
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger .. 182
City-county Cooperation 512
Counties to Be Studied 512
Democracy: (See also Citizen Action and Organization)
Americanization in Japan 443
Businessmen and Government .. 546
Voice of the People 136
Denver, Colo.:
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
New Organization 56
Derry, N. H.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 249
Des Moines, Ia.:
Adds In-service Training 203
Boards, Commissions Compete with Government 320
Des Plaines, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 39
Detroit, Mich.:
Assessor Uses Photo Review .. 314
Democracy at Work (Edit.) .. 538
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Longer Term for Constables .. 355
Disaster Preparedness: (See also Defense)
For Defense or Disaster 294
Plan to Meet Disaster 74
Southwestern Defense Compact Signed 149
Dowell Co., W. Va.:
Approves Voting Machines 573
Ducktown, Tenn.:
Adopts Manager Plan 202
Duluth, Minn.:
Defeats Income Tax 513
Manager Plan Developments ... 405
Revised Commission Plan Defeated 508
Durham and Durham Co., N. C.:
City-county Cooperation 512

E

East Detroit, Mich.:
Corn Flakes and Voting 472
Potpourri 370
East Moline, Ill.:
Manager Plan Adopted 403
East Paterson, N. J.:
Manager Plan Developments 404, 457
Economics:
A Correction 411
Economic Survey Proposed for Montgomery Co., Md. 308
Ector Co., Tex.:
Tri-county Health Unit to Dissolve 308

Editorial Comment 6, 72, 128, 180, 232, 280, 332, 385, 436, 488, 538

Education: (See also Adult Education and Education for Citizenship)
All-American Communities 2
Changes Proposed in N. Y. State Educational Organization 98
Citizens, Schools Work for Better Communities 215
City-county Cooperation Increases 512
Fla. Vote on Amendments 400
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
Kalamazoo Citizen Action Praised 125
Ky. to Vote on Short Ballot 455
Look to Local Government ... 496
P. R. Election in Cambridge .. 48
Research Studies 59, 118, 168, 269, 322, 372, 424, 477, 525, 588
Rooms for the Baby Crop 238
School Board Status Debated in N. Y. 93
School Consolidation in Minn., Wis. 102
School District Helps City Train Employees 508
School Restoration Wins Award 230
Voters Handle Propositions .. 561
Education for Citizenship:
Citizenship Training Abroad .. 520
Citizens, Schools Work for Better Communities 215
Education for Citizenship in Schools 582
Getting Out the Vote 367
Gold Feathers Bring Out Seattle Voters 265
History Project Sponsored 360
Is Civic Education a Fraud? .. 234
Project Aids Citizenship in Schools 318
Publications on Education for Democracy 519

Reed Report to Sustaining Members 276
Summer Forums 474
They Learn About Elections ... 242
Tomorrow's Citizens 8
Wanted: More and Better Politicians (Edit.) 385
Why People Don't Vote (Edit.) 180
Youth Has Its Day 517

Edy, Noted City Manager, Dies in Houston 328

Edy, Houston Failed John N. 379

Efficiency:
Bureau Mission Is to Promote True Economy 219
Efficiency Steps Urged on Congress 99
Elections and Voting: (See also Nominations, Permanent Registration, Proportional Representation and Voting Machines)
Americanization in Japan 443
Corn Flakes and Voting 472
Democracy at Work (Edit.) .. 538
Election Law Reform in N. Y. .. 43
Get Out the Vote Theme 419
Get Out the Vote Western Style 266
Getting Out the Vote 367
Gold Feathers Bring Out Seattle Voters 265
Heritage Foundation Vote Campaign 266
Idaho Changes Election Laws .. 98
Is Civic Education a Fraud? .. 234
Literature for Voting Citizen .. 366
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Memphis Seeks Large Registration 316
NACS Holds Annual Session .. 53
New Citizen Groups Get Results 417
Research Studies 60, 168, 269, 477, 588
Taking Curse Off Politics (Edit.) 332
They Learn About Elections ... 242
Voter Needs a Break (Edit.) .. 72
Voters Handle Propositions .. 561
What Goes With the Voters .. 160
Why People Don't Vote (Edit.) 180
Elgin, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 95
Elizabeth City Co., Va.:
Adopts Manager Plan 206
County, City, Town Consolidate 358
Va. Counties Turn Cities 387
Elizabethtown, Pa.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 568
Ellenville, N. Y.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 151
Elmhurst, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 203
El Paso, Tex.:
Manager Plan Developments 354, 569
Erie, Pa.:
Town Meeting 521
Ethics in Government:
Code for Legislators (Edit.) .. 488
Ethics in Local Government .. 438
ICMA Code of Ethics 458
Plank for All Candidates (Edit.) 437
Taking Curse Off Politics (Edit.) 332
Who Will Watch The Watchman? (Edit.) 280
Eugene, Ore.:
Amusement Tax Invalid 421
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Eureka, Cal.:
Youth Has Its Day 517
Evanston, Ill.:
Adopts Manager Plan 567
Manager Plan Developments 353, 457
Manager Plan News 473
Evansville, Wis.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 249

F

Fairfax Co., Va.:
Studies Change to Executive Plan 101
Fairfield Co., Conn.:
County, Town Officers Organize 311
Fair Trade Practices:
Research Studies 60
Fayette Co., Ky.:
Citizen Groups Get Results 417
Federal Government: (See also Federal-state-local Relations and Finance — Federal-State-Local Relations)
Citizens' Hoover Committee Suspends 408
City, State and Nation (Dept.) 38
93, 146, 198, 246, 300
351, 400, 455, 504, 561
Governments for Better Personnel 38
Income Tax Grows at All Levels 412
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Political Postmasterships Win . 356
Sales, Excise Taxes Used 463
Those Hoover Commissions ... 160
Voice of the People 136
Federal-state-local Relations: (See also Finance—Federal-state-local Relations)
Action on Home Rule Urged .. 540
AMA Augments Municipal Program 95
Americanization in Japan 443
For Defense or Disaster 294
Local Ownership for Government Towns 505
Look to Local Government 496
Plan to Meet Disaster 74

State Sells Bonds Privately to Thwart Restraint 50
Stronger Foundations (Edit.) .. 539
Va. Employees under Social Security 201
Fee Systems:
Fla. to Vote on Amendments .. 400
Fernandina Beach, Fla.:
City Doubles Area by Merger .. 204
Fernandina, Fla.:
City Doubles Area by Merger .. 204
Finance—Bonds and Debts:
Bankers Rap Industry-Aid Bonds 50
Bond Field Offers Developments 314
Credit Unit Vetoes Utility Purchase 109
Dutch Cities Borrowing Costly 158
Fourth Block of Housing Authority Bonds 213
Jersey Voters Approve Interest Savings 577
Ohio Floats Record Loan 361
Research Studies 168, 269
372, 477, 525, 588
State-local Debt Reaches Peak . 157
State Revenues Up, Costs Steady 312
State Sells Bonus Bonds Privately 50
U. S. Ends Restraints on State-local Bonds 260
Finance-Budgets:
New York City Budget Crisis .. 211
New York City Faces Deficit .. 110
Research Studies .. 59, 168, 221, 268
322, 423, 477, 525, 588
Terre Haute Studies Budget 585
Voters Handle Propositions 561
When Is a Budget Not a Budget? 576
Finance — Federal-state-local Relations:
Cities Win More State Funds .. 87
Credit Unit Vetoes Utility Purchase 109
Dutch Cities Borrowing Costly .. 158
Kan. Tax Offset Lags as Local Levies Rise 414
Officials Hail State Grants of Taxing Powers 158
Provincial-municipal Committee in Manitoba 201
State Aid Research Study .. 222, 478
State Revenues Up, Costs Steady 312
U. S. Ends Restraints on State-local Bonds 260
Finance—General: (See also Taxation)
Bureau Mission to Promote Economy 219
Dallas Co. Auditor Explains Finance 515
Economy Begins at Home 501
Hopes Dashed for Government Census 465
Ill. Issues Popular Reports 364
Ky. Urges Constitution Changes 146
Louisville Medals Awarded 465
MFOA to Meet in June 262
Research Studies 119, 170, 223, 271
323, 374, 425, 479, 527
School Board Status in N. Y. .. 93
Taxation and Finance (Dept.) 50
109, 157, 211, 260, 312
361, 412, 463, 513, 575
Wash. State Pioneers in Reporting 575
West Coast League Conferences 41
Finance—Grants in Aid:
Research Studies 60
Finance—Pay-As-You-Go:
Ramsey Co. Pay-as-you-go 308
Fire Prevention:
Insurance Placement Studied .. 513
Research Studies 221, 322
Flint, Mich.:
Annual Reports 58
Flood Control:
Research Studies 372
Florida:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302
States Study County Government 571
Studies County Government ... 410
To Vote on County Home Rule 461
Vote on Amendments 400
Forests:
Wis. Counties Develop Forests 410
Forms of Government:
Research Studies 477
Fort Wayne, Ind.:
Citizens Report 583
Fort Worth, Tex.:
City-county Cooperation 512
Freeport, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 405
Fulton Co., Ga.:
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger .. 182
Cooperation Increases 512

G

Galesburg, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302
Gambling:
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Geneva, N. Y.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 457
Georgia:
Appraising the Legislature 421
Approves County Amendments . 574
Bureau Notes 58
Outlaws Popular Vote for President 148
Pass Reorganization Measures . 402
State Senates Limit Debate ... 403
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
Germany:
Citizenship Training Abroad .. 520

Hesse Elections by List System 310
Southwest State Elects by P. R. 218
Glenwood, Minn.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 95
Gloucester, Mass.:
Adopts Manager Plan 39
Governors:
Cal. Committees Study State .. 246
Department Heads Seminars ... 267
Politics in the Legislatures 80
Price of New Constitution 14
States Try Reorganization 334
U. S. Governors 1940-1950 190
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
Grand Jury:
Research Studies 60, 526
Grand Rapids, Mich.:
Agree on Land Use Plan 40
Childs, Seed Address Groups .. 278
Citizens Elect Anti-machine Ticket 264
Coffee and Tea 217
Manager Plan Developments ... 568
Watchdog 55
Grandview, Wash.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 406
Grants, N. M.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 569
Great Britain:
Review and Rebuttal 258
Greece:
Discontinues Use of P. R. 514
Majority Vote Causes Landslide 579
Modifies Use of P. R. 541
U. S. Ambassador Opposes P. R. 257
Greenbelt, Md.:
Local Ownership 505
Greensboro, N. C.:
Public Health Consolidations .. 411
Greenville, Miss.:
Bankers Rap Local Industry Aid 50
Manager Plan Developments ... 405
Greenwich, Conn.:
Citizens Survey Their Town .. 494
Citizens Take Over Party 316
Manager Plan Developments ... 404
Guilford Co., N. C.:
Public Health Consolidation ... 411
Gulfport, Fla.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 568
Gulfport, Miss.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 405

H

Hamilton, Ohio:
P. R. League Meeting 106
Recent Reports 218
Hamilton, Ontario
Manager Plan Developments ... 95
Hampton, Va.:
County, City, Town Consolidate 358
Va. Counties Turn Cities 387
Harrisonburg, Va.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 405
Harrison Co., Ky.:
City-county Cooperation 461
Harrison, N. Y.:
Tackle Cigarette Bootlegging .. 52
Hartford, Conn.:
Bureau Notes 422
Hartland, Me.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y.:
Adopts Manager Plan 507
Helena, Montana:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302, 458, 507
Henryetta, Okla.:
Adopts Manager Plan 404
Hereford, Tex.:
Adopts Manager Plan 457
Hermon, Me.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Herrin, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 457
Highland Park, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 151
High Point, N. C.:
Public Health Consolidations .. 411
Hoboken, N. J.:
From Commission to Mayor-council 570
Group Condemns Commission Plan 407
Manager Plan Developments 95, 151
News on Manager Front 162
Holden, Mass.:
Adopts Manager Plan 202
Manager Plan Developments ... 39
Holderness, N. H.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 249
Holton, Kan.:
Manager Plan Developments 507, 569
Home Rule:
Allegheny Study Attacked 573
Childs Tours Ill. Cities 69
Fla. to Vote on Amendments .. 400
Fla. to Vote on County Home Rule 461
Home Rule Changes for N. Y. Counties 309
Home Rule Conference 585
Manager Suggested for Prince George's 100
Md. Commission Urges Home Rule 351
Mass. Body Urges Legislative Changes 198
Mass. Permits More Home Rule 98
New Orleans Adopts Charter .. 570
Philadelphia City-county Home Rule Opposition 45
Prince George's Co. Petitions for Home Rule 410

Prohibition of Local Legislation .. 358
Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Research Studies 221, 478
R. I. Cities Seek Charters 302
Voters Handle Propositions 561

Homewood, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments 569

Honolulu:
From Across the Pacific 584

Hospitals:
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger 182

Housing:
Bond Field Offers Developments 314
Boom Finds Citizens on Job .. 112
In-lieu Payments Studied 51
International Housing, Planning Congress 357
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Merger of Housing Agencies .. 459
Offer Housing Authority Bonds 213
Research Studies 221, 424, 478

Houston, Tex.:
Failed John N. Edy 379
Get Out the Vote 419

Howard Co., Iowa:
Bureau Notes 167

Howard Co., Texas:
Tri-county Health Unit to Dissolve 308

Hudson, Me.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249

I

Idaho:
Changes in Election Laws 98
Vetoes Utility Purchase 109

Idaho Falls, Ida.:
Manager Plan Developments 569

Illinois:
Childs Makes Tour of Cities .. 69
Citizens Report 583
Civic Exchange Organized 318
Courts Uphold Redevelopment Laws 200
Crusaders Crash Through 130
Issues Popular Reports 364
Seek Students for Employees .. 306
State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Statewide Manager Conference . 56
Strive for Merit System 161
Support Constitution Revision . 420
To Vote on Amendments 352
Voters Handle Propositions 561

Indiana:
Communities Make Surveys 114
Conferences 217
Manager Plan Developments 302
Publications on Education for Democracy 519
To Vote on County Officer Terms 462
Turn About Fair Play 420
Work for Better Communities .. 215

Industrial Relations:
Research Studies 588

Industry: (See Business and Industry)

Inflation:
Research Studies 478

Ingham Co., Mich.:
County Highway Techniques .. 156

Initiative and Referendum:
Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win 257
Ariz. Legislature Invokes Referenda 305
I. and R. Weakened in Ariz. .. 401
Initiative Held in Reserve 142
Legislation Against P. R. 309
Research Studies 322
Voters Handle Propositions 561

Insurance:
Insurance Placement Studied .. 513

Intergovernmental Cooperation and Relations: (See also City-county Consolidation and Cooperation, Consolidation of Functions, Federal-state-local Relations, Interstate Cooperation and State-local Relations.)
Agree on Land Use Plan 40
Boom Finds Citizens on Jobs .. 112
Research Studies .. 323, 372, 478, 526

International Cooperation:
Congress in Montevideo 204
Housing, Planning Congress 357
Technical Assistance at Home, Abroad 484

Interstate Cooperation:
Civil Defense Compact Signed . 149
Commission Studies Air Pollution 248
Ore. and Wash. Defense Compact 201
Plan Water Pollution Control .. 456
Research Studies 269

Investment Funds:
Bond Field Offers Developments 314

Iowa:
Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Townships Still Here? 397
Training for Officers Grows .. 115
Twilight of the Township 390
Voters Handle Propositions 561

J

Jackson Co., Ore.:
Prohibits Weather Control 573

Jacksonville, Fla.:
Manager Plan Developments 405

Jamestown, R. I.:
Manager Plan Developments 568

Japan:
Americanization in Japan 443
Model Constitution in Japanese 532

Jefferson Co., Mo.:
Newspaper Proposes Manager .. 512
Jersey City, N. J.:
Retains Commission Plan 40
Jim Wells Co., Tex.:
Cooperation Between County, City 102
Johnson Co., Kan.:
Counties Pass on Local Questions 573

Johnson, Lewis Jerome—P. R. Advocate 311

Joplin, Mo.:
Sales Tax Reenacted 52
Judicial Council:
30 States Have Judicial Councils 352
Judiciary: (See Courts)
Juvenile Delinquency:
Research Studies 269

K

Kalamazoo, Mich.:
All-American Communities 2
Citizen Action Praised 125
Kanawha Co., W. Va.:
Voting Machines Approved 360
Kansas:
Look to Local Government 496
Manager Plan Developments ... 40
New Organization 321
Tax Offset Lags as Local Levies Rise 414
Training for Officers Grows ... 115
University Produces Managers . 408
Kansas City, Mo.:
All-American Communities 2
Cities Seek to Annex Territory 251
Plan to Meet Disaster 74
Receive La Guardia Awards ... 97
Seek Students for Employees 306
Strive for Better Personnel 38
Town Meetings—City Style 490
What Cure for Voter Apathy? .. 346

Kaplan Quits State for Consultant Field 380

Kentucky:
Community Councils 162
Legislature Reduces Committees 198
Paper Urges County Consolidation 207
Pass Reorganization Measures . 402
Study Urges Constitution Changes 146
To Vote on Short Ballot 455
King Co., Wash.:
Charter Commission Defeats Opposition 155
Manager Proposal Meets Defeat 573
Potpourri 521
To Vote on Manager 409
Wash. Cities in Defense Pact .. 153
Kingsville, Tex.:
Adopts Manager Plan 39
Kirkland, Wash.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 40
Kirksville, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 203
Klamath Falls, Ore.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 406

L

Labor: (See also Public Employee Unions and Strikes)
Ariz. Repeals Retirement Act .. 566
Research Studies 222
La Grange, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 39
Lake Wales, Fla.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 457
Lake, Wis.:
Seek to Annex Territory 251
Lancaster, Ohio:
Duluth Defeats Income Tax 513
Landis Township, N. J.:
Two N. J. Communities Merge 203
Land Use:
Agree on Land Use Plan 40
Lane Co., Ore.:
Ore. Counties Defeat Manager . 311
To Vote on Manager Plan 254
Las Vegas, Nev.:
Employees Speaking Bureau .. 251
Leandro, Cal.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302
Lee, N. H.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 363
Legislation: (See also Local Legislation)
Research Studies 478, 526
State Government Council Legislative Program 99
Legislative Bodies: (See also City Councils; Legislative Bureaus, Councils and Committees; Proportional Representation; and Reapportionment)
Appraising the Legislature 421
Ariz. Legislature Invokes Referenda 305
Code for Legislators (Edit.) 488
Efficiency Urged on Congress .. 99
Legislatures Unrepresentative .. 523
Mass. Body Urges Changes 198
Miss. Classes for Legislators ... 247
Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
Politics in the Legislatures 80
Price of New Constitution 14
Puerto Rico Constitution Approved 199
Recent Publications 475
Research Studies .. 269, 424, 526, 588
S. C. House Asks Biennial Sessions 247
State Senates Limit Debate ... 403
Training for Officers Grows .. 115

Voters Handle Propositions 561
Who Will Watch the Watchman? (Edit.) 280
Youth Has Its Day 517

Legislative Bureaus, Councils and Committees:
Cal. Committees Study State Structure 246
Ky. Legislature Reduces Committees 198
La. Establishes Legislative Council 456
Politics in the Legislatures 80
Research Studies 424, 588

Letter to the Editor 384

Liability:
Research Studies 373

Licensing:
Research Studies 222, 373

Liens:
Research Studies 478

Livingston Co., N. Y.:
Publications on Education for Democracy 519

Livingston Township, N. J.:
Manager Plan Developments 249

Lobbying: (See Pressure Groups)

Local Government: (See also County, Municipal, and Township Government; Federal-state-local Relations; and State-local Relations)
Americanization in Japan 443
Conference on Legal Problems 153
Hopes Dashed for Government Census 465
Look to Local Government 496
New Organization 321
Research Studies 323, 526
Sales and Excise Taxes Used 463
State-local Debt Reaches Peak 157

Local Legislation:
Research Studies 169, 222

Logan Co., W. Va.:
Voting Machines Approved 360

Long Beach, Cal.:
News on Manager Front 162
Potpourri 521
School District Helps City Train Employees 508

Long Beach, Miss.:
Manager Plan Developments 405

Long Beach, N. Y.:
Manager Plan Developments 457

Los Angeles, Cal.:
Grants Aid Research 525

Louisiana:
Bureau Notes 58, 268, 321
Bureaus State Service Programs 422
County Coroners on Way Out .. 462
Establishes Legislative Council . 456
Governments for Better Personnel 38
Merit System Gains Support 248
Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
Permanent Registration Spreads 460
Recent Publications 475
State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Use of Voting Machines 507
Voters Handle Propositions 561
What Goes with the Voters 160

Louisville, Ky.:
Louisville Medals Awarded 465
Seek to Annex Territory 251

Lowell, Mass.:
Citizens, Press Protest Legislation Against P. R. 309

Loyalty:
Voters Handle Propositions 561

Lubbock Co., Tex.:
City-county Cooperation Increases 512

Lubbock, Tex.:
City-county Cooperation Increases 512
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97

Lynn, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments 39

M

Macon, Ga.:
City-county Cooperation 461

Macon, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments 457

Madbury, N. H.:
Manager Plan Developments 363

Maine:
Manager Plan Developments 507
Provides for Interns in State .. 43
Recommends Abolition of County 155
Training for Officers Grows 115
University Produces Managers . 152

Maltby, Ralph Dies 532

Mamaroneck, N. Y.:
New Publications 319

Manitoba, Canada:
Provincial-municipal Committee . 201

Manitowoc, Wis.:
Good Step Backward (Edit.) .. 181

Mankato, Minn.:
Manager Plan Developments 405, 506

Mapping:
Md. Starts Map Survey to Pilot 1954 Reassessment 261

Maricopa Co., Ariz.:
Group Wants Manager Plan 206
Press Supports County Streamlining 254
Two Counties Consider Manager Plan 101

Marietta, Ohio:
Duluth Defeats Income Tax 513
Manager Plan Developments 203, 301

Marine City, Mich.:
Adopts Manager Plan 39
Maryland:
Bond Field Offers Developments 314
Commission Urges Home Rule . 351
Reformer's Task Never Done .. 339
Starts Map Survey to Pilot 1954 Reassessment 261
Urges Prohibition of Local Legislation 358
Marysville, Mich.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 151
Massachusetts:
Annual Meetings 369
Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win 257
Bureau Notes 58
Citizens, Press Protest Legislation Against P. R. 309
Citizens, Schools Work for Communities 215
Legislators Snipe at P. R. 210
Manager Plan Developments ... 95, 202, 301
Motor Use Charges Raised in 1951 50
Permits More Home Rule 98
Urges Legislative Changes 198
What Cure for Voter Apathy? . 346
Mauston, Wis.:
Finance Sewage Disposal by Charges 111
Mayor-council Plan:
Charter for New Orleans Submitted 250
Hoboken Changes to Mayor-council 570
Hoboken Charter Group Condemns Commission Plan 407
New Orleans Adopts Charter .. 570
R. I. Cities Drop Bicameral 570
Strong Mayor Proposed for Warren, Ohio 458
Mayors:
City Manager for N. Y.? (Edit.) 436
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Nation's Mayors Confer 357
N. Y. Mayor Appraised 474
N. Y. Mayors Elect Officers ... 416
U. S. Mayors Conference 204
Maywood, Ill.:
Adopts Manager Plan 403
Mecklenburg Co., N. C.:
Turn in City-county Relations .. 255
Medford, Mass.:
Cities to Vote on P. R. 467
Legislators Snipe at P. R. 210
P. R. League Annual Meeting .. 106
P. R. Referenda in Cities 578
Medical Examiner:
Alameda Co. Seeks to Void Coroner 44
Ark. State Medical Examiner .. 304
County Coroners on Way Out .. 462
Utah Seeks to Eliminate Coroners 511
Vt. Takes Steps to Secure Medical Examiner 511
Wayne Co. to Abolish Useless Agencies 103
Medico-legal Investigative System: (See Medical Examiner)
Memphis, Tenn.:
Seeks Large Registration 316
Menominee Co., Mich.:
Citizens, Schools for Better Communities 215
Mental Health:
Research Studies 526
Merit System: (See Civil Service)
Metropolitan Areas: (See also City-county Consolidation and Cooperation)
Allegheny Co. Commission Work 512
Allegheny Co. Gets Commission 359
Allegheny Co. Study Attacked .. 573
Appoints Study Commission ... 462
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger 182
Cities Urged to Reach Out 187
Grand Rapids, Suburbs Agree on Land Use 40
Honors Atlanta, Columbia 228
Potpourri 370
United Modesto? 367
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Miami, Fla.:
How Group Selects Candidates 471
Manager Plan Developments 151, 405
Seed Aids New Civic Group .. 123
Michigan:
Anti-strike Law Constitutional .. 200
Bureau Notes 321
Cities Cooperate in Refuse Disposal 40
Cities Win More State Funds .. 87
Citizens, Schools Work for Better Communities 215
Community Councils 162
Courts Uphold Redevelopment Laws 200
Legislatures Unrepresentative .. 523
New Voters Encouraged 55
State Needs Real Executive 57
State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Summer Forums 474
Those Hoover Commissions ... 160
Too Many Elective Officials? .. 449
Training for Officers Grows ... 115
Voter Needs a Break (Edit.) .. 72
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Midland Co., Tex.:
Tri-county Health Unit to Dissolve 308

Millbury, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 353
Milwaukee Co., Wis.:
Bids in Tax-delinquent Real Estate ... 103
Welfare Reorganized ... 156
Milwaukee, Wis.:
Bureau Reports ... 268
Intergovernmental Cooperation . 102
Purchasing Procedures Revised 212
Seek to Annex Territory ... 251
Minneapolis, Minn.:
Citizens League Organized ... 159
Members Get Questionnaire ... 584
Off to Good Start ... 368
Private Groups Use P. R. ... 363
Weapon to End Smoke-filled Room ... 516
Minnesota:
School Consolidation ... 102
Support Constitution Revision .. 420
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
Mississippi:
Bureau Notes ... 321
Holds Classes for Legislators .. 247
Manager Plan Activities ... 368
Manager Plan Developments ... 95 249, 354
New Industries Pose Problems .. 586
Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
Seek Students for Employees .. 306
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
Missouri:
Counties Transfer Roads to State 466
Pass Reorganization Measures . 402
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
Missouri River Basin:
Research Studies ... 373
Moberly, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 39
Model Ordinances:
Model Traffic Ordinance for Colo. Cities ... 303
NIMLO Model Ordinance Service ... 251
Modesto, Cal.:
United Modesto? ... 367
Moline, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 151 405, 569
Monmouth, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302
Monroe Co., N. Y.:
New County Plans Offered ... 288
Montana:
Sets Up Hoover Committee ... 42
Monte Vista, Colo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 95
Montgomery Co., Ala.:
Study City-county Relations ... 585
Montgomery Co., Md.:
A Correction ... 411
County Issues Defeated ... 572
Economic Survey Proposed ... 308
Montrose, Colo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 95
Morrisville, Pa.:
Boom Finds Citizens on Job ... 112
Mosquito Abatement:
Research Studies ... 526
Motor Vehicles: (See also Taxation)
Research Studies ... 169, 588
Moundsville, Va.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 203
Mountain View, Cal.:
Adopts Manager Plan ... 151
Mount Vernon, Ill.:
All-American Communities ... 2
Another First ... 227
Crusaders Crash Through ... 130
Gets All-American Award ... 126
Moving Pictures:
Movies, Radio, TV Used ... 97
Municipal Clerks:
Municipal Clerks Have Many Functions ... 355
Municipal Government: (See also All-American Cities, City-county Consolidation and Cooperation, Council-manager Government, Federal-state-local Relations, Local Government, Metropolitan Areas, State-local Relations, and names of individual cities)
AMA Augments Municipal Program ... 95
AMA to Meet in Los Angeles .. 460
Ariz. League 24th Convention . 96
Cities Efforts in Reporting ... 304
Cities of Alaska Collect Sales Taxes ... 213
City, State and Nation (Dept.) 38 93, 146, 198, 246, 300 351, 400, 455, 504, 561
Effort to Stifle Cal. League ... 507
Income Tax Grows at All Levels 412
Insurance Placement Studied ... 513
Inter-American Municipal Congress ... 204
Mass. Permits More Home Rule 98
Municipal Clerks Have Many Functions ... 355
Plan to Meet Disaster ... 74
Purchasing Procedures Revised . 212
Research Studies ... 60, 169, 222, 269, 270, 373
Tax Rates of American Cities .. 18
Wash. Cities Civil Defense Pact 153
West Coast Leagues Conferences 41
Municipal Incentives to Industry:
Bankers Rap Industry-Aid Bonds 50
Ga. Approves County Amendments ... 574

Industries Pose City Problems 586
Other Election Results 577
Research Studies 373

Municipal Law:
Conference on Legal Problems of Local Government 153
Municipal Regulations Research Study 269
NIMLO Model Ordinance Service 251
NIMLO to Meet in Louisville 460

Municipally Owned Real Estate:
Research Studies 60

Municipal Printing:
Research Studies 589

Municipal Reports: (See Reporting)

Museums:
Research Studies 118

N

NACS Holds Annual Session 53
NACS Plans History 163
NACS Shop Talk 521

Napa and Napa Co., Cal.:
Intergovernmental Cooperation 102

Nashville, Tenn.:
Recommendations Made 409

Natchez, Miss.:
Manager Plan Developments 405

Natick, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments 353

National Municipal League:
All-American Communities 2
Another First for Mount Vernon 227
Bates Chosen Vice President 275
Best Conference Pledged 329
Boston Honored for Progress 327
Cash, Civic Leader, Drowns 432
Childs' Book Tells of Civic Struggles 434
Childs, Seed Address Groups 278
Childs Tours Ill. Cities 69
Cities Vie for All-America 534
Cities Want Conference in '53 597
Conference Attendance Tops 1000 533
Conference Stirs to Action 68
Council Votes to Search for League Building 597
County Consolidation Urged 255
Dayton Praised for Self-reliance 178
Edison Plea Stirs Response 275
Edy Dies in Houston 328
Grant Bolsters League Program 382
Headquarters Hotel Picked 276
Home Town Battle Ground (Edit.) 128
Honors Atlanta, Columbia 228
How Conference Goes to Work 65
How to Make Touchdowns 433
Income, Membership Increase 123
Kalamazoo Action Praised 125
Kaplan Quits State for Consultant Field 380
La Villita Charms Visitors 536
Leaders Plan Conference 229
League Elects Council Members 598
Look Aids All-America Contest 381
Low Rates Offered to Mexico 278
Members Elect Officers 68
Mexican Trips Interest 484
Model Constitution in Japanese 532
Model Constitution in Puerto Rico 276
Mt. Vernon All-American 126
Murray Seasongood—Good Citizen 70
New Issue of *The Story* 70
NEWS for League Members 1, 69, 125, 177, 229, 277, 329, 381, 433, 485, 533.
Nominating Committee 276
Oldest Member (?) 432
Old, New Mingle in San Antonio 431
Pawtucket All-American City 176
Picks All-American Cities 1951 1
Pick San Antonio for '52 177
Place to Start (Edit.) 232
Putting Voter in Saddle 483
Ralph Maltby Dies 532
Reed Report to Sustaining Members 276
REVIEW Gets Correspondents 382
Rooms for the Baby Crop 238
San Antonio Rolls Welcome Mat 486
San Antonio to Mexico by Rail 380
School Restoration Wins Award 230
Seed Aids Group in Miami 123
Sees Revolt Against Labels 175
Shattuck Leaves Harvard 328
Some Tough Problems 483
Taft Cited for Leadership 380
Technical Assistance at Home, Abroad 484
Texans Change Dates for NML 484
They'll Pick the Team 485
To Dine at Historic Spot 277
Two Men Added to League Staff 532
Visitors from the Pacific 531
Wanted: More and Better Politicians (Edit.) 385
What to Wear in San Antonio 484
Why They Liked Cincinnati (Edit.) 6

Nebraska:
To Rethink County Problems 256
Vote on Constitution Amendments 456
Voters Handle Propositions 561

Needles, Cal.:
Adopts Manager Plan 301

Neighborhoods:
Neighborhood Meetings 521
Town Meetings—City Style 490

Netherlands:
Cities Find Borrowing Costly .. 158
Citizenship Training Abroad ... 520
Parliament Elected by P. R. ... 416
Nevada:
Discusses County Consolidation 154
State Revenues Up, Costs Steady 312
West Coast League Conferences 41
Nevada, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments 507
Newark, N. J.:
Bureau Reports 167
New Bedford, Mass.:
Bureau Reports 167
New Hampshire:
Municipal Report Contest 96
Radio Programs on Citizen Endeavor 317
Training for Officers Grows ... 115
New Haven, Conn.:
Bureau Reports 587
Manager Plan Activities 368
Manager Plan Developments 353, 404, 568
New Jersey:
Bond Field Developments 314
Citizens, Schools Work for Communities 215
Committee Seeks Highways 365
For Defense or Disaster 294
Jersey Justice Streamlined 283
Legislatures Unrepresentative .. 523
Oldest State Research Bureaus .. 267
Price of New Constitution 14
Reformer's Task Never Done .. 339
States Study County Government 571
Studies Air Pollution 248
Training for Officers Grows ... 115
Vetoes Commission Revision ... 407
Voters Approve Interest Savings 577
Youth Has Its Day 517
New London, Conn.:
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
New Mexico:
Code for Legislators (Edit.) .. 488
Executive Reorganization Urged 455
Oldest State Research Bureaus .. 267
Reorganization Committee Studies 147
New Milford, Conn.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 404
New Orleans, La.:
Adopts Home Rule Charter 570
Bureau Reports 587
Proposed Charter Submitted ... 250
Newport, Ky.:
Duluth Defeats Income Tax ... 513
Newport News, Va.:
Va. Counties Turn Cities 387
Newport, R. I.:
Adopts Manager Plan 568
Manager Plan Developments 151, 202

New Ulm, Minn.:
Adopts Manager Plan 506

New York City:
Aids for the Voter 519
Bureau Reports 167
Cease Smoke 164
City Manager for N. Y.? (Edit.) 436
Faces Deficit, Struggles to Balance Budget 110
Joint Efforts for Filling Public, Private Jobs 356
Manager Plan Developments .. 151
Mayor Appraised 474
Meets Budget Crisis 211
Recent Publications 475
Reorganization of Primaries Proposed 201
School Board Status Debated .. 93
Stockholders Report 584
Study Council-Manager Plan .. 406

New York State:
Appraising the Legislature 421
Changes Proposed in Education 98
Civil Service Revision Deferred 248
Commission Studies Air Pollution 248
Conference on Government 321
Conference on Legal Problems 153
Conferences 217
Congress Districts Stir Controversy 41
Election Law Reform Sought .. 43
Home Rule Changes for Counties 309
Legislatures Unrepresentative .. 523
Mayors Elect Officers 416
Motor Use Charges Raised 50
New County Plans Offered 288
N. Y. Truck Tax Is Upheld ... 212
Pass Reorganization Measures.. 402
Permanent Registration 148
State Revenues Up, Costs Steady 312
Steps to Secure Medical Examiner 511
Strive for Better Personnel 38
Three Training Schools Held .. 356
Training for Officers Grows ... 115
Truckers Pay Tax Upheld 262
What Goes with the Voters 160

Nicholasville, Ky.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 301

Nominations: (See also Candidates)
Election Law Reform Sought in N. Y. State 43
Ga. Outlaws Popular Vote for President 148
Primary Law Brings Few Party Upsets in R. I. 509
Reorganization of Primaries Proposed in N. Y. Bill 201
Voters Handle Propositions 561

Norfolk, Va.:
- Issues Assessor's Manual 313
- Seek to Annex Territory 251

North Bay Village, Fla.:
- Manager Plan Adopted 404

North Carolina:
- Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
- Youth Has Its Day 517

North Dakota:
- Voters Handle Propositions 561
- *What Cure for Voter Apathy?*.. 346

North Miami, Fla.:
- Adopts Manager Plan 506
- Manager Plan Developments ... 203

North Sacramento, Cal.:
- Adopts Manager Plan 404, 568

Norwich, Conn.:
- Apathy Scored 420
- Merger of Housing Agencies .. 459

O

Oak Lawn, Ill.:
- Manager Plan Developments ... 569

Oak Park, Ill.:
- Adopts Manager Plan 567
- Manager Plan Developments 405, 457
- Manager Plan News 473

Ogunquit, Me.:
- Adopts Manager Plan 353

Ohio:
- City Income Taxes Invalid 51
- Conference Stirs Citizens 68
- Constitutional Conventions 474
- Floats a Record Loan 361
- Industries Pose City Problems .. 586
- *Initiative Held in Reserve* 142
- Manager Plan Developments 354, 406
- Support Constitution Revision .. 420
- Turns Down Constitution Reform 565
- Voter Needs a Break (Edit.) 72

Oklahoma:
- Changes Amending Constitution 401
- Manager Plan Developments ... 354
- New Publication 168
- Other Election Results 577
- Planning Council Activities 581

Oklahoma City, Okla.:
- Sewage Disposal Operations by Service Charges 111

Old Orchard Beach, Me.:
- Manager Plan Developments ... 94

Olney, Ill.:
- Manager Plan Developments 152, 302

Oneida Co., N. Y.:
- County Highway Techniques ... 156
- Recommends Business Methods.. 154
- Reorganization Receives Support 206

Onondaga Co., N. Y.:
- Grange Against Executive Plan 410
- *New County Plans Offered* 288

Oregon:
- Citizens, Schools Work for Communities 215
- *Economy Begins at Home* 501
- Make Civil Defense Compact .. 201
- Other Election Results 577
- Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
- West Coast League Conferences 41
- *What Cure for Voter Apathy?* .. 346

Orlando, Fla.:
- Manager Plan Developments ... 568

Ottawa, Kan.:
- Manager Plan Developments ... 249

P

Pardons:
- Voters Handle Propositions ... 561

Parking:
- Research Studies 169, 270, 323, 425, 526

Parsons, Kan.:
- Adopts Manager Plan 404

Pasadena, Cal.:
- Provides for Interns 43

Pawtucket, R. I.:
- All-American City 176
- All-American Communities 2
- Apathy Scored 420
- Cities Drop Bicameral Councils 570
- Home Town Is Battle Ground (Edit.) 128
- Jury Picks All-American Cities 1
- Manager Plan Developments 39, 151
- Seek New Home Rule Charters 302
- Then There Were Nine (Edit.) 539

Pennsylvania:
- Annual Reports 322
- Bureau Notes 422
- Bureau Reports 268
- Municipal Report Awards 408
- Sponsors Report Contest 304
- State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
- State Revenues Up, Costs Steady 312
- Training for Officers Grows 115

Pensions: (See also Retirement Systems and Social Security)
- Research Studies .. 118, 169, 425, 589

Peoria, Ill.:
- Adopts Manager Plan 94
- *Crusaders Crash Through* 130
- How to Conduct a Successful Campaign 214
- Manager Plan Developments ... 39

Permanent Registration:
- Election Law Reform Sought in N. Y. State 43
- Memphis Committee Seeks Large Registration 316

Permanent Registration Furthered in N. Y. 148
Permanent Registration Law Enacted in R. I. 41
Permanent Registration Spreads in La. 460
Providence Solicits Voters' Registration 149
Research Studies 222
What Goes with the Voters 160

Personnel: (See Civil Service)

Phenix City, Ala.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 152

Philadelphia City and County:
All-American Communities 2
Bureau Notes 167
Charter 167
Cities, Counties Seek Cooperative Bases 307
City-county Home Rule Opposition 45
Cleans Up 584
Consolidation Raises Questions .. 255
Make Consolidation Suggestions 359
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Places Surety Bond on Employees 414
Receive La Guardia Awards 97
Sees Revolt Against Labels 175
Stymies City-county Legislation 101
What Goes with the Voters ... 160

Phillips, Me.:
Adopts Manager Plan 202

Phoebus, Va.:
County, City, Town Consolidate 358
Va. Counties Turn Cities 387

Phoenix, Ariz.:
Neighborhood Meetings 521
Potpourri 370
Press Supports County Streamlining 254
Purchasing Procedures Revised 212
Recent Publications 475

Picayune, Miss.:
Adopts Manager Plan 404

Pine Bluff, Ark.:
News on Manager Front 162

Pittsburgh, Pa.:
Establishes Complaint Bureau .. 303

Planning: (See also Urban Redevelopment)
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger 182
Boom Finds Citizens on Job 112
Cities Urged to Reach Out 187
City-county Cooperation in Ga. and Ky. 461
Conferences 217
Intergovernmental Cooperation .. 102
International Housing, Planning Congress 357
Md. Counties Planning 46
Pa. Governor Appoints Study Commission 462
Planning Council Activities 581
Potpourri 370
Research Studies 169, 270, 373, 424, 425
Six Year Program for Va. County 256

Plymouth, N. H.:
Manager Plan Developments... 249

Police:
Ariz. League 24th Convention .. 96
Crime Fighters 369
Des Moines Adds Training 203
Research Studies .. 118, 222, 478, 526
Saginaw Study to Improve Methods 252
Worcester to Streamline Police 407

Political Parties and Politics: (See also Elections and Voting and Proportional Representation)
Action on Home Rule Urged 540
Citizens Take Over Party 316
Election Law Reform Sought in N. Y. State 43
Group Scares Parties into Nominating Good Candidates 317
Home Town Is Battle Ground (Edit.) 128
Literature for Voting Citizen .. 366
Look to Local Government 496
Politics in the Legislatures 80
Price of New Constitution 14
Reorganization of Primaries in N. Y. Bill 201
Research Studies 478
U. S. Governors 1940-1950 190

Population:
Research Studies 169, 270, 425

Port Angeles, Wash.:
Adopts Manager Plan 39
Schools for Councilmen 252

Port Huron, Mich.:
Get Out the Vote 419

Portland, Me.:
Town Meetings—City Style ... 490

Portland, Ore.:
Industries Pose City Problems .. 586
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Manager Plan Developments 354, 406

President:
Ga. Outlaws Popular Vote for President 148
Youth Has Its Day 517

Press:
City Reports via Newspapers ... 509
Edison Plea Stirs Response 275
Mo. Newspaper Proposes County Manager 512
Newspaper Gets Award 217

Press Supports County Streamlining 254
Protest Legislation Against P. R. 309
Pressure Groups:
Effort to Stifle Cal. League of Cities 507
Voice of the People 136
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Who Will Watch The Watchman? (Edit.) 280
Primaries: (See Nominations)
Prince George's Co., Md.:
County Charter Campaign Climax 512
County Issues Defeated 572
Discusses Recommendations 308
Manager Suggested 100
Petitions for Home Rule 410
Princess Anne Co., Va.:
County Executive 255
Manager Plan Developments 249
Proportional Representation:
Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win 257
Battle Brewing in Quincy 49
B. C. and Alta. Use Alternative Vote 468
Election in Hesse by List System 310
German State Elects by P. R. 218
Greece Discontinues P. R. 514
Home Rule Changes for N. Y. Counties 309
Independents Win in Worcester 104
Investigate P. R. Abroad 363
Limited Vote for Yonkers? 364
L. J. Johnson—P. R. Advocate 311
Majority Vote Causes Landslide in Greece 579
Mass. Cities Vote on P. R. 467
Mass. Legislators Snipe at P.R. 210
Netherlands Parliament Elected by P. R. 416
New Members to P. R. Committee 515
New Voters Encouraged 55
No P. R. Referendum in Worcester 467
President of P. R. League Dies 415
Private Groups Use P. R. 363
Proportional Representation (Dept.) 47, 104, 209, 257, 309, 363, 415, 467, 514, 578
P. R. Election in Cambridge 48
P. R. League Holds Meeting 106
P. R. League to Meet 470
P. R. Referenda in Mass. Cities 578
P. R. Tested for Cincinnati 107
Protest Legislation Against P. R. 309
Puerto Rico Gets Modified P. R. System 209
Puerto Rico Minority Representation 580
Revere Voters Rebuke Councillors 47
Review and Rebuttal 258
Swedish Election by P. R. 514
Switzerland Lower House by List System 108
They Learn About Elections 242
Tomorrow's Citizens 8
U. S. Ambassador Opposes P. R. in Greece 257
Providence, R. I.:
Solicits Voter Registration 149
Public Administration: (See also State Reorganization)
Americanization in Japan 443
Bureau Mission to Promote Economy 219
Price of New Constitution 14
U. S. Governors 1940-1950 190
Public Employees: (See Civil Service and Public Employee Unions and Strikes)
Public Employee Unions and Strikes:
Birmingham Bars Municipal Strikes or Picketing 508
Cincinnati Sets Basis for Collective Bargaining 250
Mich. Anti-Strike Law Constitutional 200
Public Health:
City-county Cooperation 461
Consolidation of Functions in Colo. 360
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
N. C. Health Consolidations 411
Pass Reorganization Measures 402
Research Studies 169, 373, 589
Tri-county Health Unit to Dissolve 308
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Public Libraries:
Kan. Counties Pass on Questions 573
N. C. Counties Cooperate on Library Service 307
Research Studies 373, 478
Public Opinion Polls:
Committee Seeks Highways 365
Facts Forum 319
Research Studies 589
State Needs Real Executive 57
Too Many Elective Officials? 449
Voice of the People 136
Voter Needs a Break (Edit.) 72
Public Relations: (See also Reporting)
Des Moines Adds Training 203
GPRA Holds Annual Meeting 357
Las Vegas Employees Speaking Bureau 251
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Pittsburgh Complaint Bureau 303

Plan to Meet Disaster 74
Research Studies 373, 425
San Antonio Radio, Television Programs 459
State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Town Meetings—City Style ... 490
Whiteville, N. C., Radio Program 153
Public Utilities:
Credit Unit Vetoes Utility Purchase 109
Research Studies 169, 425, 478
Public Welfare:
Bureaus State Service Programs 422
Milwaukee Co. Welfare Reorganized 156
Research Studies .. 118, 169, 222, 270, 425, 478, 526
Twilight of the Township 390
Welfare Survey 267
Public Works: (See also Planning)
Research Studies 170
Pueblo and Pueblo Co., Colo.:
City-county Consolidation 461
Puerto Rico:
Constitution Approved 199
Convention Approves Constitution 150
Gets Modified P. R. 209
Model Constitution Used 276
Provides Minority Representation 580
Purchasing:
Centralization of County Purchasing 410
Purchasing Procedures Revised 212
Research Studies .. 119, 270, 323, 478

Q

Quincy, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments 203, 302
Quincy, Mass.:
Battle Brewing 49
Charge of Councilmanic Interference Fails 354
Cities to Vote on P. R. 467
Manager Plan News 473
Mass. Legislators Snipe at P. R. 210
P. R. Referenda 578

R

Racial Discrimination:
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
Radio and Television:
Columbia Voters Kill Manager Repealer 263
Democracy by Air 54
Efforts in Public Reporting 304
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
On the Air 584
People Act 164
Programs Describe Citizen Endeavor 317
Recent Reports 218
San Antonio Radio, Television .. 459
Whiteville, N. C., Radio Program 153
Raleigh, N. C.:
Public Health Consolidations ... 411
Ramsey Co., Minn.:
Adopts Pay-as-you-go 308
Ramsey, N. J.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 457
Rat Control:
Research Studies 270
Real Estate:
Research Studies 425
Reapportionment:
Clock But Not Law Stopped .. 305
Congress Districts for N. Y. Stir Controversy 41
Fla. to Vote on Amendments .. 400
Initiative Held in Reserve 142
Legislatures Unrepresentative .. 523
Recommendations for Nashville-Davidson Co. 409
Research Studies 119, 170, 270
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Wis. Redistricting Referendum Challenged 149
Recording:
Records on Microfilm Save Time 256
Recreation:
Kan. Counties Pass on Questions 573
Research Studies 170
Refuse Disposal:
Cities Cooperate for Sewage Disposal 204
Cities Finance Sewage Disposal by Service Charges 111
Mich. Cities Cooperate in Disposal 40
Research Studies 323, 373, 425
Registration: (See Permanent Registration)
Rent Control:
Research Studies 478
Reporting: (See also Public Relations)
Cities Efforts in Reporting 304
City Reports via Newspapers .. 509
Dallas Co. Auditor Explains Finance 515
Ill. Issues Popular Reports 364
Pa. Municipal Reports Awards .. 408
Penn State Municipal Report Contest 304
Report Contest in N. H. 96
Research Studies 170
Wash. State Reporting 575
When Is a Budget Not a Budget? 576
Research and Research Bureaus:
Annual Reports 58

  Boards, Commissions Compete with Government 320
  Bureau Mission to Promote True Economy 219
  Bureau Notes .. 58, 167, 268, 321, 422
  Bureau Reports 167, 268, 587
  Bureaus Develop State Service Programs 422
  Grants Aid Research 525
  How to Stretch Research Dollar 371
  New Organization 321
  New Publication 168
  Oldest State Research Bureaus 267
  Researcher's Digest (Dept.) 57, 115, 165, 219, 267, 320, 371, 422, 476, 523, 586
  Researchers Gather 476
  Research Studies 222, 323, 526
  State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Retirement Systems: (See also Pensions and Social Security)
  Ariz. Invokes Referenda 305
  Ariz. Repeals Retirement Act .. 566
  Local Issues Passed Upon 569
  Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
  Research Studies 323, 425
Revere, Mass.:
  P. R. Referenda 578
  Voters Rebuke Councillors 47
Rhode Island:
  Home Rule Conference 585
  Legislatures Unrepresentative .. 523
  Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
  Permanent Registration Law ... 41
  Plan Water Pollution Control .. 456
  Primary Law Brings Few Party Upsets 509
  Recent Publications 475
  Seek Home Rule Charters 302
  State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
Richfield, Utah:
  Adopts Manager Plan 249
Richlands, Va.:
  Adopts Manager Plan 353
Richmond, Va.:
  City Reports via Newspapers ... 509
  Radio Programs Describe Citizen Endeavor 317
Riverside, Cal.:
  Adopts Manager Plan 567
Roanoke, Va.:
  Veto Assessment Reform 212
Rochester, N. Y.:
  Louisville Medals Awarded 465
Rockford, Ill.:
  Manager Plan Developments ... 203
Rock Island, Ill.:
  Adopts Manager Plan 403
  Manager Plan Developments ... 302
Roseville, Cal.:
  Manager Plan Developments ... 507
Ryukyu Islands:
  Visitors from the Pacific 531

S

Sabotage:
  Research Studies 222
Saginaw, Mich.:
  Louisville Medals Awarded 465
  Personal Earnings Taxes Void .. 313
  Study to Improve Methods 252
St. Boniface, Manitoba:
  Manager Plan Developments ... 354
St. Helena, Cal.:
  Intergovernmental Cooperation .. 102
St. Louis, Mo.:
  Earnings Tax Authorized 313
  Getting Out the Vote 367
  On the Job Day and Night 163
Salaries:
  County Issues Defeated in Md. .. 572
  Local Issues Passed Upon 569
  Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
  Research Studies 170, 323, 373, 478, 526, 589
  Voters Handle Propositions 561
Salem, Ore.:
  Local Issues Passed Upon 569
San Antonio, Tex.:
  All-American Communities 2
  Best Conference Pledged 329
  Bureau Notes 422
  Conference Attendance Tops 1000 533
  Delegates at Historic Spot 277
  Has Radio, Television Programs 459
  Hotel Picked for Conference ... 276
  How to Make Touchdowns 433
  La Villita Charms Visitors 536
  Local Leaders Plan Conference.. 229
  Manager Plan Developments ... 569
  Manager Plan News 473
  Old and New Mingle 431
  Pick San Antonio for '52 177
  Putting Voter in Saddle 483
  Rolls Out the Welcome Mat 486
  Vigilance—Price of Success 554
San Bernardino, Cal.:
  Counties Consider Manager Plan 101
  Manager Plan Developments ... 569
San Carlos, Cal.:
  Adopts Manager Plan 353
San Francisco, Cal.:
  Bureau Reports 167
  Local Issues Passed Upon 569
  Strive for Better Personnel 38

San Jose, Cal.:
Crime Fighters 369
San Marcos, Tex.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 249
San Mateo, Cal.:
Movies, Radio, TV Used 97
Santa Ana, Cal.:
Adopts Manager Plan 39, 568
Santa Clara, Cal.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 569
Santa Fe, N. M.:
Group Scares Parties into Nominating Good Candidates 317
Savannah, Ga.:
Manager Plan Developments 353, 405
Schuylkill Haven, Pa.:
Adopts Manager Plan 202

Seasongood, Murray—Good Citizen 70

Seattle, Wash.:
Aids for the Voter 519
Gold Feathers Bring Out Voters 265
Let's Face Facts 54
Potpourri 521
Private Groups Use P. R. 363
Recent Reports 218
Time of Your Life 419
Tracing Its Ancestry 164
What Goes with the Voters ... 160
Service Charges:
Cities Finance Sewage Disposal by Service Charges 111
Grand Rapids, Suburbs Agree on Land Use Plan 40
Research Studies 170
Sewage Disposal: (See Refuse Disposal)
Sewer Rates:
Research Studies 425
Sharpsville, Pa.:
Adopts Manager Plan 301

Shattuck Leaves Harvard Leadership 328

Sheriff:
Training for Officers Grows 115
Shopping Centers:
Cities Urged to Reach Out 187
Short Ballot:
Democracy at Work (Edit.) .. 538
Ky. to Vote on Short Ballot 455
Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
Reorganization Urged for N. M. 455
Too Many Elective Officials? .. 449
Voter Needs Break (Edit.) 72
Shrewsbury, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 39
Sioux City, Ia:
Manager Plan Developments ... 354
Slaton, Tex.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302
Smoke Abatement:
Cease Smoke 164
Studies Air Pollution 248
Social Security: (See also Pensions and Retirement Systems)
Va. Employees under Social Security 201
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Somerset Hills, N. J.:
Annual Meetings 369
South Bend, Ind.:
Potpourri 370
South Berwick, Me.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 94
Southbridge, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 249
South Carolina:
House Asks Biennial Sessions .. 247
Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
South Dakota:
Voters Handle Propositions 561
South Miami, Fla.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 568
South Royalton, Vt.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Special Districts:
Research Studies 270
Spokane, Wash.:
Activity in Spokane 56
Aids for the Voter 519
Springfield, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments 39, 249
Stark Co., Ohio:
Bureau Notes 422
State Government: (See also Federal-state-local Relations, Interstate Cooperation, State-local Relations, State Reorganization and names of individual states)
City, State, Nation (Dept.) 38, 93, 146, 198, 246, 300, 351, 400, 455, 504, 561
Research Studies .. 119, 170, 222, 373
Revenues Up, Costs Steady ... 312
Sales and Excise Taxes Used .. 463
State Government Council Proposes Legislative Program ... 99
State-local Debt Reaches Peak .. 157
States Adjust Income Tax Rates 362
Turnpike Authorities Expand ... 504
Use of Income Tax Grows 412
Statehood:
Research Studies 271
State-local Relations: (See also Federal-state-local Relations)
Ky. Study Urges Constitution Changes 146

Manager Suggested for Prince George's Co. 100
Md. Commission Urges Home Rule 351
Mo. Counties Transfer Roads to State 466
Stymies City-county Legislation 101
Tenn. Counties, Cities Road Program 103
Urges Prohibition of Local Legislation 358
West Coast League Conferences 41

State Property:
Research Studies 271

State Reorganization:
Action on Home Rule Urged .. 540
Ariz. Aids Reorganization 566
Ariz. Invokes Referenda 305
Cal. Committees Study State ... 246
Ky. Study Urges Constitution Changes 146
Mont. Little Hoover Committee 42
N. M. Committee Makes Studies 147
Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
Reorganization Urged for N. M. 455
Research Studies .. 223, 271, 373, 479
State Needs Real Executive 57
States Try Reorganization 334
U. S. Governors 1940-1950 190
Wash. Reorganization Committee 198

Stockton, Kan.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 458

Stokes Co., N. C.:
Cooperate on Library Service .. 307

Stoneham, Mass.:
Manager Plan Developments 151, 202

Streets and Highways:
Ariz. Aids Reorganization 566
Cities Win More State Funds .. 87
Committee Seeks Highways 365
Cooperation Between County and City 102
County Highway Techniques ... 156
Jersey Voters Approve Interest Savings 577
Kan. Counties Pass on Questions 573
Mo. Counties Transfer Roads to State 466
Motor Use Charges Raised 50
Ohio Floats Loan 361
Research Studies 119, 170, 223, 479, 527
Turnpike Authorities Expand .. 504
Twilight of the Township 390

Strictly Personal 58, 164, 319, 322
421, 423, 522, 585, 587

Struthers, Ohio:
Duluth Defeats Income Tax 513

Surety Bonds:
Philadelphia Places Large Surety Bond on Employees 414

Surry Co., N. C.:
Cooperate on Library Service .. 307

Surveys:
Business Methods for County .. 154
Cattaraugas Co. Government Analyzed 360
Communities Make Surveys ... 114
Correction 411
Economic Survey Proposed for Montgomery Co., Md. 308
Fairfax Co. Studies Change to Executive Plan 101
Manager Suggested for Prince George's Co. 100
Oneida Co. Reorganization Support 206
Prince George's Co. Recommendations 308
Recommendations for Nashville-Davidson Co. 409
Research Studies 589
School Board Debated in N. Y... 93
Welfare Survey 267
Worcester to Streamline Police, Traffic 407

Sutherlin, Ore.:
Adopts Manager Plan 404

Sweden:
Election Held by P.R. 514

Switzerland:
Chooses Lower House by List System 108
Citizenship Training Abroad ... 520

Sylvania, Ga.:
Adopts Manager Plan 301
Manager Plan Developments ... 95

Syracuse:
Bureau Reports 167
Sales Tax Reenacted, Cigarette Taxes Imposed 52

T

Tacoma, Wash.:
Adopts Manager Plan 567

Taft Cited for Leadership 380

Takoma Park, Md.:
Manager Plan Developments .. 95, 203

Talbot Co., Md.:
Counties Engage in Planning .. 46

Tarrant Co., Tex.:
City-county Cooperation 512

Taxation—Amusement:
Amusement Tax Invalid in Ore. 421

Taxation—Cigarette:
Cigarette Taxes Imposed 52
Tackle Cigarette Bootlegging .. 52

Taxation—Delinquency:
County Bids in All Tax-delinquent Real Estate 103

Taxation—Gasoline:
Motor Use Charges Raised 50
Taxation—General: (See also Finance)
Atlanta Pioneers in Merger 182
Cities Win More State Funds .. 87
Citizens, Schools Work for Communities 215
Ga. Approves County Amendments 574
Hail State Grants of Taxing Powers 158
Kan. Tax Offset Lags as Local Levies Rise 414
New York City Meets Budget Crisis 211
Research Studies 119, 170, 223, 271, 323, 374, 425, 479, 527
Taxation and Finance (Dept.) 50, 109, 157, 211, 260, 312, 361, 412, 463, 513, 575
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
Taxation—Income:
Akron, Canton Adopt Income Tax 361
City Income Taxes Ruled Invalid 51
Dayton Praised for Self-reliance 178
Duluth Defeats Income Tax 513
Income Tax Grows at All Levels 412
Personal Earnings Taxes Void .. 313
St. Louis Earnings Tax Authorized 313
States Adjust Income Tax Rates 362
Taxation—In-lieu:
Housing In-lieu Payments 51
Taxation—Limitation:
Cities Win More State Funds .. 87
N. Y. City Faces Deficit 110
Research Studies 271
Roanoke Voters Veto Assessment Reform 212
Taxation—Pay-as-you-go:
Research Studies 589
Taxation—Property:
Assessors Decry Prewar Base for Property Values 262
Tax Rates of American Cities .. 18
Taxation—Sales:
Alaska Cities Sales Taxes 213
Other Election Results 577
Sales and Excise Taxes Used .. 463
Sales Tax Reenacted 52
Taxation—Weight-mileage:
Motor Use Charges Raised 50
N. Y. Truck Tax Is Upheld .. 212
Other Election Results 577
Truckers Pay Tax Upheld 262
Taylorville, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 95
Tennessee:
Bureau Notes 167, 422
Cities Finance Sewage Disposal by Service Charges 111
Constitution Conventions 474
Counties, Cities Road Program .. 103
Industries Pose Problems 586
To Have Constitution Convention 400
Training for Officers Grows 115
Uphold Redevelopment Laws ... 200
Votes on Convention 352
Terms of Office:
Democracy at Work (Edit.) 538
Ind. to Vote on Increasing County Officer Terms 462
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Longer Term for Detroit Constables Decried 355
Price of New Constitution 14
Terre Haute, Ind.:
Civic Group Incorporates 417
Group Studies Budget 585
Texas:
Aids for the Voter 519
Change Dates for NML 484
County Officers Short Course .. 103
Courts Uphold Redevelopment Laws 200
Get Out the Vote 419
Get Out the Vote Western Style 266
Literature for Citizen 366
Manager Plan Developments ... 354
To Study Its Counties 156
Voters Handle Propositions 561
The Dalles, Ore.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 569
Toledo, Ohio:
Akron, Canton Adopt Income Tax 361
Bureau Notes 321
Is Civic Education a Fraud? .. 234
Local Issues Passed Upon 569
Tolls:
Turnpike Authorities Expand ... 504
Topeka, Kan.:
Counties Pass on Questions 573
Manager Plan Developments 152, 302, 406, 569
Manager Plan News 473
Potpourri 521
Toronto, Ontario:
Annual Reports 322
Bureau Mission to Promote Economy 219
Citizens Report 583
Tort Liability:
Research Studies 527
Townships:
County and Township (Dept.) 44, 100, 154, 205, 254, 307, 358, 409, 461, 511, 571
Ia. Townships Still Here? 397
Twilight of the Township 390

- **Traffic:**
  - *Cities Urged to Reach Out* 187
  - Model Ordinance for Colo. Cities 303
  - Recent Publications 475
  - Research Studies 119, 171, 374
  - Worcester to Streamline Traffic Control 407
- **Trailers:**
  - Research Studies 323
- **Training for Public Service:**
  - Ala. Interns in Service 43
  - Defense Training Program 253
  - Department Heads Management Seminars 267
  - Des Moines Adds Training 203
  - Improved Standards Urged on Assessors 513
  - Kan. University Produces Managers 408
  - Me. University Produces Managers 152
  - Miss. Holds Classes for Legislators 247
  - *Plan to Meet Disaster* 74
  - Public Service Fellowships 99
  - Saginaw Supervisors to Improve Methods 252
  - School District Helps Train Employees 508
  - Schools for West Coast Councilmen 252
  - Strive for Better Personnel 38
  - Texas County Officers Short Course 103
  - Training for Officers Grows 115
  - Training Schools in N. Y. State 356
  - Upson Fellowships Offered 153
- **Transit:**
  - New York City Budget Crisis .. 211
  - Research Studies 323
- **Trego Co., Kan.:**
  - Pass on Local Questions 573
- **Tucson, Ariz.:**
  - New Publications 319
- **Turnpikes:** (See Streets and Highways)

U

- **Ukiah, Cal.:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 39
- **Unemployment:**
  - Research Studies 171
- **Units of Government:**
  - Governmental Units Decrease .. 253
  - *Ia. Townships Still Here?* 397
  - Research Studies 271
  - *Twilight of the Township* 390
- **Urban Decentralization:**
  - *Cities Urged to Reach Out* 187
- **Urban Redevelopment:**
  - Uphold Redevelopment Laws ... 200
  - Voters Handle Propositions 561
- **Utah:**
  - Seeks to Eliminate Coroners 511
  - Voters Handle Propositions 561
- **Uvalde, Tex.:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 151

V

- **Vancouver, Wash.:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 150
- **Vermont:**
  - Steps to Secure Medical Examiner 511
- **Veterans:**
  - Other Election Results 577
  - Research Studies 171, 374
  - State Sells Bonus Bonds Privately to Thwart Restraint 50
  - U. S. Ends Restraints on State-local Bonds 260
- **Vineland, N. J.:**
  - N. J. Communities Merge 203
- **Virginia:**
  - County Coroners on Way Out .. 462
  - Employees under Social Security 201
  - Pass Reorganization Measures .. 402
  - Voters Handle Propositions 561
- **Visalia, Cal.:**
  - Getting Out the Vote 367
- **Vital Statistics:**
  - Research Studies 171
- **Volusia Co., Fla.:**
  - Cities, Counties Seek Cooperative Bases 307
- **Voting Machines:**
  - Research Studies 119
  - Use of Voting Machines Increases 507
  - *Voice of the People* 136
  - Voting Machines Approved in W. Va. 360
  - W. Va. County Approves Voting Machines 573

W

- **Wake Co., N. C.:**
  - Health Consolidations Continue.. 411
- **Wamego, Kan.:**
  - Adopts Manager Plan 457
- **Warren Co., N. C.:**
  - History Project Sponsored 360
- **Warren, Ohio:**
  - Duluth Defeats Income Tax 513
  - Strong Mayor Proposed 458
- **Warwick and Warwick Co., Va.:**
  - *Va. Counties Turn Cities* 387
- **Warwick, R. I.:**
  - Manager Plan Developments ... 353
- **Washington, D. C.:**
  - Reorganization Proposed 300

Washington, N. C.:
Adopts Manager Plan 301
Manager Plan Developments ... 95
Washington (State):
Bureau Notes 167
Credit Union Vetoes Utility Purchases 109
Make Civil Defense Pact 201
Pioneers in Reporting 575
Reorganization Committee 198
Voters Handle Propositions 561
Welfare Survey 267
Water:
Research Studies 271, 374, 479
Waterbury, Conn.:
Bureau Notes 167
Bureau Reports 167
Water Pollution:
Plan Water Pollution Control .. 456
Research Studies 270
Water Rates:
Research Studies 426
Wayne Co., Mich.:
Records on Microfilm Save Time 256
To Abolish Useless Agencies ... 103
Weather Control:
County Prohibits Weather Control 573
Webster Groves, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 302
Westchester, Ill.:
Adopts Manager Plan 568
Western Springs, Ill.:
Recent Publications 475
West Plains, Mo.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 354
West Virginia:
Clock But Not Law Stopped 305
Sells Bonus Bonds Privately to Thwart Restraint 50
Study County Government 571
U. S. Ends Restraints on Bonds 260
Wethersfield, Conn.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 568
News on Manager Front 162
Whitehall, Pa.:
Adopts Manager Plan 507
White Plains, N. Y.:
City Reports via Newspapers .. 509
Whiteville, N. C.:
Has Radio Program 153
Wichita, Kan.:
Get Out the Vote Western Style 266
Wilmington, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 203
Winnetka, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments ... 458
Wisconsin:
Counties Develop Forests 410
County Coroners on Way Out .. 462
Court Upholds County Zoning .. 308
Department Heads Attend Seminars 267
Redistricting Referendum Challenged 149
Research Outfits Show Varied Picture 165
School Consolidation 102
States Have Judicial Councils ... 352
Training for Officers Grows 115
Voters Handle Propositions ... 561
What Goes with the Voters 160
Woodbury Co., Iowa:
Bureau Notes 321
Wood River, Ill.:
Manager Plan Developments 405, 507
Woodstock, Ill.:
Adopts Manager Plan 301
Woonsocket, R. I.:
Cities Seek New Charters 302
Drop Bicameral Councils 570
Manager Plan Developments ... 404
Then There Were Nine (Edit.) 539
Worcester, Mass.:
Anti-P. R. Bills Lose, Win 257
Citizens, Press Protest Legislation Against P. R. 309
Independents Win Again 104
Legislators Snipe at P. R. 210
Manager Plan Activities 368
No P. R. Referendum 467
Potpourri 370
To Streamline Police, Traffic .. 407
Town Meetings—City Style 490

Y

Yonkers, N. Y.:
Limited Vote 364
New, Old Organizations 159
Newspaper Gets Award 217
Out of the Mouths of Babes 521
Youngstown, Ohio:
Income Taxes Invalid 51
Yuma, Ariz.:
Manager Plan Developments 406, 507

Z

Zeeland, Mich.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Zelienople, Pa.:
Adopts Manager Plan 249
Zoning:
Md. Counties Engage in Planning 46
Research Studies 374, 479, 527
Wis. Court Upholds County Zoning 308

Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1952)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1951)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1951)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952)	.05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929)	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948)	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County Manager Charter (New edition in preparation.)	
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1951)	.50
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1951)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

299 Broadway **New York 7, N. Y.**

Civic Victories

The Story of an Unfinished Revolution

By RICHARD S. CHILDS

In this fast-paced narrative the Former President of the National Municipal League surveys the progress that has been made over the past 40 years in state, municipal, county and local government, and spotlights the political processes that have led toward successful control by the people. As a report on what has already been done, and how, CIVIC VICTORIES will be an antidote to discouragement for everyone working or studying in the field of civic improvement. The book includes an extensive reference section reporting specific battles for political reform and outlining a model state constitution and model county and city charters.

> "Local democracy is no blitz of push-buttons. It is a process of citizen action in pushing the cart of responsible government up the long hill of progress. Mr. Childs has indicated how to 'engineer' the cart and how to push."—ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan.
>
> "This book is a new testament for civic reform and courage from the hand of the veteran civic inventor and campaigner. No one who is concerned with practical democracy, with informed citizenship, and with his own problems of local government can afford to miss knowing the facts and the information of CIVIC VICTORIES."—LUTHER H. GULICK, Past President, American Political Science Association.
>
> "Mr. Childs writes with a lightness of touch that most political scientists in the academic circle might well envy. His volume is a real contribution to our knowledge of the sturdy movements on the American political scene which have made civic crookedness far less extensive than it used to be."—WILLIAM B. MUNRO, Emeritus Professor of Government, Harvard University.

Harper & Brothers
360 pages Price, $3.50

Available on order directly from

National Municipal League

299 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.